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ON THE BASIS OF THE LATEST EDITION OF

PROF. E. KAUTZSCH, D.D.,

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BY

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PREFACE.

THE Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius first appeared in 1813. In Germany, for nearly seventy years it has held a foremost rank as the grammar for schools. In England and America also, for the last half-century, it has maintained its position through the versions of Stuart, Conant, and Davies, keeping pace with the progress of Semitic learning in successive editions, since the death of Gesenius, through the scholarly editorial labors of Prof. Rödiger of Berlin.

Its pre-eminence has been largely due to the thoroughness with which the grammar treats the forms of the language and the phenomena of their changes. From the first its course of thought has proceeded from a real grasp of principles and rested upon a scientific basis. The advanced student has felt assured that he would find here all the light which the present state of science affords upon any difficult point.

At the same time practical teachers have felt that there was something yet to be desired in the form of the work for adaptation to elementary instruction. The copious materials of the grammar have not always proved to be so conveniently arranged as to be easily accessible to the inexperienced student.

While the writer believes that mere beginners should not be cumbered with the task of memorizing an elaborate treatise, but should be introduced at once to the language by the briefest

possible statement of its elementary principles, — and has accordingly prefixed such a compendium of principles to Davies' Hebrew Lexicon, — yet obviously the next step should be to place in his hands a complete discussion of the whole subject, upon a true philosophical plan, which ought, at the same time, to be so classified as to be immediately within his reach.

Accordingly, when the publishers of Davies' Hebrew Lexicon requested him to prepare an edition of Davies' Gesenius' Grammar which should be suited to the wants of American teachers and students, he set before himself the aim of combining the acknowledged excellences of Gesenius with a more lucid and practical arrangement.

Happily for this purpose, he found his contemplated task in large measure anticipated by the admirable work of Prof. Kautzsch, the successor of Rödiger in the editorial revision of Gesenius. The grammar which he has produced is practically a new work, exhibiting radical changes in the treatment of important topics, and uniting, as no grammar has done before, a logical and perspicuous method with a full treatment of the difficulties of the language.

Availing himself of the essential improvements of Kautzsch, among which will be found an entire reconstruction of the system of the Noun and a new discussion of the Accent and the Methegh, the Daghesh euphonic and the Pause, as well as of the nominal and verbal sentence (so that §§ 93–95 and § 144 *a* are entirely new, translated from Kautzsch, while indeed nearly every page and paragraph has felt the influence of Kautzsch's scientific discernment in the suggestion of improved forms of statement), the editor has also derived some hints from the Grammars of Ewald and Stade, and has added a few notes for illustration from Delitzsch and others. No change has been made in the numbering of sections, and the notes of

Dr. Davies have been preserved, so far as they are not superseded by the text as reconstructed. They are designated by the signature *Tr.*

The references have been carefully verified (using the corrected text of Baer-Delitzsch upon Genesis, Job, Psalms, and Isaiah), and the eighth edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (by Mühlau and Volck) has been constantly consulted.

A new and important feature of this edition consists in the appending of very full *Indexes* of Subjects, of Scripture, and of Hebrew words, by means of which the entire contents of the Grammar are made available to the student. The Hebrew index will be found especially valuable, converting the grammar into a philological clavis for the explanation of difficult forms.

The work has been performed in the midst of a heavy pressure of other labors, and in the accomplishment of it the editor has been aided by his son as an amanuensis, preparing all the copy for the printers, and by his friend Mr. Max Meyer of Paris, a native German, and an accomplished linguist, who has revised all the translations and performed much patient toil in the reading of proofs.

E. C. M.

CHICAGO, September 1880.

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OF

SEMITIC ALPHABETS;

PARADIGMS

OF

VERBS AND NOUNS,

ETC.

TABLES

OF

SEMITIC ALPHABETS;

AND

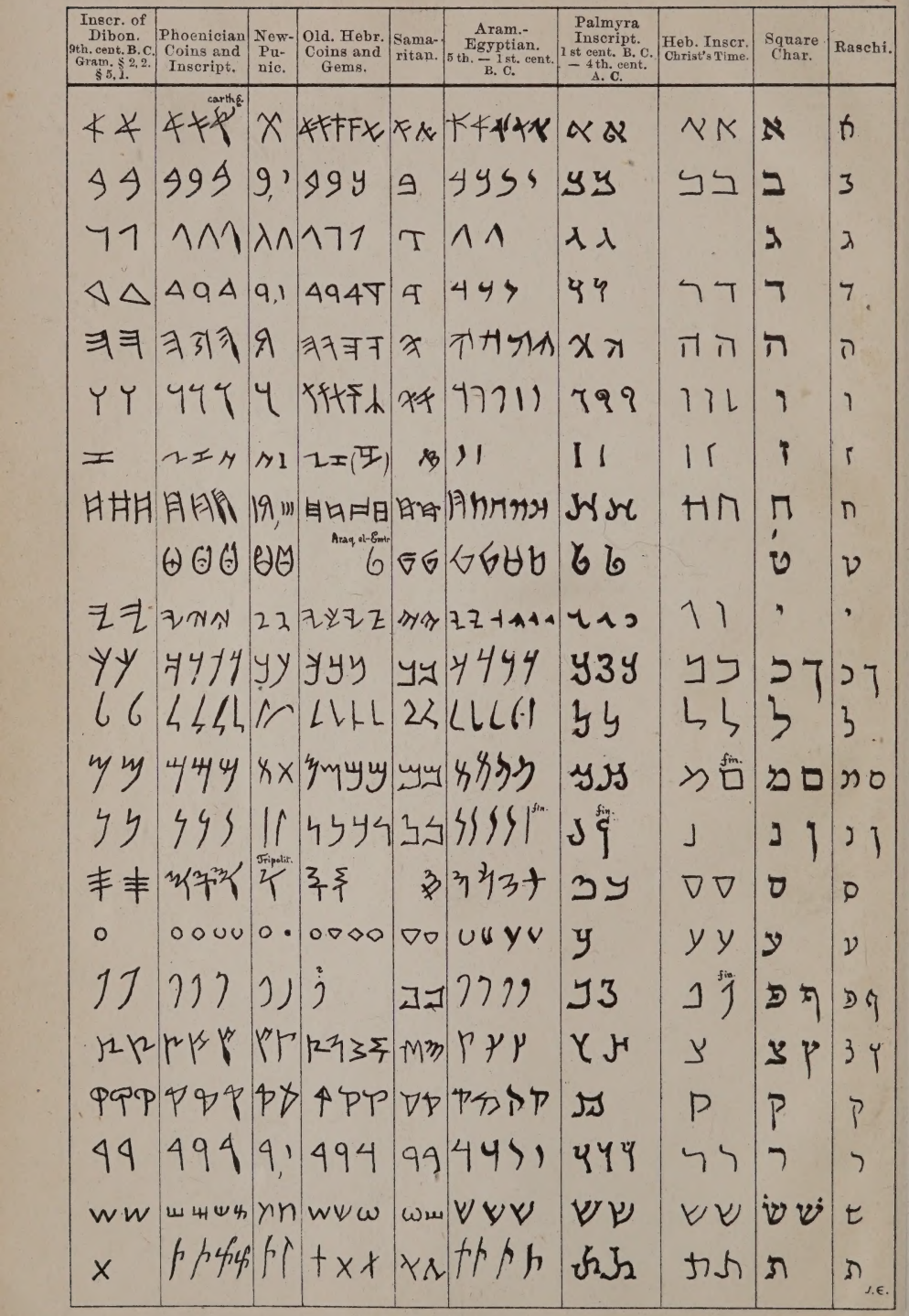
PARADIGMS

OF

VERBS AND NOUNS,

ETC.

Ancient Semitic Alphabets



Modern Semitic Alphabets.

Hebrew		Rabbinical	Samaritan	Syriac				Arabic				
								Final	Medial		Initial	
א	'	א	𐤀	ܐ	ܐ	ـ	ܐ	ا	ـا	ـ	ا	'
ב	b, bh	ב	𐤁	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ب	ـب	ـبـ	بـ	b
ג	g, gh	ג	𐤂	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ت	ـت	ـتـ	تـ	t
ד	d, dh	ד	𐤃	ܕ	ܕ	ـ	ܕ	ث	ـث	ـثـ	ثـ	th
ה	h	ה	𐤄	ܗ	ܗ	ـ	ܗ	ج	ـج	ـجـ	جـ	j
ו	w	ו	𐤅	ܘ	ܘ	ـ	ܘ	ح	ـح	ـحـ	حـ	ch
ז	z	ז	𐤆	ܙ	ܙ	ـ	ܙ	خ	ـخ	ـخـ	خـ	kh
ח	ch	ח	𐤇	ܚ	ܚ	ـ	ܚ	د	ـد	ـ	د	d
ט	ṭ	ט	𐤈	ܛ	ܛ	ـ	ܛ	ذ	ـذ	ـ	ذ	dh
י	y	י	𐤉	ܝ	ܝ	ـ	ܝ	ر	ـر	ـ	ر	r
כך	k, kh	כך	𐤊	ܟ	ܟ	ـ	ܟ	ز	ـز	ـ	ز	z
ל	l	ל	𐤋	ܠ	ܠ	ـ	ܠ	س	ـس	ـسـ	سـ	s
מם	m	מ ם	𐤌	ܡ	ܡ	ـ	ܡ	ش	ـش	ـشـ	شـ	sh
נן	n	נן	𐤍	ܢ	ܢ	ـ	ܢ	ص	ـص	ـصـ	صـ	ṣ
ס	s	ס	𐤎	ܣ	ܣ	ـ	ܣ	ض	ـض	ـضـ	ضـ	ḍ
ע	'	ע	𐤏	ܥ	ܥ	ـ	ܥ	ط	ـط	ـطـ	طـ	ṭ
פף	p, ph	פ ף	𐤐	ܦ	ܦ	ـ	ܦ	ظ	ـظ	ـظـ	ظـ	zh
צץ	ṣ	צ ץ	𐤑	ܨ	ܨ	ـ	ܨ	ع	ـع	ـعـ	عـ	'
ק	q	ק	𐤒	ܩ	ܩ	ـ	ܩ	غ	ـغ	ـغـ	غـ	gh
ר	r	ר	𐤓	ܪ	ܪ	ـ	ܪ	ف	ـف	ـفـ	فـ	f
שׁ	sh	ש	𐤔	ܫ	ܫ	ـ	ܫ	ق	ـق	ـقـ	قـ	q
ת	t	ת	𐤕	ܬ	ܬ	ـ	ܬ	ك	ـك	ـكـ	كـ	k
								ل	ـل	ـلـ	لـ	l
								م	ـم	ـمـ	مـ	m
								ن	ـن	ـنـ	نـ	n
								ه ة	ـه ـة	ـهـ	هـ	h
								و	ـو	ـ	و	w
								ى	ـى	ـيـ	يـ	y

Syr. Vowels: ◌̇ a, ◌̣ e, ◌̈ i, ◌̰ o, ◌̤ u.

Arab. Vowels: ◌َ a, ◌ِ i, ◌ُ u.

Nominative of the Pronoun, or Separate Pronoun.	Accusative of the Pronoun,
	A. By itself.
Sing. 1. *com.* אָנֹכִי, in pause אָנֹכִי; אֲנִי, in pause אָנִי *I.*	נִי; נִי־; ־נִי *me.*
2. *m.* אַתָּה (אַתְּ), in pause אָתָּה; *f.* אַתְּ (אַתִּי) *thou.*	ךָ; ךָ־, in p. ־ךָ, ־ךָ; ךְ; ךְ־; ־ךְ, ־ךְ *thee.*
3. *m.* הוּא *he.*	הוּ, ו; הוּ־ (ה), וֹ; ־הוּ *him.*
f. הִיא *she.*	הָ; ־הָ; ־הָ *her.*
Plur. 1. *com.* אֲנַחְנוּ (נַחְנוּ), (אֲנוּ) *we.*	נוּ; נוּ־; ־נוּ *us.*
2. *m.* אַתֶּם; *f.* אַתֶּן, אַתֶּנָה *ye.*	כֶם; ־כֶם; כֶן; ־כֶן *you.*
3. *m.* הֵמָּה, הֵם; *f.* הֵנָּה, הֵן *they.*	(הֵם), ם; ־ם, ־ם, מוֹ־*; מוֹ־*; ־ם, ־ם, מוֹ־*, ־מוֹ־* *them.* (הֵן), ן; ־ן, ־ן; ־ן *them.*

* The forms with an asterisk are only poetical; those in parenthesis

or *Suffix of the Verb.*	Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffix of the Noun (possessive Pron.).*	
B.	*A.*	*B.*
With Nûn demonstrative.	With Nouns Singular.	With Nouns Plur. & Dual.
־ִנִי, ־ֶנִּי	־ִי, ־ֶי *my* (prop. Gen. *mei*).	־ַי *my.*
־ֶךָּ, (־ֶנְּךָ)	־ְךָ, ־ָךְ, in pause ־ֶךָ } *thy (tui).*	־ֶיךָ } *thy.*
not found.	־ְךָ, ־ָךְ, (־ֶךָ) }	־ֶיךְ }
־ֶנְּהוּ, ־ֶנּוּ, (נּוֹ)	־ֵהוּ, ו; ־ָהוּ, ־ֻו (ה) *his (ejus* and *suus).*	־ָיו, ־ָו, ־ָיהוּ* *his.*
־ֶנָּהּ	־ָהּ; ־ֶהָ; ־ֶהָ *her.*	־ֶיהָ *her.*
־ֶנּוּ	־ֵנוּ; (־ֶנוּ) *our.*	־ֵינוּ *our.*
These forms are not found.	־ְכֶם; ־ֶכֶם; ־ְכֶן; ־ֶכֶן } *your.*	־ֵיכֶם; ־ֵיכֶן } *your.*
	־ָם, ־ֵמוֹ*, ־ָמוֹ* } *their.*	־ֵימוֹ*, ־ֵיהֶם } *their.*
	־ָן, ־ֵהֶן, ־ָהֶן }	־ֵיהֶן

are rarely used, but are put here to give a full view of the analogy.

		Qăl.			*Nĭph'ăl.*	*Pi"ĕl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*קָטַל	*כָּבֵד	*קָטֹן	*נִקְטַל	*קִטֵּל, קִטֵּל
	3. *f.*	*קָטְלָה	*כָּבְדָה	*קָטְנָה	*נִקְטְלָה	*קִטְּלָה
	2. *m.*	*קָטַלְתָּ	*כָּבַדְתָּ	*קָטֹנְתָּ	*נִקְטַלְתָּ	*קִטַּלְתָּ
	2. *f.*	קָטַלְתְּ	כָּבַדְתְּ	קָטֹנְתְּ	נִקְטַלְתְּ	קִטַּלְתְּ
	1. *c.*	קָטַלְתִּי	כָּבַדְתִּי	קָטֹנְתִּי	נִקְטַלְתִּי	קִטַּלְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	קָטְלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	קָטְנוּ	נִקְטְלוּ	קִטְּלוּ
	2. *m.*	*קְטַלְתֶּם	*כְּבַדְתֶּם	*קְטַנְתֶּם	נִקְטַלְתֶּם	קִטַּלְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	קְטַלְתֶּן	כְּבַדְתֶּן	קְטַנְתֶּן	נִקְטַלְתֶּן	קִטַּלְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	קָטַלְנוּ	כָּבַדְנוּ	קָטַנּוּ	נִקְטַלְנוּ	קִטַּלְנוּ
Inf.		*קְטֹל			*הִקָּטֵל	*קַטֵּל
Inf. absol.		*קָטוֹל			*הִקָּטֵל, נִקְטֹל	*קַטֵּל, קַטֵּל
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*קְטֹל	*כְּבַד		*הִקָּטֵל	*קַטֵּל
	2. *f.*	*קִטְלִי	*כִּבְדִי		*הִקָּטְלִי	*קַטְּלִי
Plur.	2. *m.*	קִטְלוּ	כִּבְדוּ		הִקָּטְלוּ	קַטְּלוּ
	2. *f.*	*קְטֹלְנָה	*כְּבַדְנָה		*הִקָּטַלְנָה	*קַטֵּלְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִקְטֹל	*יִכְבַּד	*יִקְטַן	*יִקָּטֵל	*יְקַטֵּל
	3. *f.*	תִּקְטֹל	תִּכְבַּד		תִּקָּטֵל	תְּקַטֵּל
	2. *m.*	תִּקְטֹל	תִּכְבַּד		תִּקָּטֵל	תְּקַטֵּל
	2. *f.*	*תִּקְטְלִי	*תִּכְבְּדִי		*תִּקָּטְלִי	*תְּקַטְּלִי
	1. *c.*	אֶקְטֹל	אֶכְבַּד		אֶקָּטֵל	אֲקַטֵּל
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ		יִקָּטְלוּ	יְקַטְּלוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּקְטֹלְנָה	*תִּכְבַּדְנָה		*תִּקָּטַלְנָה	*תְּקַטֵּלְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ		תִּקָּטְלוּ	תְּקַטְּלוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּקְטֹלְנָה	תִּכְבַּדְנָה		תִּקָּטַלְנָה	תְּקַטֵּלְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִקְטֹל	נִכְבַּד		נִקָּטֵל	נְקַטֵּל
Impf. Shortened (Jussive).						
Part. act.		*קֹטֵל	כָּבֵד	קָטֹן	*נִקְטָל	*מְקַטֵּל
pass.		*קָטוּל				

Pă'ăl.	*Hĭph'ĭ'l.*	*Hŏph'ăl.*	*Hĭthpă'ĕ'l.*
*קָטַל	*הִקְטִיל	*הָקְטַל	*הִתְקַטֵּל
*קָטְלָה	*הִקְטִילָה	*הָקְטְלָה	*הִתְקַטְּלָה
*קָטַלְתָּ	*הִקְטַלְתָּ	*הָקְטַלְתָּ	*הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קָטַלְתְּ	הִקְטַלְתְּ	הָקְטַלְתְּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתְּ
קָטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הָקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קָטַלוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הָקְטְלוּ	הִתְקַטְּלוּ
קָטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הָקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קָטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הָקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קָטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הָקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
wanting	*הַקְטֵל	wanting	*הִתְקַטֵּל
*קְטֹל	*הַקְטֵל	*הָקְטֵל	הִתְקַטֵּל
	*הַקְטֵל		*הִתְקַטֵּל
	*הַקְטִילִי		*הִתְקַטְּלִי
wanting	הַקְטִילוּ	wanting	הִתְקַטְּלוּ
	*הַקְטֵלְנָה		*הִתְקַטַּלְנָה
*יִקְטֹל	*יַקְטִיל	*יָקְטַל	*יִתְקַטֵּל
תִּקְטֹל	*תַּקְטִיל	תָּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
תִּקְטֹל	תַּקְטִיל	תָּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
*תִּקְטְלִי	*תַּקְטִילִי	*תָּקְטְלִי	*תִּתְקַטְּלִי
אֶקְטֹל	אַקְטִיל	אָקְטַל	אֶתְקַטֵּל
יִקְטְלוּ	יַקְטִילוּ	יָקְטְלוּ	יִתְקַטְּלוּ
*תִּקְטֹלְנָה	*תַּקְטֵלְנָה	*תָּקְטַלְנָה	*תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה
תִּקְטְלוּ	תַּקְטִילוּ	תָּקְטְלוּ	תִּתְקַטְּלוּ
תִּקְטֹלְנָה	תַּקְטֵלְנָה	תָּקְטַלְנָה	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה
נִקְטֹל	נַקְטִיל	נָקְטַל	נִתְקַטֵּל
	*יַקְטֵל		
	*מַקְטִיל		*מִתְקַטֵּל
*מָקְטֹל		*מָקְטָל	

	Suffixes	1 Sing.	2 Sing. m.	2 Sing. f.	3 Sing. m.
PERF. Qăl S.	3. m.	קָטָלַנִי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטָלְתְּ	קָטַל / קָטְלוֹ
	3. f.	קָטָלַתְנִי	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטָלָתְ	קָטְלָה / קָטְלַתּוּ
	2. m.	קָטַלְתַּנִי	—	—	קָטַלְתָּה / קָטַלְתּוֹ
	2. f.	קָטַלְתִּינִי	—	—	קָטַלְתִּי / קָטַלְתִּיהוּ
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתִּיךְ	קָטַלְתִּיךְ	קָטַלְתִּיו
Plur.	3. c.	קָטָלוּנִי	קָטָלוּךְ	קָטָלוּךְ	קָטָלוּהוּ
	2. m.	קָטַלְתּוּנִי	—	—	קָטַלְתּוּהוּ
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְנוּךְ	קָטַלְנוּךְ	קָטַלְנוּהוּ
INF. Qăl		קָטְלִי / קָטְלֵנִי	קָטְלֵךְ / קָטְלָךְ	קָטְלֵךְ	קָטְלוֹ
IMP. Qăl 2. m. sing.		קָטְלֵנִי	—	—	קָטְלֵהוּ
IMPF. Qăl 3. m. sing.		יִקְטְלֵנִי	יִקְטָלֵךְ	יִקְטְלֵךְ	יִקְטְלֵהוּ
	3. m. with Nûn demonstrative.	יִקְטְלֶנְּנִי	יִקְטָלֶךָּ	—	יִקְטְלֶנּוּ
	3. m. plur.	יִקְטְלוּנִי	יִקְטְלוּךְ	יִקְטְלוּךְ	יִקְטְלוּהוּ
PERF. Pi'ēl 3. m. sing.		קִטְּלַנִי	קִטֵּלְתָּ	קִטְּלָתְ	קִטֵּל

3 *Sing. f.*	1 *Plur.*	2 *Plur. m.*	2 *Plur. f.*	3 *Plur. m.*	3 *Plur. f.*
קְטָלָהּ	קְטָלָנוּ	קְטַלְכֶם	[קְטַלְכֶן]	קְטָלָם	קְטָלָן
קְטָלַתְהּ	קְטָלַתְנוּ	wanting	wanting	קְטָלַתֶם	קְטָלַתֶן
קְטַלָתְהּ	קְטַלָתְנוּ	—	—	קְטַלְתֶם	קְטַלְתֶן
קְטַלְתִּיהָ	קְטַלְתִּינוּ	—	—	קְטַלְתִּים	קְטַלְתִּין
קְטַלְתִּיהָ	—	קְטַלְתִּיכֶם	קְטַלְתִּיכֶן	קְטַלְתִּים	קְטַלְתִּין
קְטָלוֹהָ	קְטָלוֹנוּ	wanting	wanting	קְטָלוֹם	קְטָלוֹן
קְטַלְתּוֹהָ	קְטַלְתּוֹנוּ	—	—	קְטַלְתּוֹם	קְטַלְתּוֹן
קְטַלְנוּהָ	—	קְטַלְנוּכֶם	קְטַלְנוּכֶן	קְטַלְנוּם	קְטַלְנוּן

קְטָלָהּ	קְטָלֵנוּ	קְטָלְכֶם / קְטָלֵכֶם	קְטָלְכֶן / קְטָלֵכֶן	קְטָלָם	קְטָלָן

קְטָלָהּ / קְטָלֶהָ	קְטָלֵנוּ	—	—	קְטָלֵם	—

יְקְטָלָהּ / יְקְטָלֶהָ	יְקְטָלֵנוּ	יְקְטָלְכֶם	יְקְטָלְכֶן	יְקְטָלֵם	יְקְטָלֵן
יְקְטָלֶנָּהּ	יְקְטָלֵנוּ	—	—	—	—
יְקְטָלוֹהָ	יְקְטָלוֹנוּ	יְקְטָלוּכֶם	יְקְטָלוּכֶן	יְקְטָלוּם	יְקְטָלוּן

קְטָלָהּ	קְטָלָנוּ	קְטָלְכֶם	קְטָלְכֶן	קְטָלָם	קְטָלָן

		Qăl.	*Niph'ăl.*	*Hĭph'ĭl.*	*Hŏph'ăl.*
Perf.	*S.* 3. *m.*	עָמַד	*נֶעֱמַד	*הֶעֱמִיד	*הָעְמַד
	3. *f.*	עָמְדָה	*נֶעֱמְדָה	הֶעֱמִידָה	*הָעְמְדָה
	2. *m.*	עָמַדְתָּ	נֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הָעְמַדְתָּ
	2. *f.*	עָמַדְתְּ	נֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הָעְמַדְתְּ
	1. *c.*	עָמַדְתִּי	נֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הָעְמַדְתִּי
	Plur. 3. *c.*	עָמְדוּ	נֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הָעְמְדוּ
	2. *m.*	*עֲמַדְתֶּם	נֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הָעְמַדְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	*עֲמַדְתֶּן	נֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הָעְמַדְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	עָמַדְנוּ	נֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הָעְמַדְנוּ
Inf.		*עֲמֹד	*הֵעָמֵד	*הַעֲמִיד	
Inf. absol.		עָמוֹד	*נֵעָמוֹד	*הַעֲמֵיד	*הָעְמֵד
Imp.	*S.* 2. *m.*	*עֲמֹד	*הֵעָמֵד	הַעֲמֵיד	
	2. *f.*	עִמְדִי	הֵעָמְדִי	הַעֲמִידִי	wanting
	Pl. 2. *m.*	עִמְדוּ	הֵעָמְדוּ	הַעֲמִידוּ	
	2. *f.*	*עֲמֹדְנָה	הֵעָמַדְנָה	הַעֲמִדְנָה	
Impf.	*S.* 3. *m.*	*יַעֲמֹד	*יֵעָמֵד	*יַעֲמִיד	*יָעְמַד
	3. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹד	תֵּעָמֵד	תַּעֲמִיד	תָּעְמַד
	2. *m.*	תַּעֲמֹד	תֵּעָמֵד	תַּעֲמִיד	תָּעְמַד
	2. *f.*	*תַּעֲמְדִי	תֵּעָמְדִי	תַּעֲמִידִי	*תָּעְמְדִי
	1. *c.*	*אֶעֱמֹד	אֵעָמֵד	אַעֲמִיד	אָעְמַד
	Plur. 3. *m.*	*יַעַמְדוּ	*יֵעָמְדוּ	יַעֲמִידוּ	יָעְמְדוּ
	3. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹדְנָה	תֵּעָמַדְנָה	תַּעֲמִדְנָה	תָּעְמַדְנָה
	2. *m.*	תַּעַמְדוּ	תֵּעָמְדוּ	תַּעֲמִידוּ	תָּעְמְדוּ
	2. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹדְנָה	תֵּעָמַדְנָה	תַּעֲמִדְנָה	תָּעְמַדְנָה
	1. *c.*	נַעֲמֹד	נֵעָמֵד	נַעֲמִיד	נָעְמַד
Impf. shortened (Jussive).				יַעֲמֵד	
Part. act.		עֹמֵד	*נֶעֱמָד	*מַעֲמִיד	
pass.		עָמוּד			*מָעְמָד

		Qăl.	*Nĭphʿăl.*	*Piʿēl.*	*Păʿăl.*	*Hithpăʿēl.*
Perf.	*S.* 3. *m.*	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	*בֵּרֵךְ	*בֹּרַךְ	*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
	3. *f.*	*שָׁחֲטָה	*נִשְׁחֲטָה	בֵּרְכָה	בֹּרְכָה	הִתְבָּרְכָה
	2. *m.*	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בֵּרַכְתָּ	בֹּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
	2. *f.*	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בֵּרַכְתְּ	בֹּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
	1. *c.*	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בֵּרַכְתִּי	בֹּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	*שָׁחֲטוּ	*נִשְׁחֲטוּ	בֵּרְכוּ	בֹּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
	2. *m.*	שְׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בֵּרַכְתֶּם	בֹּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	שְׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	בֵּרַכְתֶּן	בֹּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בֵּרַכְנוּ	בֹּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
Inf.		שְׁחֹט	הִשָּׁחֵט	*בָּרֵךְ	wanting	*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
Inf. absol.		שָׁחוֹט	נִשְׁחוֹט	*בָּרֵךְ		
Imp.	*S.* 2. *m.*	*שְׁחַט	הִשָּׁחֵט	*בָּרֵךְ		*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
	2. *f.*	שְׁחָטִי	*הִשָּׁחֲטִי	*בָּרְכִי	wanting	הִתְבָּרְכִי
Pl.	2. *m.*	שִׁחֲטוּ	הִשָּׁחֲטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		הִתְבָּרְכוּ
	2. *f.*	שְׁחַטְנָה	הִשָּׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַכְנָה		הִתְבָּרַכְנָה
Impf.	*S.* 3. *m.*	*יִשְׁחַט	יִשָּׁחֵט	*יְבָרֵךְ	*יִבְרַךְ	*יִתְבָּרֵךְ
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשָּׁחֵט	תְּבָרֵךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרֵךְ
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשָּׁחֵט	תְּבָרֵךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרֵךְ
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁחֲטִי	*תִּשָּׁחֲטִי	תְּבָרְכִי	תִּבְרְכִי	תִּתְבָּרְכִי
	1. *c.*	אֶשְׁחַט	אִשָּׁחֵט	אֲבָרֵךְ	אֲבָרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרֵךְ
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִשְׁחֲטוּ	יִשָּׁחֲטוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשָּׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁחֲטוּ	תִּשָּׁחֲטוּ	תְּבָרְכוּ	תִּבְרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשָּׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִשְׁחַט	נִשָּׁחֵט	נְבָרֵךְ	נִבְרַךְ	נִתְבָּרֵךְ
Impf. with Suff.		יִשְׁחָטֵהוּ				
Part. act.		שֹׁחֵט	נִשְׁחָט	*מְבָרֵךְ		*מִתְבָּרֵךְ
pass.		שָׁחוּט			*מְבֹרָךְ	

		Qăl.	*Nĭphʿăl.*	*Pi ʿēl.*
Perf.	*S.* 3. *m.*	*שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	*שִׁלַּח
	3. *f.*	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלְחָה	שִׁלְּחָה
	2. *m.*	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
	2. *f.*	*שָׁלַחַתְּ	*נִשְׁלַחַתְּ	*שִׁלַּחַתְּ
	1. *c.*	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
	2. *m.*	שְׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	שְׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
Inf.		*שְׁלֹחַ	*הִשָּׁלַח	*שַׁלַּח
Inf. absol.		שָׁלוֹחַ	נִשְׁלֹחַ	שַׁלֵּחַ
Imp.	*S.* 2. *m.*	*שְׁלַח	*הִשָּׁלַח	*שַׁלַּח
	2. *f.*	שִׁלְחִי	הִשָּׁלְחִי	*שַׁלְּחִי
Plur.	2. *m.*	שִׁלְחוּ	הִשָּׁלְחוּ	שַׁלְּחוּ
	2. *f.*	שְׁלַחְנָה	הִשָּׁלַחְנָה	*שַׁלֵּחְנָה
Impf.	*S.* 3. *m.*	*יִשְׁלַח	*יִשָּׁלַח	*יְשַׁלַּח
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשָּׁלַח	*תְּשַׁלַּח
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשָּׁלַח	תְּשַׁלַּח
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשָּׁלְחִי	תְּשַׁלְּחִי
	1. *c.*	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשָּׁלַח	אֲשַׁלַּח
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשָּׁלְחוּ	יְשַׁלְּחוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשָּׁלַחְנָה	*תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשָּׁלְחוּ	תְּשַׁלְּחוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשָּׁלַחְנָה	תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִשְׁלַח	נִשָּׁלַח	נְשַׁלַּח
Impf. shortened (Jussive).				
Impf. with Suff.		יִשְׁלָחֵנִי		
Part. act.		שֹׁלֵחַ	נִשְׁלָח	*מְשַׁלֵּחַ
pass.		*שָׁלוּחַ		

Hĭthpă'ēl.	*Hŏph'ăl.*	*Hĭph'îl.*	*Pă'ăl.*
*הִשְׁתַּלַּח	הָשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁלִיחַ	שְׁלַח
*הִשְׁתַּלְּחָה	הָשְׁלְחָה	הִשְׁלִיחָה	שְׁלְחָה
הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ	הָשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שְׁלַחְתָּ
*הִשְׁתַּלַּחַתְּ	*הָשְׁלַחַתְּ	*הִשְׁלַחַתְּ	*שְׁלַחַתְּ
הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי	הָשְׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שְׁלַחְתִּי
הִשְׁתַּלְּחוּ	הָשְׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלִיחוּ	שְׁלְחוּ
הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּם	הָשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שְׁלַחְתֶּם
הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּן	הָשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שְׁלַחְתֶּן
הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנוּ	הָשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שְׁלַחְנוּ
*הִשְׁתַּלַּח	*הָשְׁלֵחַ	*הַשְׁלִיחַ	
		*הַשְׁלֵחַ	
*הִשְׁתַּלַּח		הַשְׁלַח	
הִשְׁתַּלְּחִי		הַשְׁלִיחִי	
הִשְׁתַּלְּחוּ	wanting	הַשְׁלִיחוּ	wanting
*הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה		הַשְׁלַחְנָה	
יִשְׁתַּלַּח	יִשְׁלַח	*יַשְׁלִיחַ	יִשְׁלַח
תִּשְׁתַּלַּח	תִּשְׁלַח	תַּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח
תִּשְׁתַּלַּח	תִּשְׁלַח	תַּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח
תִּשְׁתַּלְּחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תַּשְׁלִיחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי
אֶשְׁתַּלַּח	אֶשְׁלַח	אַשְׁלִיחַ	אֶשְׁלַח
יִשְׁתַּלְּחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יַשְׁלִיחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
*תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תַּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
תִּשְׁתַּלְּחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תַּשְׁלִיחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תַּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
נִשְׁתַּלַּח	נִשְׁלַח	נַשְׁלִיחַ	נִשְׁלַח
		יַשְׁלַח	
*מִשְׁתַּלֵּחַ		*מַשְׁלִיחַ	
	מָשְׁלָח		מָשְׁלָח

		Qăl.	*Nĭphʿăl.*	*Hĭphʿîl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*סַב	*נָסַב	*הֵסֵב
	3. *f.*	סַבָּה	*נִסַּבָּה	*הֵסַבָּה
	2. *m.*	*סַבּוֹתָ	*נִסַּבּוֹתָ	*הֵסַבּוֹתָ
	2. *f.*	סַבּוֹת	נִסַּבּוֹת	הֵסַבּוֹת
	1. *c.*	סַבּוֹתִי	נִסַּבּוֹתִי	הֵסַבּוֹתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	סַבּוּ	נִסַּבּוּ	הֵסַבּוּ
	2. *m.*	סַבּוֹתֶם	נִסַּבּוֹתֶם	הֵסַבּוֹתֶם
	2. *f.*	סַבּוֹתֶן	נִסַּבּוֹתֶן	הֵסַבּוֹתֶן
	1. *c.*	סַבּוֹנוּ	נִסַּבּוֹנוּ	הֵסַבּוֹנוּ
Inf.		*סֹב	*הָסֵב	*הָסֵב
Inf. absol.		סָבוֹב	הָסוֹב	הָסֵב
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*סֹב	הָסֵב	*הָסֵב
	2. *f.*	סֹבִּי	*הָסַּבִּי	הָסֵבִּי
Plur.	2. *m.*	סֹבּוּ	הָסַּבּוּ	הָסֵבּוּ
	2. *f.*	*סֹבֶּינָה	*הָסַבֶּינָה	*הָסֵבֶּינָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִסֹּב *יִסֹּב	*יִסַּב	יַסֵּב *יָסֵב
	3. *f.*	תִּסֹּב	תִּסַּב	תָּסֵב
	2. *m.*	תִּסֹּב	תִּסַּב	תָּסֵב
	2. *f.*	*תִּסֹּבִּי	*תִּסַּבִּי	*תָּסֵבִּי
	1. *c.*	אֶסֹּב	אֶסַּב	אָסֵב
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִסֹּבּוּ	יִסַּבּוּ	יָסֵבּוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּסֹּבֶּינָה	*תִּסַּבֶּינָה	*תְּסֻבֶּינָה
	2. *m.*	תִּסֹּבּוּ	תִּסַּבּוּ	תָּסֵבּוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּסֹּבֶּינָה	תִּסַּבֶּינָה	תְּסֻבֶּינָה
	1. *c.*	נִסֹּב	נִסַּב	נָסֵב
Impf. with Wāw consec.		*וַיִּסֹּב		וַיָּסֵב
Impf. with Suff.		*יְסֹבְבֵנִי		(יְסֹבְבֻכֶם) *יְסֻבֵּנִי
Part. act.		סֹבֵב	נָסָב	*מֵסֵב
pass.		*סָבוּב		

Hŏphʿăl.	*Pôʿēl.*	*Pôʿăl.*	*Hĭthpôʿēl.*
*הוּסַב	*סוֹבֵב	*סוֹבַב	הִסְתּוֹבֵב
הוּסַבָּה	סוֹבְבָה	סוֹבָבָה	הִסְתּוֹבְבָה
הוּסַבּוֹתָ	סוֹבַבְתָּ	סוֹבַבְתָּ	הִסְתּוֹבַבְתָּ
הוּסַבּוֹת	סוֹבַבְתְּ	סוֹבַבְתְּ	הִסְתּוֹבַבְתְּ
הוּסַבּוֹתִי	סוֹבַבְתִּי	סוֹבַבְתִּי	הִסְתּוֹבַבְתִּי
הוּסַבּוּ	סוֹבְבוּ	סוֹבְבוּ	הִסְתּוֹבְבוּ
הוּסַבּוֹתֶם	סוֹבַבְתֶּם	סוֹבַבְתֶּם	הִסְתּוֹבַבְתֶּם
הוּסַבּוֹתֶן	סוֹבַבְתֶּן	סוֹבַבְתֶּן	הִסְתּוֹבַבְתֶּן
הוּסַבּוֹנוּ	סוֹבַבְנוּ	סוֹבַבְנוּ	הִסְתּוֹבַבְנוּ
	סוֹבֵב	סוֹבַב	הִסְתּוֹבֵב
	סוֹבֵב		
	סוֹבֵב		הִסְתּוֹבֵב
	סוֹבְבִי		הִסְתּוֹבְבִי
wanting	סוֹבְבוּ	wanting	הִסְתּוֹבְבוּ
	סוֹבֵבְנָה		הִסְתּוֹבַבְנָה
יָסַב *יוּסַב	יְסוֹבֵב	יְסוֹבַב	יִסְתּוֹבֵב
תּוּסַב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבַב	תִּסְתּוֹבֵב
תּוּסַב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבַב	תִּסְתּוֹבֵב
*תּוּסַבִּי	תְּסוֹבְבִי	תְּסוֹבְבִי	תִּסְתּוֹבְבִי
אוּסַב	אֲסוֹבֵב	אֲסוֹבַב	אֶסְתּוֹבֵב
יוּסַבּוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ	יִסְתּוֹבְבוּ
*תּוּסַבֶּינָה	תְּסוֹבֵבְנָה	תְּסוֹבַבְנָה	תִּסְתּוֹבַבְנָה
תּוּסַבּוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ	תִּסְתּוֹבְבוּ
תּוּסַבֶּינָה	תְּסוֹבֵבְנָה	תְּסוֹבַבְנָה	תִּסְתּוֹבַבְנָה
נוּסַב	נְסוֹבֵב	נְסוֹבַב	נִסְתּוֹבֵב
	יְסוֹבְבֵנִי		
	מְסוֹבֵב		מִסְתּוֹבֵב
*מוּסָב		מְסוֹבָב	

		Qăl.		*Niphʿăl.*	*Hiphʿîl.*	*Hophʿăl.*	
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	נָגַשׁ	נָפַל	נָתַן	*נִגַּשׁ	*הִגִּישׁ	*הֻגַּשׁ
	3. *f.*	etc.	etc.	נִתְּנָה	נִגְּשָׁה	הִגִּישָׁה	הָגְּשָׁה
	2. *m.*			נִתַּתָּ	נִגַּשְׁתָּ	הִגַּשְׁתָּ	הָגַּשְׁתָּ
	2. *f.*			נִתַּתְּ	נִגַּשְׁתְּ	הִגַּשְׁתְּ	הָגַּשְׁתְּ
	1. *c.*			נִתַּתִּי	נִגַּשְׁתִּי	הִגַּשְׁתִּי	הָגַּשְׁתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*			נִתְּנוּ	נִגְּשׁוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ	הָגְּשׁוּ
	2. *m.*			נִתַּתֶּם	נִגַּשְׁתֶּם	הִגַּשְׁתֶּם	הָגַּשְׁתֶּם
	2. *f.*			נִתַּתֶּן	נִגַּשְׁתֶּן	הִגַּשְׁתֶּן	הָגַּשְׁתֶּן
	1. *c.*			נִתַּתְּנוּ	נִגַּשְׁנוּ	הִגַּשְׁנוּ	הָגַּשְׁנוּ
Inf.		*נְגֹּשׁ	נְפֹל	תֵּת	הַגִּישׁ	*הַגֵּשׁ	*הָגֵשׁ
Inf. absol.		נָגוֹשׁ	נָפוֹל	נָתוֹן	הַגֵּשׁ	*הַגֵּשׁ	*הָגֵשׁ
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*גַּשׁ	נְפֹל	תֵּן	הַגִּישׁ	*הַגֵּשׁ	
	2. *f.*	גְּשִׁי	נְפְלִי	תְּנִי	הַגִּישִׁי	הַגֵּשִׁי	wanting
Plur.	2. *m.*	גְּשׁוּ	נְפְלוּ	תְּנוּ	הַגִּישׁוּ	הַגֵּשׁוּ	
	2. *f.*	גֹּשְׁנָה	נְפֹלְנָה	תֵּנָּה	הַגֵּשְׁנָה	הַגֵּשְׁנָה	
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	יִגַּשׁ	יִפֹּל	יִתֵּן	יַגִּישׁ	*יֻגַּשׁ	*יִגַּשׁ
	3. *f.*	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּפֹּל	תִּתֵּן	תַּגִּישׁ	etc.	תִּגַּשׁ
	2. *m.*	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּפֹּל	תִּתֵּן	תַּגִּישׁ		תִּגַּשׁ
	2. *f.*	תִּגְּשִׁי	תִּפְּלִי	תִּתְּנִי	תַּגִּישִׁי		תִּגְּשִׁי
	1. *c.*	אֶגַּשׁ	אֶפֹּל	אֶתֵּן	אַגִּישׁ		אֶגַּשׁ
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִגְּשׁוּ	יִפְּלוּ	יִתְּנוּ	יַגִּישׁוּ	regu-	יִגְּשׁוּ
	3. *f.*	תִּגַּשְׁנָה	תִּפֹּלְנָה	תִּתֵּנָּה	תַּגִּשְׁנָה	lar.	תִּגַּשְׁנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּגְּשׁוּ	תִּפְּלוּ	תִּתְּנוּ	תַּגִּישׁוּ		תִּגְּשׁוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּגַּשְׁנָה	תִּפֹּלְנָה	תִּתֵּנָּה	תַּגִּשְׁנָה		תִּגַּשְׁנָה
	1. *c.*	נִגַּשׁ	נִפֹּל	נִתֵּן	נַגִּישׁ		נִגַּשׁ
Impf. shortened (Jussive).					*יַגֵּשׁ		
Part. act.		נֹגֵשׁ	נֹפֵל	נֹתֵן	*נֹגֵשׁ	*מֵגִישׁ	
pass.		נָגוּשׁ	—	נָתוּן			*מָגֻשׁ

	Qăl.	*Nĭphʿăl.*	*Hĭphʿîl.*	*Hŏphʿăl.*
Perf.	אָכַל	*נֶאֱכַל	*הֶאֱכִיל	*הָאֳכַל

As the Verb *Pe Guttural*, Paradigm D.

Inf.		*אֱכֹל	הַאֲכֵל	הַאֲכִיל	הָאֳכַל
Inf. absol.		אָכוֹל	הַאָכֵל	wanting	wanting
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*אֱכֹל	הַאֲכֵל	הַאֲכֵל	wanting
	2. *f.*	אִכְלִי	etc.	etc.	
Plur.	2. *m.*	אִכְלוּ			
	2. *f.*	אֳכֹלְנָה			
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יֹאכַל (in P. יֹאכֵל)	*יַאֲכֵל	*יַאֲכִיל	*יֹאכַל
	3. *f.*	תֹּאכַל	etc.	etc.	etc.
	2. *m.*	תֹּאכַל			
	2. *f.*	תֹּאכְלִי			
	1. *c.*	*אֹכַל			
Plur.	3. *m.*	יֹאכְלוּ			
	3. *f.*	תֹּאכַלְנָה			
	2. *m.*	תֹּאכְלוּ			
	2. *f.*	תֹּאכַלְנָה			
	1. *c.*	נֹאכַל			
Impf. with Wāw consecutive.		*וַיֹּאכַל, *וַיֹּאמֶר			
Part. act.		אֹכֵל	נֶאֱכָל	מַאֲכִיל	
pass.		אָכוּל			מָאֳכָל

		Qăl.	*Nĭphʿăl*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	יָשַׁב	*נוֹשַׁב
	3. *f.*		*נוֹשְׁבָה
	2. *m.*		נוֹשַׁבְתָּ
	2. *f.*		נוֹשַׁבְתְּ
	1. *c.*	regular	נוֹשַׁבְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*		נוֹשְׁבוּ
	2. *m.*		נוֹשַׁבְתֶּם
	2. *f.*		נוֹשַׁבְתֶּן
	1. *c.*		נוֹשַׁבְנוּ
Inf.		יְסֹד, *שָׁבֵת	*הִוָּשֵׁב
Inf. absol.		יָשׁוֹב	wanting
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*שֵׁב *רְאֵה	*הִוָּשֵׁב
	2. *f.*	שְׁבִי רְאִי	הִוָּשְׁבִי
Plur.	2. *m.*	שְׁבוּ רְאוּ	הִוָּשְׁבוּ
	2. *f.*	שֵׁבְנָה רְאֶינָה	הִוָּשַׁבְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יֵשֵׁב *יֵרֵא	*יִוָּשֵׁב
	3. *f.*	תֵּשֵׁב תֵּרֵא	תִּוָּשֵׁב
	2. *m.*	תֵּשֵׁב תֵּרֵא	תִּוָּשֵׁב
	2. *f.*	תֵּשְׁבִי תֵּרְאִי	תִּוָּשְׁבִי
	1. *c.*	אֵשֵׁב אֵרֵא	*אִוָּשֵׁב
Plur.	3. *m.*	יֵשְׁבוּ יֵרְאוּ	יִוָּשְׁבוּ
	3. *f.*	תֵּשַׁבְנָה תֵּרֶאינָה	תִּוָּשַׁבְנָה
	2. *m.*	תֵּשְׁבוּ תֵּרְאוּ	תִּוָּשְׁבוּ
	2. *f.*	תֵּשַׁבְנָה תֵּרֶאינָה	תִּוָּשַׁבְנָה
	1. *c.*	נֵשֵׁב נֵרֵא	נִוָּשֵׁב
Impf. shortened (Jussive).			
Impf. with Wāw consec.		*וַיֵּשֵׁב	
Part. act.		יֹשֵׁב	*נוֹשָׁב
pass		יָשׁוּב	

Hĭphʿîl.	*Hŏphʿăl.*	*Qăl.*	*Hĭphʿîl.*
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוּשַׁב	יָטַב	*הֵיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוּשְׁבָה		הֵיטִיבָה
הוֹשַׁבְתָּ	הוּשַׁבְתָּ		הֵיטַבְתָּ
הוֹשַׁבְתְּ	הוּשַׁבְתְּ		הֵיטַבְתְּ
הוֹשַׁבְתִּי	הוּשַׁבְתִּי	regular.	הֵיטַבְתִּי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ	הוּשְׁבוּ		הֵיטִיבוּ
הוֹשַׁבְתֶּם	הוּשַׁבְתֶּם		הֵיטַבְתֶּם
הוֹשַׁבְתֶּן	הוּשַׁבְתֶּן		הֵיטַבְתֶּן
הוֹשַׁבְנוּ	הוּשַׁבְנוּ		הֵיטַבְנוּ
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוּשַׁב	יִטַּב	*הֵיטִיב
*הוֹשֵׁב		יָטוֹב	*הֵיטֵב
*הוֹשֵׁב		יָטַב	*הֵיטֵב
*הוֹשִׁיבִי	wanting	יִטְבִי	הֵיטִיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ		יִטְבוּ	הֵיטִיבוּ
הוֹשֵׁבְנָה		יֵטַבְנָה	הֵיטֵבְנָה
*יוֹשִׁיב	*יוּשַׁב	*יִיטַב	*יֵיטִיב
תּוֹשִׁיב	תּוּשַׁב	תִּיטַב	תֵּיטִיב
תּוֹשִׁיב	תּוּשַׁב	תִּיטַב	תֵּיטִיב
תּוֹשִׁיבִי	תּוּשְׁבִי	תִּיטְבִי	תֵּיטִיבִי
אוֹשִׁיב	אוּשַׁב	אִיטַב	אֵיטִיב
יוֹשִׁיבוּ	יוּשְׁבוּ	יִיטְבוּ	יֵיטִיבוּ
תּוֹשֵׁבְנָה	תּוּשַׁבְנָה	תִּיטַבְנָה	תֵּיטֵבְנָה
תּוֹשִׁיבוּ	תּוּשְׁבוּ	תִּיטְבוּ	תֵּיטִיבוּ
תּוֹשֵׁבְנָה	תּוּשַׁבְנָה	תִּיטַבְנָה	תֵּיטֵבְנָה
נוֹשִׁיב	נוּשַׁב	נִיטַב	נֵיטִיב
*יוֹשֵׁב			יֵיטֵב
*וַיּוֹשֵׁב		וַיִּיטַב, וַיִּיטֶב	
*מוֹשִׁיב		יֹטֵב	מֵיטִיב
	*מוּשָׁב	יָטוּב	

		Qăl.		*Niph'ăl.*	*Hiph'îl.*	*Hoph'ăl.*
Perf. S.	3. *m.*	*קָם	מֵת	בּשׁ	*נָקוֹם	*הֵקִים	*הוּקַם
	3. *f.*	*קָמָה	*מֵתָה	בּשָׁה	*נָקוֹמָה	*הֵקִימָה	*הוּקְמָה
	2. *m.*	*קַמְתָּ	*מַתָּה	בּשְׁתָּ	*נָקוֹמוֹתָ	*הֵקִימוֹתָ	*הוּקַמְתָּ
	2. *f.*	קַמְתְּ	מַתְּ	בּשְׁתְּ	נָקוֹמוֹת	הֵקִימוֹת	הוּקַמְתְּ
	1. *c.*	קַמְתִּי	מַתִּי	בּשְׁתִּי	נָקוֹמוֹתִי	הֵקִימוֹתִי	הוּקַמְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	קָמוּ	מֵתוּ	בּשׁוּ	נָקוֹמוּ	הֵקִימוּ	הוּקְמוּ
	2. *m.*	קַמְתֶּם	מַתֶּם	בּשְׁתֶּם	נְקוֹמוֹתֶם	הֲקִימוֹתֶם	הוּקַמְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	קַמְתֶּן	מַתֶּן	בּשְׁתֶּן	נְקוֹמוֹתֶן	הֲקִימוֹתֶן	הוּקַמְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	קַמְנוּ	מַתְנוּ	בּשְׁנוּ	נְקוֹמוֹנוּ	הֲקִימוֹנוּ	הוּקַמְנוּ
Inf.		*קוּם	בּוֹשׁ	*הָקוֹם	*הָקִים	*הוּקַם
Inf. absol.		*קוֹם		*הָקוֹם	*הָקֵם	
Imp. S.	2. *m.*	*קוּם		*הָקוֹם	*הָקֵם	
	2. *f.*	*קוּמִי		*הָקוֹמִי	*הָקִימִי	wanting
Pl.	2. *m.*	קוּמוּ		הָקוֹמוּ	הָקִימוּ	
	2. *f.*	*קֹמְנָה		הָקֹמְנָה	הָקֵמְנָה	
Impf. S.	3. *m.*	*יָקוּם	יֵבשׁ	*יָקוֹם	*יָקִים	*יוּקַם
	3. *f.*	תָּקוּם	תֵּבשׁ	תָּקוֹם	תָּקִים	תּוּקַם
	2. *m.*	תָּקוּם	etc.	תָּקוֹם	תָּקִים	תּוּקַם
	2. *f.*	*תָּקוֹמִי		*תָּקוֹמִי	*תָּקִימִי	תּוּקְמִי
	1. *c.*	אָקוּם		אָקוֹם	אָקִים	אוּקַם
Plur.	3. *m.*	יָקוֹמוּ		יָקוֹמוּ	יָקִימוּ	יוּקְמוּ
	3. *f.*	*תָּקוּמֶינָה		תָּקֹמְנָה	*תָּקֵמְנָה	תּוּקַמְנָה
	2. *m.*	תָּקוּמוּ		תָּקוֹמוּ	תָּקִימוּ	תּוּקְמוּ
	2. *f.*	תָּקוּמֶינָה		תָּקֹמְנָה	תָּקֵמְנָה	תּוּקַמְנָה
	1. *c.*	נָקוּם		נָקוֹם	נָקִים	נוּקַם
Impf. shortened.		יָקָם			*יָקֶם	
Impf. with ו *consec.*		*וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם			*וַיָּקֶם	
Impf. with Suff.		*יְקוּמֵנִי			*יְקִימֵנִי	
Part. act.		*קָם	מֵת	בּשׁ	*נָקוֹם	*מֵקִים	
pass.		*קוּם				*מוּקָם

Nĭphʿăl.	Qăl.		Pŭʿlăl.	Pʿlēʿl.
*נָבוֹן	*בִּין	*בֶּן	*קוֹמַם	*קוֹמֵם
נָבוֹנָה	*בִּינָה	*בָּנָה	קוֹמְמָה	קוֹמֵמָה
נְבוֹנוֹתָ	*בִּינוֹתָ	*בָּנִיתָ	קוֹמַמְתָּ	קוֹמַמְתָּ
נְבוֹנוֹת	בִּינוֹת	בָּנִית	קוֹמַמְתְּ	קוֹמַמְתְּ
נְבוֹנוֹתִי	בִּינוֹתִי	בָּנִיתִי	קוֹמַמְתִּי	קוֹמַמְתִּי
נָבוֹנוּ	בִּינוּ	בָּנוּ	קוֹמְמוּ	קוֹמֵמוּ
נְבוֹנוֹתֶם	בִּינוֹתֶם	בְּנִיתֶם	קוֹמַמְתֶּם	קוֹמַמְתֶּם
נְבוֹנוֹתֶן	בִּינוֹתֶן	בְּנִיתֶן	קוֹמַמְתֶּן	קוֹמַמְתֶּן
נְבוֹנוֹנוּ	בִּינוֹנוּ	בָּנִינוּ	קוֹמַמְנוּ	קוֹמַמְנוּ
הִבּוֹן	*בִּין			קוֹמֵם
הִבּוֹן	*בֵּן			
הִבּוֹן	*בִּין			קוֹמֵם
as	בִּינִי			קוֹמְמִי
הִקּוֹם	בִּינוּ		wanting	קוֹמְמוּ
	—			קוֹמֵמָה
יִבּוֹן	*יָבִין		יְקוֹמַם	יְקוֹמֵם
as	תָּבִין		תְּקוֹמַם	תְּקוֹמֵם
יְקוֹם	תָּבִינִי		תְּקוֹמְמִי	תְּקוֹמְמִי
	אָבִין		אֲקוֹמַם	אֲקוֹמֵם
	יָבִינוּ		יְקוֹמְמוּ	יְקוֹמְמוּ
	*תְּבִינֶינָה		תְּקוֹמַמְנָה	תְּקוֹמֵמְנָה
	תָּבִינוּ		תְּקוֹמְמוּ	תְּקוֹמְמוּ
	תְּבִינֶינָה		תְּקוֹמַמְנָה	תְּקוֹמֵמְנָה
	יָבִין		יְקוֹמַם	יְקוֹמֵם
	*יָבֵן			
	*וַיָּבֶן			
	*יְבִינֵנִי			
נָבוֹן	*בָּן			מְקוֹמֵם
	*בִּין		בְּקוֹמָם	

		Qăl.		*Niphʿăl.*	*Pi'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*מָצָא	מָלֵא	*נִמְצָא	מִצֵּא
	3. *f.*	מָצְאָה	מָלְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	מִצְּאָה
	2. *m.*	*מָצָאתָ	מָלֵאתָ	*נִמְצֵאתָ	*מִצֵּאתָ
	2. *f.*	מָצָאת	מָלֵאת	נִמְצֵאת	מִצֵּאת
	1. *c.*	מָצָאתִי	מָלֵאתִי	נִמְצֵאתִי	מִצֵּאתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	מָצְאוּ	מָלְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מִצְּאוּ
	2. *m.*	מְצָאתֶם	מְלֵאתֶם	נִמְצֵאתֶם	מִצֵּאתֶם
	2. *f.*	מְצָאתֶן	מְלֵאתֶן	נִמְצֵאתֶן	מִצֵּאתֶן
	1. *c.*	מָצָאנוּ	מָלֵאנוּ	נִמְצֵאנוּ	מִצֵּאנוּ
Inf.		מְצֹא		הִמָּצֵא	מַצֵּא
Inf. absol.		מָצוֹא		נִמְצֹא	מַצֹּא
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*מְצָא		הִמָּצֵא	מַצֵּא
	2. *f.*	מִצְאִי		הִמָּצְאִי	מַצְּאִי
Plur.	2. *m.*	מִצְאוּ		הִמָּצְאוּ	מַצְּאוּ
	2. *f.*	*מְצֶאנָה		הִמָּצֶאנָה	*מַצֶּאנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִמְצָא		*יִמָּצֵא	יְמַצֵּא
	3. *f.*	תִּמְצָא		תִּמָּצֵא	תְּמַצֵּא
	2. *m.*	תִּמְצָא		תִּמָּצֵא	תְּמַצֵּא
	2. *f.*	תִּמְצְאִי		תִּמָּצְאִי	תְּמַצְּאִי
	1. *c.*	אֶמְצָא		אִמָּצֵא	אֲמַצֵּא
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִמְצְאוּ		יִמָּצְאוּ	יְמַצְּאוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּמְצֶאנָה		*תִּמָּצֶאנָה	*תְּמַצֶּאנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּמְצְאוּ		תִּמָּצְאוּ	תְּמַצְּאוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּמְצֶאנָה		תִּמָּצֶאנָה	תְּמַצֶּאנָה
	1. *c.*	נִמְצָא		נִמָּצֵא	נְמַצֵּא
Impf. shortened (Jussive).					
Impf. with Suff.		יִמְצָאֵנִי			יְמַצְּאֵנִי
Part. act.		מֹצֵא		נִמְצָא	מְמַצֵּא
pass.		מָצוּא			

Hithpă'ēl.	*Hŏphă'al.*	*Hĭphĭ'il.*	*Pŭ'al.*
הִתְמַצֵּא	*הָמְצָא	הִמְצִיא	*מֻצָּא
הִתְמַצְּאָה	הָמְצְאָה	הִמְצִיאָה	מֻצְּאָה
*הִתְמַצֵּאת	*הָמְצֵאת	הִמְצֵאת	מֻצֵּאת
הִתְמַצְּאת	הָמְצְאת	הִמְצְאת	מֻצְּאת
הִתְמַצְּאתִי	הָמְצְאתִי	הִמְצְאתִי	מֻצְּאתִי
הִתְמַצְּאוּ	הָמְצְאוּ	הִמְצִיאוּ	מֻצְּאוּ
הִתְמַצֵּאתֶם	הָמְצֵאתֶם	הִמְצֵאתֶם	מֻצֵּאתֶם
הִתְמַצְּאתֶן	הָמְצְאתֶן	הִמְצְאתֶן	מֻצְּאתֶן
הִתְמַצְּאנוּ	הָמְצְאנוּ	הִמְצֵאנוּ	מֻצֵּאנוּ
הִתְמַצֵּא	הָמְצָא	הַמְצִיא	wanting
wanting	wanting	הַמְצֵא	wanting
הִתְמַצֵּא		הַמְצֵא	
הִתְמַצְּאִי	wanting	הַמְצִיאִי	wanting
הִתְמַצְּאוּ		הַמְצִיאוּ	
*הִתְמַצֵּאנָה		הַמְצֵאנָה	
יִתְמַצֵּא	יִמְצָא	יַמְצִיא	יֻמְצָא
תִּתְמַצֵּא	תִּמְצָא	תַּמְצִיא	תֻּמְצָא
תִּתְמַצֵּא	תִּמְצָא	תַּמְצִיא	תֻּמְצָא
תִּתְמַצְּאִי	תִּמְצְאִי	תַּמְצִיאִי	תֻּמְצְאִי
אֶתְמַצֵּא	אֶמְצָא	אַמְצִיא	אֻמְצָא
יִתְמַצְּאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ	יַמְצִיאוּ	יֻמְצְאוּ
*תִּתְמַצֵּאנָה	תִּמְצֵאנָה	*תַּמְצֵאנָה	*תֻּמְצֵאנָה
תִּתְמַצְּאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ	תַּמְצִיאוּ	תֻּמְצְאוּ
תִּתְמַצֵּאנָה	תִּמְצֵאנָה	תַּמְצֵאנָה	תֻּמְצֵאנָה
נִתְמַצֵּא	נִמְצָא	נַמְצִיא	נֻמְצָא
		יַמְצֵא	
		יַמְצִיאֵנִי	
מִתְמַצֵּא		מַמְצִיא	
	מָמְצָא		מֻמְצָא

		Qăl.	*Niph'ăl.*	*Pi'ĕl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*גָּבָה	*נִגְבָּה	*גִּבָּה
	3. *f.*	*גָּבְהָה	*נִגְבְּהָה	*גִּבְּהָה
	2. *m.*	*גָּבַהְתָּ	*נִגְבַּהְתָּ (—ְתָּ)	*גִּבַּהְתָּ (גִּבִּיתָ)
	2. *f.*	גָּבַהְתְּ	נִגְבַּהְתְּ	*גִּבַּהְתְּ
	1. *c.*	גָּבַהְתִּי	נִגְבַּהְתִּי	גִּבַּהְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	*גָּבְהוּ	נִגְבְּהוּ	גִּבְּהוּ
	2. *m.*	גָּבַהְתֶּם	נִגְבַּהְתֶּם	גִּבַּהְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	גָּבַהְתֶּן	נִגְבַּהְתֶּן	גִּבַּהְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	גָּבַהְנוּ	נִגְבַּהְנוּ	גִּבַּהְנוּ
Inf.		*גְּבֹהַּ	*הִגָּבַהַּ	*גַּבֵּהַּ
Inf. absol.		גָּבֹהַּ	נִגְבֹּהַ	גַּבֵּהַּ, גַּבֵּה
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*גְּבַהּ	*הִגָּבַהּ	*גַּבֵּהּ
	2. *f.*	*גְּבִי	*הִגָּבִי	*גַּבִּי
Plur.	2. *m.*	גִּבְהוּ	הִגָּבְהוּ	גַּבֵּהוּ
	2. *f.*	*גְּבַהְנָה	*הִגָּבַהְנָה	*גַּבֵּהְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִגְבַּהּ	*יִגָּבֵהַּ	*יְגַבֵּהַּ
	3. *f.*	תִּגְבַּהּ	תִּגָּבֵהַּ	תְּגַבֵּהַּ
	2. *m.*	תִּגְבַּהּ	תִּגָּבֵהַּ	תְּגַבֵּהַּ
	2. *f.*	*תִּגְבְּהִי	*תִּגָּבְהִי	*תְּגַבְּהִי
	1. *c.*	אֶגְבַּהּ	אֶגָּבֵהַּ	אֲגַבֵּהַּ
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִגְבְּהוּ	יִגָּבְהוּ	יְגַבְּהוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּגְבַּהְנָה	*תִּגָּבַהְנָה	*תְּגַבֵּהְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּגְבְּהוּ	תִּגָּבְהוּ	תְּגַבְּהוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּגְבַּהְנָה	תִּגָּבַהְנָה	תְּגַבֵּהְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִגְבַּהּ	נִגָּבֵהַּ	נְגַבֵּהַּ
Impf. shortened (Jussive).		*יִגְבַּל	*נִגָּבֵל	*יְגַבֵּל
Impf. with Suff.		*יִגְבְּנִי		*יְגַבֵּנִי
Part. act.		*גֹּבַהּ	*נִגְבָּהּ	*מְגַבֵּהַּ
pass.		*גָּבוּהַּ		

Hĭthpă'ĕl.	*Hŏph'ă'l.*	*Hĭphʿîl.*	*Pŭă'l.*
*הִתְגַּלָּה	*הָגְלָה	*הִגְלָה	*גָּלָה
*הִתְגַּלְּתָה	*הָגְלְתָה	*הִגְלָתָה	*גָּלְתָה
*הִתְגַּלֵּיתָ	*הָגְלֵיתָ	*הִגְלֵיתָ (־יָתָ)	*גָּלֵיתָ
הִתְגַּלֵּית	הָגְלֵית	הִגְלֵית (־יתִ)	גָּלֵית
הִתְגַּלֵּיתִי	הָגְלֵיתִי	הִגְלֵיתִי (־יתִי)	גָּלֵיתִי
הִתְגַּלָּה	הָגְלָה	הִגְלָה	גָּלָה
הִתְגַּלֵּיתֶם	הָגְלֵיתֶם	*הִגְלֵיתֶם (־יתֶם)	גָּלֵיתֶם
הִתְגַּלֵּיתֶן	הָגְלֵיתֶן	הִגְלֵיתֶן (־יתֶן)	גָּלֵיתֶן
הִתְגַּלִּינוּ	הָגְלִינוּ	הִגְלִינוּ	גָּלִינוּ
*הִתְגַּלּוֹת	*הָגְלוֹת	*הַגְלוֹת	*גָּלוֹת
	*הָגְלֵה	הַגְלֵה	
*הִתְגַּלֵּה		*הַגְלֵה	
הִתְגַּלִּי	wanting	*הַגְלִי	wanting
הִתְגַּלּוּ		הַגְלוּ	
*הִתְגַּלֶּינָה		*הַגְלֶינָה	
*יִתְגַּלֶּה	*יָגְלֶה	*יַגְלֶה	*יִגְלֶה
תִּתְגַּלֶּה	תָּגְלֶה	תַּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה
תִּתְגַּלֶּה	תָּגְלֶה	תַּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה
*תִּתְגַּלִּי	*תָּגְלִי	*תַּגְלִי	*תִּגְלִי
אֶתְגַּלֶּה	*אָגְלֶה	אַגְלֶה	אֶגְלֶה
יִתְגַּלֶּה	יָגְלֶה	יַגְלֶה	יִגְלֶה
*תִּתְגַּלֶּינָה	תָּגְלֶינָה	*תַּגְלֶינָה	*תִּגְלֶינָה
תִּתְגַּלֶּה	תָּגְלֶה	תַּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה
תִּתְגַּלֶּינָה	תָּגְלֶינָה	תַּגְלֶינָה	תִּגְלֶינָה
נִתְגַּלֶּה	נָגְלֶה	נַגְלֶה	נִגְלֶה
*יִתְגַּל		*יֶגֶל	
		*יִגְלֵנִי	
*מִתְגַּלֶּה		*מַגְלֶה	
	*מָגְלֶה		*מִגְלֶה

		Masculine Noun.		*Feminine Noun.*
		Singular.		
Absol. st.		סוּס a horse	סוּסָה	a mare.
Constr. st.		סוּס horse-of.	סוּסַת	mare-of.
Suff. sing. 1.	*com.*	סוּסִי my horse.	סוּסָתִי	my mare.
2.	*masc.*	סוּסְךָ thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
	fem.	סוּסֵךְ thy horse.	סוּסָתֵךְ	thy mare.
3.	*masc.*	סוּסוֹ his horse.	סוּסָתוֹ	his mare.
	fem.	סוּסָהּ her horse.	סוּסָתָהּ	her mare.
plur. 1.	*com.*	סוּסֵנוּ our horse.	סוּסָתֵנוּ	our mare.
2.	*masc.*	סוּסְכֶם your horse.	סוּסַתְכֶם	your mare.
	fem.	סוּסְכֶן your horse.	סוּסַתְכֶן	your mare.
3.	*masc.*	סוּסָם their horse.	סוּסָתָם	their mare.
	fem.	סוּסָן their horse.	סוּסָתָן	their mare.

		Plural.		
Absol. st.		סוּסִים horses.	סוּסוֹת	mares.
Constr. st.		סוּסֵי horses-of.	סוּסוֹת	mares-of.
Suff. sing. 1.	*com.*	סוּסַי my horses.	סוּסוֹתַי	my mares.
2.	*masc.*	סוּסֶיךָ thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
	fem.	סוּסַיִךְ thy horses.	סוּסוֹתַיִךְ	thy mares.
3.	*masc.*	סוּסָיו his horses.	סוּסוֹתָיו	his mares.
	fem.	סוּסֶיהָ her horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ	her mares.
plur. 1.	*com.*	סוּסֵינוּ our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ	our mares.
2.	*masc.*	סוּסֵיכֶם your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם	your mares.
	fem.	סוּסֵיכֶן your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן	your mares.
3.	*masc.*	סוּסֵיהֶם their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם	their mares.
	fem.	סוּסֵיהֶן their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן	their mares.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
Sing. absol.	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נַעַר (a youth)	נֵצַח (perpetuity)	פֹּעַל (work)
„ *constr.*	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נַעַר	נֵצַח	פֹּעַל
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכִּי	סִפְרִי	קָדְשִׁי	נַעֲרִי	נִצְחִי	פָּעֳלִי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכְּכֶם	סִפְרְכֶם	קָדְשְׁכֶם	נַעֲרְכֶם	נִצְחֲכֶם	פָּעֳלְכֶם
Plur. absol.	מְלָכִים	סְפָרִים	קָדָשִׁים	נְעָרִים	נְצָחִים	פְּעָלִים
„ *constr.*	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קָדְשֵׁי	נַעֲרֵי	נִצְחֵי	פָּעֳלֵי
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכַי	סִפְרַי	קָדְשַׁי	נְעָרַי	נִצְחַי	פְּעָלַי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קָדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעֲרֵיכֶם	נִצְחֵיכֶם	פָּעֳלֵיכֶם
Dual absol.	רַגְלַיִם (feet)	כִּפְלַיִם (two-folds or double)	מָתְנַיִם (loins)	נַעֲלַיִם (sandals)		צָהֳרַיִם (noon, prop. 2 lights)
„ *constr.*	רַגְלֵי		מָתְנֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

I.

	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
Sing. absol.	מָוֶת (death)	זַיִת (olive)	שׁוֹט (scourge)	פְּרִי (fruit)	יָם (sea)	אֵם (mother)	חֹק (law)
„ *constr.*	מוֹת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יַם, יָם	אֵם	חֻקּ
„ *with light suff.*	מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פִּרְיִי	יַמִּי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	מוֹתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פִּרְיְכֶם	יַמְּכֶם	אִמְּכֶם	חֻקְּכֶם
Plur. absol.	מוֹתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	צְבָיִים	יַמִּים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
„ *constr.*	מוֹתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	(gazelles)	יַמֵּי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
„ *with light suff.*	מוֹתַי	זֵיתַי	שׁוֹטַי		יַמַּי	אִמּוֹתַי	חֻקַּי
„ *with grave suff.*	מוֹתֵיכֶם	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יַמֵּיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
Dual absol.		עֵינַיִם (eyes)	יוֹמַיִם (two days)	לְחָיַיִם (cheeks)	כַּפַּיִם (hands)	שִׁנַּיִם (teeth)	
„ *constr.*		עֵינֵי			כַּפֵּי	שִׁנֵּי	

	II.					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
Sing. absol.	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כָּתֵף (shoulder)	חָצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ *constr.*	דִּבַר	חֲכַם	זְקַן	כֶּתֶף	חֲצַר	שְׂדֵה
„ *with light suff.*	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זְקֵנִי	כְּתֵפִי	חֲצֵרִי	שָׂדִי
„ *with grave suff.*	דְּבַרְכֶם	חָכְמְכֶם	זְקֵנְכֶם		חֲצֵרְכֶם	שָׂדְכֶם
Plur. absol.	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זְקֵנִים		חֲצֵרִים	[שָׂדִים]
„ *constr.*	דִּבְרֵי	חַכְמֵי	זְקֵנֵי		חֲצֵרֵי	שְׂדֵי
„ *with light suff.*	דְּבָרַי	חָכְמַי	זְקֵנַי		חֲצֵרַי	שָׂדַי
„ *with grave suff.*	דִּבְרֵיכֶם	חַכְמֵיכֶם	זְקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצֵרֵיכֶם	
Dual absol.	כְּנָפַיִם (wings)	חֲלָצַיִם (loins)	יְרֵכַיִם (thigh)			
„ *constr.*	כַּנְפֵי					

	III.			IV.		
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
Sing. absol.	עוֹלָם (perpetuity)	אוֹיֵב (enemy)	חוֹזֶה (prophet)	פָּקִיד (overseer)	עָנִי (poor)	כָּתָב (writing)
„ *constr.*	עוֹלַם	אוֹיֵב	חוֹזֵה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כָּתָב
„ *with light suff.*	עוֹלָמִי	אוֹיְבִי	חוֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		כָּתְבִי
„ *with grave suff.*	עוֹלָמְכֶם	אוֹיְבְכֶם	חוֹזְכֶם	פְּקִידְכֶם		כָּתְבְכֶם
Plur. absol.	עוֹלָמִים	אוֹיְבִים	חוֹזִים	פְּקִידִים	עֲנִיִּים	כְּתָבִים
„ *constr.*	עוֹלְמֵי	אוֹיְבֵי	חוֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי	עֲנִיֵּי	כְּתָבֵי
„ *with light suff.*	עוֹלָמַי	אוֹיְבַי	חוֹזַי	פְּקִידַי		כְּתָבַי
„ *with grave suff.*	עוֹלְמֵיכֶם	אוֹיְבֵיכֶם	חוֹזֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עֲנִיֵּיכֶם	כְּתָבֵיכֶם
Dual absol.	מֶלְקָחַיִם (tongs)	מֹאזְנַיִם (balance)		שְׁבֻעַיִם (fortnight)		
„ *constr.*		מֹאזְנֵי				

Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
Sing. absol.	מַלְכָּה (queen)	חֶרְפָּה (reproach)	חָרְבָּה (waste)	חֻקָּה (law)	גְּבֶרֶת (mistress)
„ *constr.*	מַלְכַּת	חֶרְפַּת	חָרְבַּת	חֻקַּת	גְּבֶרֶת
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכָּתִי	חֶרְפָּתִי	חָרְבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבִרְתִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכָּתְכֶם	חֶרְפַּתְכֶם	חָרְבַּתְכֶם	חֻקַּתְכֶם	גְּבִרְתְּכֶם
Plur. absol.	מְלָכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֳרָבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ *constr.*	מַלְכוֹת	חֶרְפוֹת	חָרְבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ *with suff.*	מַלְכוֹתַי	חֶרְפוֹתַי	חָרְבוֹתַי	חֻקּוֹתִי	
Dual absol.		רִקְמָתַיִם (double embroidery)			מְצִלְתַּיִם (cymbals)

II. III.

	II. a.	II. b.	II. c.	III. a.	III. b.
Sing. absol.	צְדָקָה (justice)	זְעָקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)	יוֹנֶקֶת (sprout)	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת (skull)
„ *constr.*	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	שְׁנַת	יוֹנֶקֶת	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת
„ *with light suff.*	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שְׁנָתִי	יוֹנַקְתִּי	גֻּלְגַּלְתִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	צִדְקַתְכֶם	זַעֲקַתְכֶם	שְׁנַתְכֶם	יוֹנַקְתְּכֶם	גֻּלְגַּלְתְּכֶם
Plur. absol.	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנְקוֹת	גֻּלְגְּלוֹת
„ *constr.*	צִדְקוֹת		שְׁנוֹת	יוֹנְקוֹת	גֻּלְגְּלוֹת
„ *with suff.*	צִדְקוֹתַי		שְׁנוֹתַי	יוֹנְקוֹתַי	גֻּלְגְּלוֹתַי
Dual absol.			שִׂפְתַיִם (lips)	מְצִלְתַּיִם (cymbals)	[כְּבָלַיִם] (pair of fetters)
„ *constr.*			שִׂפְתֵי		

NUMERALS. §§ 97, 98.

	With the Masculine.		*With the Feminine.*	
	Absol.	*Constr.*	*Absol.*	*Constr.*
1.	אֶחָד	אַחַד	אַחַת	אַחַת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתַּיִם	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שָׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשֶּׁת	חָמֵשׁ	חֲמֵשׁ
6.	שִׁשָּׁה	שִׁשֶּׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שֶׁבַע	שִׁבְע
8.	שְׁמֹנָה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנֶה	
9.	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעַת	תֵּשַׁע	תְּשַׁע
10.	עֲשָׂרָה	עֲשֶׂרֶת	עֶשֶׂר	עֶשֶׂר

	Masc.	*Fem.*
11.	אַחַד עָשָׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה
	עַשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר	עַשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה
	שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

100 מֵאָה *fem., constr.* מְאַת, *plur.* מֵאוֹת *hundreds.*
200 מָאתַיִם *dual* (for מְאָתַיִם).
300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת.
400 אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת etc.
1000 אֶלֶף *masc., plur.* אֲלָפִים *thousands.*
2000 אַלְפַּיִם (*dual*).
3000 שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים.
4000 אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים, etc.
10000 רְבָבָה, but, in later books.
רִבּוֹא, רִבּוֹ *pl.* רְבֹאוֹת (contracted רְבוֹת).
20000 רִבְּתַיִם (*dual*), also שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹת.
30000 שְׁלֹשׁ רִבְּאוֹת.
40000 אַרְבַּע רִבְּאוֹת, etc.
60000 שֵׁשׁ־רִבְּאוֹת.

a) לְ with the suffixes:—

	Sing.	*Plur.*
1.	לִי *to me.*	לָנוּ *to us.*
2. *m.*	לְךָ, לָכָה, in pause לָךְ *to thee.*	לָכֶם, [לָכֵן[1]] לָכֶנָּה *to you.*
2. *f.*	לָךְ *to thee.*	
3. *m.*	לוֹ *to him.*	לָהֶם, לָהֵמָּה, poet. לָמוֹ[2] *to them.*
3. *f.*	לָהּ *to her.*	לָהֶן[3], לָהֵנָּה *to them.*

בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3*d person plur.* we have בָּהֶם, בָּם, בָּהֵמָּה, *fem.* בָּהֶן or בָּהֵן, בָּהֵנָּה.

b) כְּ with the suffixes:—

	Sing.	*Plur.*
1.	כָּמֹונִי[4] *as I.*	כָּמֹונוּ *as we.*
2. *m.*	כָּמֹוךָ *as thou.*	כָּכֶם, seldom כְּמוֹכֶם *as ye.*
2. *f.*	— *as thou.*	— — *as ye.*
3. *m.*	כָּמֹוהוּ *as he.*	כְּמוֹהֶם, כָּהֶם, כָּהֵמָּה *as they.*
3. *f.*	כָּמֹוהָ *as she.*	כָּהֵן, כָּהֵנָּה *as they.*

c) מִן with the suffixes:—

	Sing.	*Plur.*
1.	מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in pause מֵנִּי *from me.*	מִמֶּנּוּ *from us.*
2. *m.*	מִמְּךָ, in p. מִמֶּךָּ *from thee.*	מִכֶּם *from you.*
2. *f.*	מִמֵּךְ *from thee.*	מִכֶּן *from you.*
3. *m.*	מִמֶּנּוּ, poet. in pause מִנֵּהוּ, מִמֵּנָּהוּ *from him.*	מֵהֶם, מֵהֵמָּה, poet. מִנָּם, *from them.*
3. *f.*	מִמֶּנָּה *from her.*	מֵהֵן, מֵהֵנָּה *from them.*

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[1] לָכֵן happens not to occur in the Old Testament.

[2] See Note [2] on p. 261.

[3] Not לָהֵן, which signifies *therefore.*

[4] The use of נִי for נִי— here is simply for euphony.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN GENERAL.

1. The Hebrew tongue is only a single branch of a great family of languages in western Asia, which was native in Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria and Arabia; that is, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean sea to beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. But in very early antiquity, this family of languages had spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and, through Phœnician colonies, over several of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and particularly over the whole Carthaginian coast. There is no ancient name for the collective nations and languages of this family. We have, however, retained the now generally received names *Shemites, Semitic languages,* borrowed from the fact that nearly all the nations, who spoke these languages, were descended from Shem (see Gen. 10, 21—29)[1].

2. From this Semitic family have proceeded four principal branches. I. The South Semitic or *Arabic,* in the southern part of the Semitic territory. To this belongs the Ethiopic

[1] From Shem proceeded (Gen. ch. 10) the Aramæan and Arab tribes, as well as the Hebrews; but not the Canaanites (Phœnicians), who are referred to Ham (vs. 6, 15—18); though their language belongs decidedly to those called Semitic. Among the Shemites are reckoned also (in v. 22) the Elamites and Assyrians, whose language, after long uncertainty, has now been proved Semitic.

(in Abyssinia), as an offshoot of the older South-Arabic (Himyaritic).[1] II. The Middle Semitic, or *Canaanitic*. The *Hebrew*, with which the *Canaanitic* and *Phœnician* (Punic) nearly coincide, holds a position, both in its character and geographically, about midway between the Arabic and the Aramæan. III. The North Semitic or *Aramæan*. This is subdivided into 1) the Eastern Aramæan or *Syriac* (the literary language of the Christian Syrians) of which the religious books of the *Mandæans*[2] (Nasoræans, Sabians, the so-called disciples of John) are in a degraded dialect. A Jewish modification of the Syriac is exhibited in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. 2) The Western or Palestinian Aramæan (inaccurately called Chaldee). This dialect is represented, in the Old Testament, by two words in Genesis 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and by the passages: Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezra 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12—26. But principally in Jewish literature such as the Targums, the Palestine Gemara, etc. To the same branch belongs the *Samaritan* with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and also the idiom of the *Nabatæan*[3] inscriptions, in the east of Palestine and the region of Sinai. IV. As a distinct and fourth chief-branch, the East Semitic, we may regard the *Assyrian* (with the *Old-Babylonian*), as it appears in the Cuneiform Inscriptions.[4]

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1 On the Himyaritic Inscriptions, see *Rödiger's* Excursus to Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien (Halle, 1842) Bd. II, *Ewald* in Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. Bd. V, and in *Höfer's* Zeitsch., Bd. I, *M. A. Levy* and *Osiander* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. X, XIX, XX, XXIV, *Prätorius*, ibid. Bd. XXVI.

2 See *Nöldeke* über d. Mundart d. Mandäer, Göttingen, 1863. 4to. He traces the name, *Sabians*, to the root صَبَأَ *to dip;* comp. Am. Bibliotheca Sacra, 1851, p. 563.

3 Yet the names found in these inscriptions are rather Arabic: see *Tuch* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. III, S. 129 ff., *M. A. Levy* ibid., Bd. XIV, S. 363 ff., *Blau* ibid., Bd. XVI, S. 331 ff., *E. Meier* ibid. Bd. XVII, S. 575 ff., *de Vogüé* in Revue archéologique, nouv. série, IX, 1864, p. 284—288, and his Syrie centrale, Paris, 1868, p. 89 ff.

4 The deciphering of the Assyrian cuneiform writing has been chiefly advanced by *Ed. Hincks, Jul. Oppert* and *Eberh. Schrader* after the example of *Rawlinson's* first attempts; see *Oppert's* Eléments de la gramm. assyrienne, 2 édition, Paris, 1868; *Olshausen's* Prüfung des Charakters der in den assyrischen Keilschriften enthaltenen semitischen Sprache, in den Abhandl. d. Berl. Akademie, 1864; *Joach.*

If the above division into four branches were reduced to two principal groups, No. I as the South Semitic would stand in contradistinction to the other three branches as the North Semitic.

All these languages are related to each other in much the same manner as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old-Norse, Danish, Swedish; high and low German, in the earlier and later dialects): or as those of the Slavic tongues (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old-Slavic, Servian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as is the case with the Phœnician and the Assyrian, or they exist only in a debased and dwindling form, as the modern Syriac among the Jews and the Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan[1], the Ethiopic (called *Gheez*) in the modern Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Amharic), and as the Hebrew, among a part of the modern Jews, though the latter in their writings fondly aim at the reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. The Arabic alone, in a form but slightly altered, has not only retained to this day its original seat, Arabia proper, but also penetrated in all directions into the domains of other tongues.

The Semitic class of languages is bordered, on the east and north, by another of still wider extent, which has spread itself from India into the west of Europe, and which is called the *Indo-Germanic* (also called *Arian*), as it comprehends, under the most varied forms, the Indian (Sanskrit), ancient and modern Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic with the other Germanic languages and the Keltic. With the Old-Egyptian language, the offspring of which is the Coptic, the Semitic has had, from earliest antiquity, much in common; but also much of fundamental difference.[2] The Chinese, the Japanese, the Tartar and other languages, exhibit a radically different character from the Semitic.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic stock, as compared with that of other languages, particularly the Indo-Germanic, exhibits many peculiarities, which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. Thus we find: *a*) among

Ménant, Exposé des Elements de la Gramm. Assyr., Paris, 1868; *Schrader's* valuable articles on the Assyrian Inscriptions and Language, in the Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. XXIII (1869), pp. 337—74, also Bd. XXVI (1872), pp. 1—392.

[1] See *Rödiger* in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. II., S. 77 ff., *Stoddard's* Gramm. of the Modern Syriac Language, London, 1854, *Nöldeke's* Gramm. der neusyrischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1868.

[2] For comparisons of the Egyptian and Semitic, see *Gesenius* in d. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1839, No. 77 ff., 1841, No. 40, and in his Thes. Ling. Hebrææ; *Schwarze* in his Altes Aegypten and in *Bunsen's* Aegypten, I., S. 520 ff.; *Ewald* in Abhandl. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissen., Bd. IX, 1860, S. 157 ff.; *Birch* in the new ed. of *Bunsen's* Egypt., Vol. II; *Brugsch's* Hieroglyph. Demot. Wörterbuch, and others.

the consonants which, in general, form the pith and substance of these languages, many gutturals of different gradations; the vowels proceeding all from the three primary sounds *(a, i, u),* and serving to mark more subordinate distinctions: *b*) word-stems, generally consisting of three consonants: *c*) in the Verb, only two tense-forms, each having a peculiarly marked out usage; and a pervading regularity in the formation of verbals: *d*) in the Noun, only two genders (masc. and fem.), and a more simple indication of case: *e*) in the Pronoun, the oblique cases indicated by appended forms *(suffixa): f*) scarcely any compounds, either in the Noun (except many proper names) or in the Verb: *g*) in the Syntax, a great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations (small number of particles, prevalence of simple succession of clauses without periodic structure) to which, however, the classic Arabic furnishes a not unimportant exception.

4. In respect to the *Lexicon* also, the Semitic store of words differs essentially from the Indo-Germanic; though there is here apparently more agreement than in grammatical structure. Very many stems and roots[1] are coincident in sound with those of the Indo-Germanic class. But aside from expressions directly borrowed (see next p.), the actual similarity restricts itself, partly to words imitating[2] natural sounds *(onomatopoetica),* partly to those in which the sameness or similarity of meaning follows readily from the nature of the kindred sounds, according to the universal type of human speech. Neither of these establishes any *historical* (gentilic) relationship; to the direct proof of which, the agreement also in grammatical structure is essential.[3]

As examples of *onomatopoetic* stems, imitating[2] the same natural

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1 See the distinction between *stems* and *roots* in § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—*Tr.*

2 Hence words of this sort are aptly called *mimetic* (or onomatopoetic) and the curious student can find them generally indicated and compared in the Hebrew Lexicon, e. g. under אָב, אֵם, בָּבָה.—*Tr.*

3 The earlier empirical comparisons between the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic tongues were of no scientific value. The later attempts of *Rud. von Raumer, Ascoli* and others to solve the question, are partly not yet carried out and partly self-contradictory; so that there is altogether need of still farther thorough investigations. *Ewald* gives a survey of the whole subject in the

sound, we may class together the following: לָקַק, לָחַךְ, λείχω, *lingo*, Sans. *lih*, F. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*, Eng. *to lick*, and Erse *lighim*= Welsh *lhyvi*[1]; גָּלַל, (kindr. עָגַל אָגַל), κέλλω, κίλλω, κυλίω, *volvo*, Welsh *olwyn* = E. *wheel*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, and Eng. *to well;* גָּרַר. חָרַט, חָרַת, χαράττω, Pers. *kharîdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Germ. *kratzen*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, and Welsh *carthu*, *cravi;* פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, Eng. *to break*, Armoric *frika* = Welsh *briwo*, &c. An example of another kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *kam*, in the signification *with*, *together;* e. g. in Heb. אָמַם (hence אֻמָּה people, prop. assemblage), עִם *together-with*, גַּם (hence גַּם *also*), Arab. جمع *to collect*, Pers. *ham*, *hama* (at once), Sans. *amâ* (*with*), Gr. ἅμα (ἅμφω), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (ὅμιλος, ὅμαδος), and harder in sound, κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, Welsh *cym* = Lat. *com*, and with the corresponding sibilant, Sans. *sam.* σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samnt*, *sammeln:* though doubts may still be felt in regard to several of the instances quoted.

Essentially different from such internal relationship, are the adoption and naturalisation of single words from one language into another (borrowed words). Thus,

a) When Indian, Egyptian, Persian objects are called in the Hebrew by their native names: e. g. יְאֹר (Egypt, *ior*, *iero*, *iaro*) river, Nile; אָחוּ (Egypt. *ake*, *achi*) Nile-grass; פַּרְדֵּס (Pers. = παράδεισος) pleasure-garden, park; דַּרְכְּמוֹן *daric*, Persian gold-coin; תֻּכִּיִּים, from the Indian (Tamul) *togâi*, peacocks. Several of them are found also in Greek, as קוֹף (Sans. *kapi*) ape, κῆπος, κῆβος; כַּרְפַּס (Sans. *karpâsa*) cotton, κάρπασος, *carbasus.*

b) When Semitic words, names of Asiatic products and articles of traffic, have passed over to the Greeks along with the things: e. g. בּוּץ βύσσος, *byssus;* לְבוֹנָה λιβανωτός (frankincense); קָנֶה κάνη, κάννα, *canna*, *cane;* כַּמּוֹן κύμινον, *cuminum*, *cumin;* מֹר μύῤῥα, *myrrha*, *myrrh;* קְצִיעָה κασσία, *cassia;* גָּמָל κάμηλος, *camelus*, *camel;* עֵרָבוֹן ἀῤῥαβών, *arrhabon*, *arrha*, pledge. Such transitions would be facilitated, especially, by the commerce of the Phœnicians.

5. As the writing of a language is never so perfect as to express all its various shades of sound, so the *writing of the*

Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1862, Bd. X, S. 1—80. This at least appears certain, viz. that these two families *do not stand in a sisterly or any close relationship to each other.*

[1] That the *Keltic* dialects (not unlike the Semitic in their relation to each other), namely Welsh, Cornish, Armoric (or Breton); Gælic, Erse; and Manks, belong to the Indo-Germanic family has been abundantly proved by Dr. *Pritchard* in his Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, and by *Pictet* in his Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit; see also the Grammatica Celtica of *Zeuss* and *Lhuyd's* Archæologia Britannica.—*Tr.*

Shemites has decidedly one very remarkable imperfection; viz. that only the consonants (which indeed constitute the pith and substance of the language) were marked down in the line as real letters; whilst, of the vowel-sounds, only the fuller ones, and even these not always, were represented by certain consonants (§ 7). Not till a later period were all the vowel-sounds indicated to the eye, by attaching to the consonants (§ 8) particular small signs (points, or strokes, below and above them); which however, for more practised readers, are wholly omitted. The letters are always written, moreover, from right to left[1].—Dissimilar as the different Semitic characters may appear, they yet all proceed, by various tendencies and modifications, from one and the same original alphabet, of which the truest copy, among all the existing varieties of alphabetic writing, is preserved in the *Phœnician*, with which the *Early Hebrew* was nearly identical (§ 5, 1), and from which came also the old Greek, and through it all the European alphabets.

See the Table at the beginning of this Grammar, showing the relation of some of the older Semitic Alphabets to each other, and specially the origin of the present Heb. characters from the older forms. For a more detailed view of the Phœnician alphabet, and of those which have proceeded from it, see *Gesenius*, Monumenta Phœnicia (Lipsiæ, 1837, 4) p. 15. ff. and Tab. 1—5, and his article *Palæographie*, in *Ersch* and *Gruber's* Encyclop., Sect. III, Bd. 9. Of late years, the discovery of numerous monuments has considerably extended and rectified our knowledge of the Semitic alphabet; see *Schröder's* Phönizische Sprache, 1869, S. 75 ff.; *de Vogüé's* tables in Vol. XI of the Revue Archéol. (Paris 1865) and his Mélanges d'archéologie orientale (Paris 1868); *Lenormant*, Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabeth Phénicien dans l'ancien Monde. Tom I (2d ed. Paris 1875) and the appendix to Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's Grundriss der hebr. Sprache (Leipz. 1877).

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[1] The Himyaritic writing runs usually from right to left, but at times also from left to right, and even both ways by turns. The Ethiopic is now written from left to right. But this is perhaps in consequence of Greek influence; but a few ancient inscriptions still exhibit the contrary direction. See *Rödiger* in the Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenll., Bd. I, S. 332 ff. and his Excursus to *Wellsted's* Reisen in Arabien, II, 376 ff. Also the Assyrian cuneiform writing runs from left to right, but this was borrowed from a people not Semitic.

6. In regard to the relative *age of the Semitic languages*, the oldest written works are found in the *Hebrew*, in the earlier parts of the Old Testament (§ 2); the Jewish *Aramæan* works begin about the time of Cyrus (in the book of Ezra); those of the *Arabic* branch not earlier than in the first centuries of the Christian era (Himyaritic inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth century, North-Arabic literature after the sixth). But it is still another question, which of these languages longest and most truly held to the original Semitic type; and which of them has come to us, in an earlier phase of its developement. For the more or less rapid modification of language, in the mouth of a people or of tribes of the same people, is determined by causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature; and often, before the formation of a literature, has the organism of a language been already impaired, especially by early contact with other tongues. Thus, in the Semitic branch, the Aramæan dialects suffered the earliest and greatest decay, and next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitic and, in its own way, the Assyrian. The Arabic retained longest the natural fulness and primitive purity of its sounds and forms; remaining among the secluded tribes of the wilderness more undisturbed, in its fully stamped organism, until, in the Mohammedan revolution, it too became much impaired; and then, at so much later a period, it reached about the same stage as that in which we find the Hebrew, even as early as in the times of the Old Testament.[1]

Hence the phenomenon, accounted by some so strange, that the ancient Hebrew accords more, in its grammatical structure, with the later than with the earlier Arabic; and that the latter, though first appearing as a written language at a later period, has yet, in comparison with the other Semitic tongues, preserved a structure in many respects more perfect, and greater freshness in its vowel-system; and so it holds among them a relation similar to that of the Sanskrit among the Indo-Germanic languages, or of the Gothic in the narrower circle of

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1 Among the Bedawîn of the Arabian desert, the language has still preserved many antique forms. See *Burckhardt's* Travels in Arabia, Append. VII; his Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 211; *Wallin* in the Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. V (1851), S. 1 ff., VI, S. 190 ff., 369 ff., XII, S. 673; *Wetzstein* in the same Zeitschrift, Bd. XXII, S. 69 ff., 162 ff.

the Germanic. How a language can preserve its fuller structure, amidst decaying sister tongues, is seen (e. g.) in the Lithuanian compared with the Slavic languages, properly so called. So the Doric held tenaciously to earlier sounds and forms; so the Friesic and Icelandic, among the Germanic and Norse languages. But even the most constant and enduring structure of language often suffers, in single forms and plastic tendencies; while on the contrary, in the midst of universal decline, the original and ancient is here and there still remaining. Such is the case also with the Semitic tongues. The Arabic, too, has its chasms, and its later growth; but in general, the preeminence is due to it, especially in its vowel-system.

To establish more fully these principles, and to carry them out farther, belong to a Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. But it follows from what has been said: 1) That the Hebrew language, as it appears in the ancient sacred literature of the Jews, has already suffered more considerable loss, in respect to its organic nature, than the Arabic which comes later within our historical horizon. 2) That notwithstanding this, we cannot straightway award to the latter the priority in all points. 3) That it is a mistaken view, when many regard the Aramæan, on account of its simplicity, as the original form of Semitic speech; for its simplicity was caused by the decay of its organic nature and the crumpling of its forms.

On the character, literature, grammatical and lexical treatment of the Semitic languages, see *Gesenius's* Preface to his Hebräisches Handwörterbuch, ed. 4; *de Wette-Schrader*, Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in die kanon. u. apokryph. Bücher des A. T. (8th ed. Berlin, 1869) p. 71; *F. Bleek*, Einleitung in das A. T. (3d ed. *Kamphausen* Berlin, 1870) p. 37; *L. Diestel*, Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche (Jena, 1869).— Also American *Biblical Repository*, vol. III.

§ 2.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

See *Gesenius*, Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift, Leipzig, 1815, §§ 5—18. *E. Renan*, Histoire gén. des Langues Sémitiques, Vol. I. 4th ed. Paris, 1864. *Th. Nöldeke*, art. "Sprache, hebräische" in *Schenkel's* Bibellex. Bd. V. Leipzig, 1875. *Bertheau* "Hebräische Sprache" in Hertzog's Real-encyclopädie.

1. The *Hebrew Language,* as the name is usually employed, denotes the language of the Sacred Writings of the Israelites, which constitute the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is called *ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the modern Hebrew in Jewish works, written since the Biblical period.

The name, Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית, γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί), does not occur in the Old Testament; instead of it we find *the language of Canaan* in Is. 19, 18 (from the country where it was spoken) and יְהוּדִית *Jewish* in 2 K. 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11, 13), Neh. 13, 24. In the latter passage it follows the later usage, which arose after the return from the captivity, and in which the name *Jew, Jewish,* was gradually extended to the whole nation (as in Haggai, Nehemiah and Esther).

The names *Hebrews* (עִבְרִים, Ἑβραῖοι, *Hebræi*) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), are thus distinguished; the latter had more the import of a national name of honour, which the people used to apply to themselves, with a patriotic reference to their descent from illustrious ancestors; while the former was probably the older and less significant national name, by which they were known among foreigners, for which reason it is used in the Old Testament, specially when they are to be distinguished from other nations (Gen. 40, 15; 43, 32; Ex. 2, 7; 3, 18; Jon. 1, 9), and where persons who are not Israelites are introduced as speaking (Gen. 39, 14, 17; 41, 12: compare *Gesenius's* Hebr. Lexicon, under עִבְרִי). On the other hand, among the Greeks and Romans, e. g in Pausanias, Tacitus, and even Josephus, it is the only customary name. As an appellative it might mean, *those beyond, people of the country on the other side* (with reference to the land beyond the Euphrates), from עֵבֶר *land on the other side*, and the formative syllable ־ִי— (§ 86, 2, 5). It might then be appropriated to the colony, which under Abraham migrated from regions east of the Euphrates into the land of Canaan (Gen. 14, 13); though the Hebrew genealogists explain it, as a patronymic, by *sons* (posterity) *of Eber* (Gen. 10, 21, Num. 24, 24).

In the time of the New Testament, the term *Hebrew* (ἑβραϊστί, John 5, 2. 19, 13, 17, 20; ἑβραΐς διάλεκτος Acts 21, 40, 22, 2, 26, 14) was applied also to the language (Aramæan) then vernacular in Palestine, in distinction from the Greek; and Josephus (who died about A. D. 95) uses it in this sense, as well as for the ancient Hebrew.

The name *lingua sancta* is first given to the Hebrew in the Chaldee versions of the Old Testament, as the language of the sacred books, in distinction from the *lingua profana*, or the Chaldee vernacular.

2. Out of the Old Testament there are only very few monuments of ancient Hebrew writing, namely—1) an Inscription of 34 lines, which was found (unhappily much injured) in the former territory of the tribe of Reuben, about 4 leagues to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibô'n (now Dibâ'n), anciently inhabited by the Gadites but afterwards belonging to Moab, and in which the Moabite king

*Mêshâ*ᶜ (at the beginning of the 9th century B. C.) tells about his battles with Israel (comp. 2 K. 3, 4—27), and his various enterprises and achievements;[1]—2) twenty Stones or Gems (written on for seals), but mostly presenting only names;[2]—3) Coins of the Maccabean prince *Simon* (140 B. C.) and of his successors.[3]

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as they lie before us in the O. Testament, as also in the extra-Biblical monuments (see No. 2 above), the language appears to stand almost on the same stage of developement, as to its general character, and irrespective of lesser changes and differences of style (see Nos. 6 and 7 below). In this form it may have been early fixed as a literary language; and the fact that the Old Testament books had been handed down as sacred writings, must have been highly favourable to its remarkably persistent uniformity.

To this Old Hebrew language the Canaanitic[4] or Phœnician came

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[1] This unique Memorial Stone (often called the Moabite Stone) was first seen on the spot by the German Missionary *H. A. Klein*, but was afterwards so broken into fragments by the Arabs, living thereabout, that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made out: see *Ch. Clermont-Ganneau* (Chancellor of the French Consulate in Jerusalem), La Stèle de Mesa roi de Moab (Paris, 1870), and his La Stèle de Dhiban (in the Revue Archéol. for March, 1870, p. 184 ff., with an improved copy); *Schlottmann's* Sieges-Säule Mesa's (Halle, 1870) and his Revision in the Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesell., Bd. XXIV (1870), S. 253 ff., 438 ff., 645 ff., Bd. XXV, 463 ff., *Nöldeke's* Inschrift des Königs Mesa (Kiel, 1870); and other treatises by *Derenbourg*, *Harkavy*, *Geiger*, *Hitzig*, *W. Wright* (in the North British Review for Oct. 1870), *Deutsch*, *Renan*, *Neubauer*, *Frankel*, *Kaempf*, and *Ginsburg*; see also Reports of the Palestine Exploration-Fund, London. This society has published photographs of the stone. The two largest fragments of it are deposited in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris.

[2] See *Rödiger* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell., Bd. III (1849), pp. 243 and 347; *De Vogüé*, Mélanges d'Archéol. Orientale (Paris, 1868, p. 131—140); *M. A. Levy's* Siegel und Gemmen, Breslau (1869), pp. 33 ff.

[3] See *Franz Perez Bayer*, De Numis Heb.-Samaritanis (1781, 4to) and his Vindiciæ, 1790, 4to; *De Saulcy*, Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque (Paris, 1854, 4to); *M. A. Levy's* Geschichte der Jüd. Münzen (Breslau, 1862); *Madden's* History of Jewish Coinage, Lond. 1864; also *Schürer's* Lehrb. der neutest. Zeitgesch. (Leipz. 1874).

[4] כְּנַעֲנִי, כְּנַעֲנִר is the native name alike both for the Canaanitic tribes in Palestine, and for those who dwelt at the foot of Lebanon and on the Syrian

the nearest of all the Semitic tongues, as appears partly from the many Canaanitic names of persons and places with Hebrew form and meaning (e. g. מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, קִרְיַת סֵפֶר, etc.), that occur in the Old Testament, and partly from the extant remains of the Phœnician and Punic language. The latter we find in their own writing (see § 1, 5) in inscriptions (over 350 in all), and on coins (copied by *Gesenius* in his Monumenta Phœnicia, *Judas*, *Bourgade*, *Davis*, *De Vogüé*, *P. Schröder*, *von Maltzan*, and others). Among the inscriptions are only a few public documents (e. g. two sacrificial lists), by far the most being grave-stones or votive-tablets; also the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmûnazar, king of Sidon, (found 1855, now in the Louvre; first accurately copied in facsimile by the Duke *De Luynes* in his Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon, Paris 1856, and then fully elucidated by *Schlottmann*, Halle, 1868 and by *Kœmpf*, Prague, 1874). We find also isolated words here and there in Greek and Latin authors and a coherent piece of text in *Plautus* (Pœnulus 5, 1, 2). From those monuments we see the native orthography, and from these specimens the pronunciation and vowel-system, both together giving a distinct idea of this language and of its relation to the Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words, found in inscriptions, are e. g. אל god, אדם man, בן son, בת daughter, מלך king, עבד servant, כהן priest, זבח sacrifice, בעל lord, שמש sun, ארץ land, ים sea, אבן stone, כסף silver, ברזל iron, עת time, קבר grave, מצבת pillar, מקם place, משכב bed, כל all, אחד one, שלש three, חמש five, שש six, שבע seven, עשר ten, שמע to hear, פתח to open, נדר to vow, ברך to bless, בקש to seek, &c. Proper names: צדן Sidon, צר Tyre, חנא Hanno, חנבעל Hannibal, &. Comp. *M. A. Levy's* Phön. Wörterbuch, Breslau, 1864.

The variations in the Phœnician orthography and forms are, e. g. the almost constant omission of the vowel-letters (§ 7, 2), as בת for בַּיִת *house*, קל for קוֹל *voice*, צדן for צִידוֹן; כהנם for כֹּהֲנִים *priests*, אלנם (*alonim* in Plautus) *gods;* the feminine ending in ת (*ath*) as well as in א (*ô*), even in the absolute state (§ 80, 2), besides many others. Those in pronunciation are still more remarkable, especially in the Punic, which commonly pronounced ו as *û*, e. g. שׁפט *sûfē't* (judge), שׁלוש *salû's* (three), רש *rûs*=ראשׁ (head); for *i* and *e*, it often has the obscure, dull sound *y*, e. g. חנינו *ynnynnu* (ecce eum), את (איה) *yth;* and takes the ע as *o*, e. g. מעקר *Mocar* (comp. מַעֲכָה, LXX Μωχά). For the collection of these grammatical peculiarities, see *Gesenius*, Monum. Phœn. p. 430 sqq.; also *Movers* in Art. Phönizien in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. Sect. III. Bd. 24, S. 434 ff., *Paul Schröder* in his Phönizische Sprache, Halle, 1869, and *B. Stade*, Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phönic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades (in the "Morgenländ. Forschungen" Leipzig, 1875).

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coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כנען on their own coins. Also the people of Carthage called themselves so.

4. As the Heb. writing on stones and coins, mentioned in No. 2 above, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books have used merely the consonants (§ 1, 5); and even now the written Rolls, or copies of the Law, used in the Synagogues, must not, according to ancient custom, contain any thing more. The present pronunciation of this consonant-text, its vocalisation, accentuation and chant-like way of being read, rest only on tradition, as kept up by custom and in the Jewish schools, and finally as Jewish scholars settled it by means of the system of vowel-points (§§ 7—17), about the 7th century after Christ.

Yet an earlier stage of developement of the Hebrew-Canaanitic language, or a form of it which must have existed before the time of the written documents in our possession, and have stood nearer to the common and not yet divided speech of the Semitic race, can even now be recognised and established, thus:—1) from many archaic forms, which the writings handed down still preserve, specially in the names of persons and places, inherited from more ancient times, and in particular archaisms especially used in poetic diction;—2) by retrospective inference, in general, from the forms of the words so handed down, in so far as they obviously, in the law and analogy of the letter changes, point back to such an older form of the language;—3) by comparison of the kindred tongues, especially the Arabic, in which this older condition of the language has been maintained to a considerable degree, even down to later times (§ 1, 6). The certainty of such deductions rest on the frequent coincidence of the results won in these different ways, whence we then get an approximate idea of the language, as it may have appeared at that preliminary stage of its developement. But at the same time we may thereby see more clearly, how the Old Test. Hebrew got its system of sounds and grammatical forms.

Although the connected historical tracing and explaining of the process of the language as here indicated, properly belongs to the comparative philology of the Semitic tongues, still it is very needful, for the scientific handling of the Hebrew, to go back to those primitive forms, as we may call them, and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic; and even elementary grammar cannot quite do without

this laying of a scientific foundation, although it has properly to deal with the language as it exists in the Old Testament, and only here and there uses those obsolete forms in elucidation of the actual ones.

5. But even in the language of the Old Testament, which is on the whole so very uniform, we can distinguish a certain progress in style, marking *two periods:* the first, down to the end of the Babylonish exile, which may be called its *golden age;* and the second, or *silver age,* after the exile.

To the first belongs (excepting isolated traces of a later revision), the greater part of the books of the Old Testament: viz. of the prosaic and historical, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings (written near the close of the exile); of the poetical, the Psalms (a number of later ones excepted), Proverbs, Canticles, Job, and the earlier prophets, in chronological order, as follows: Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Nahum, Obadiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the last two being still active in the time of the exile, to the close of which also the contents of some portions, especially chapters 40 to 66 of the book of Isaiah point.

The commencement of this period, and of the literature of the Hebrews in general, must certainly be fixed as early as the time of Moses; even though we should regard the Pentateuch, in its present setting and form, as the work of a later recension. It suffices for the history of the language and for our object to remark, that the Pentateuch has certainly peculiarities of language, which may be regarded as archaisms. The pronoun הוּא *he* (but v. p. 100, N. 2), and the noun נַעַר *lad,* are there used also, as of common gender, for *she* and for *maiden* (as ὁ παῖς and ἡ παῖς); and certain harder forms of words, e. g. צָעַק *to cry,* צָחַק *to laugh,* which are here the usual ones, are in other books exchanged for the softer, as זָעַק, שָׂחַק.

On the other hand, there are found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as also in the later Psalms, decided approximations to the Aramæan colouring ot the second or silver age (see No. 7 on page 15).

6. Even in the writings of this first period of about 1000 years, we find, as may be expected, no inconsiderable differences in the diction and style, which have their ground partly in the difference of time and place of their composition, and partly in the individuality of the authors. Isaiah, for example, writes quite otherwise than the later Jeremiah, and also than Micah, his own contemporary. And among the

historical books of this period, not only do those differ which are separated in date, as the books of Judges and Kings, but also the texts, which in many of them have been taken from older written sources, have a colouring of speech obviously different from the words flowing from later sources, or belonging to the author himself. Yet the structure of the language and, with individual exceptions, even the store of words and the usage of speech, specially in the prose books, are on the whole the same.

But the *poetic diction* is everywhere distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* that moves in more strictly measured *parallel members,* but also by *words* and *significations of words, inflections* and *syntactical constructions,* peculiar to itself; although this distinction does not go so far, as in the Greek, for example. But most of these poetic idioms are in the kindred languages, particularly the Aramæan, just the common forms of speech, and may be regarded in part as archaisms, which poetry retained, in part as acquisitions with which poets, familiar with Aramæan, enriched their native Hebrew.[1] The prophets, moreover, at least the earlier ones, in language and rhythm are to be ranked almost as poets, except that with these poetical speakers, the sentences often run on to greater length, and the *parallelism* is less measured and regular, than is the case with the poets, properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, keeps nearer to prose.

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see the Introductions to the Old Testament and to the Commentaries on the Psalms by *De Wette, Hupfeld, Delitzsch* and others, specially *Ewald* in his Dichter des alten Bundes, Th. I. (2d ed., Göttingen, 1866); in brief form, *Gesenius,* Hebr. Lesebuch, Vorerinnerungen zur 2ten Abtheilung; and *E. Meier,* die Form der Hebr. Poesie (Tübingen, 1853), and others.

Of *poetic words,* occurring along with those commonly used in prose, the following are examples: אֱנוֹשׁ *man*=אָדָם; אֹרַח *path*=דֶּרֶךְ; אָתָה *to come*=בּוֹא; מִלָּה *word*=דָּבָר; חָזָה *to see*=רָאָה.

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[1] That in Isaiah's time (2d half of the 8th century before Christ) the more educated Hebrews, at least the officers of state (but not the people in Jerusalem) understood Aramæan is clear from 2 Kings **18**, 26 (comp. Is. **36**, 11).

To the *poetic significations* of words belongs the use of certain *epithets* for substantives: e. g. אֲבִיר *strong* (one), for God; אַבִּיר *strong* (one), for bullock, horse; לְבָנָה *alba*, for *luna*; יְחִידָה *unica* or *solitaria*, for *anima, vita.*

Of *poetic forms*, we may note (e. g.) the longer form of local prepositions (§ 103, 3), as עַל=עֲלֵי, אֶל=אֱלֵי, עַד=עֲדֵי; the endings ־ִי, וֹ, in the noun (§ 90); the suffixes מוֹ, ־ֵמוֹ=־ֶמוֹ, for ם, ־ָם, ־ֵם (§ 58); the plural-ending ־ִין for ־ִים (§ 87, 1, *a*).

To the *poetic* peculiarities in *syntax* belong (e. g.) the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, and of the accusative-particle אֵת; the construct state before a preposition (§ 116); the shortened form of the imperfect, in the signification of the usual form (§ 128, 2. Rem.); and in general, a forcible brevity of expression.

7. The *second* or *silver* age, from the return from the exile to the time of the Maccabees (about 160 B. C.), is marked chiefly by an approximation in the language to the kindred Aramæan (Chaldee); to which the Jews might the more easily accustom themselves already during their abode in Babylonia, since it stands so near to the Hebrew; and which after their return from the exile, came more and more into use also in Palestine, so that it had an ever increasing influence on the Hebrew, as a book language, and now also even on its prose; and thus it gradually banished the Hebrew from the mouth of the people, though the knowledge and written use of the latter still continued among learned Jews.

We may fitly conceive of the relation of the two languages, at this later period, as similar to that of the High and Low German in Lower Saxony, or that of the High German and the popular dialects in the south of Germany and in Switzerland; so far as here also, even among the more educated, an influence is often exerted by the popular dialect on the oral and written expression of the High German. It is a false view, taken from an erroneous interpretation of Neh. 8, 8, that the Jews had immediately after the exile wholly forgotten the ancient tongue, and had to learn it from priests and experts.

The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, and all exhibiting the Chaldee colouring, though in various shades, are the following books:—Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetical books of Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel; of the poetical books, Ecclesiastes, and the later Psalms. In their character also as literary compositions, they stand far below the writings of the earlier

days; yet there are not wanting productions of this time, which, in purity of language and æsthetic value, are but little inferior to those of the golden age. Such (e. g.) are many of the later Psalms (120 and foll., 137, 139).

Examples of *later words* (Aramaisms), for which the earlier writers employ others, are עֵת=זְמַן *time*, לָקַח=קִבֵּל *to take*, סוֹף=קֵץ *end*, שָׁלַט=מָלַךְ *to rule*, אָזַק=תָּקַף *to be strong*.—Of later *significations*, אָמַר (to say) *to command*, עָנָה (to answer) *to begin speaking*.—*Grammatical* peculiarities are:—the frequency of the *scriptio plena* וֹ and יִ—, e. g. הָיוּד (elsewhere הָוּד), even קוֹדֶשׁ for קֹדֶשׁ, רוֹב for רֹב; the interchange of ה־ and א־ final; the more frequent use of substantives in ן־, וֹת־, etc.

But the peculiarities of these later writers are not all Aramaisms. Some are not found in the Aramaic, and must have belonged in earlier times to the vernacular Hebrew, especially, as it seems, in northern Palestine, where Judges and Canticles, among other books, may have been written, and hence the occurrence, in these earlier writings, of the form which was common in the Phœnician, and which recurs in some later books, namely שֶׁ instead of אֲשֶׁר (§ 36).

Rem. 1. Of diversities of dialect, in the old Hebrew language, only two explicit examples are found in the Old Testament; namely, in Judges 12, 6, where the Ephraimites are said to have pronounced שׁ as שׂ or ס; and in Neh. 13, 23, 24, where an Ashdod (Philistine) dialect is spoken of. To these, however, are to be counted also sundry peculiarities in the North-Palestine books including Hosea (see preceding paragraph), and likewise some exceptional forms in the Moabite Inscription of Mêshaʿ (see § 2, 2).

2. The remains of Hebrew literature, now extant, cannot be expected to contain the entire stores of the ancient language; and we must regard its compass and affluence as far greater, than what we now find in the canonical literature of the Old Testament, which is really but a small fragment of the entire national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 3.

GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

(cf. *Gesenius*, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, §§ 19—39.)

1. At the time of the gradual extinction of the old Hebrew language, and when the collection of the Old Testament writings was closed, the Jews began to apply themselves to the *interpretation* and *criticism* of this their sacred codex, and to

translate it into the popular languages then prevalent among them. The oldest *translation* is the *Greek* of the so-called *seventy interpreters* or *Septuagint* (lxx), commenced at Alexandria in Egypt with the *translation* of the Pentateuch, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and completed in later years by various authors. It was in part made from knowledge of the original Hebrew as a living tongue, for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, particularly those at Alexandria. Somewhat later, the *Chaldee* translations or Targûm's (תַּרְגּוּמִין i. e. *translations*) were composed in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations,* derived in part from professed tradition, almost exclusively refer to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than the remarks on various readings. They are contained in the *Tălmûd;* the first portion of which (the *Mishnâ'*) was composed about the beginning of the third, and the second (the *Gĕmārâ'*) was in part (namely the *Jerusalem Gem.*) written at the close of the third, and in part (namely the *Babylon Gem.*) in the fifth and the sixth century after Christ. The Mishna is the beginning of the new Hebrew literature; in the Gemara, on the contrary, the Aramaic language is predominant.

2. In the interval between the composition of the Talmûd and the earliest grammarians, fall mainly the *vocalisation* and *accentuation* of the till then unpointed text of the Old Testament, after the pronunciation handed down in the synagogues and schools (§ 7, 3); also the collection of critical remarks, under the name of *Massôrâ'* (מַסֹּרֶת *tradition*), from which the manuscript copies of the present Textus Receptus of the Old Testament, hence called the *Massoretic Text,* have ever since been uniformly derived.

One of the oldest and most important portions of the Massôrâ' are the various readings of the *Qᵉri* (§ 17). The punctuation of the text, moreover, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Massôrâ'. The punctuation was settled at an earlier date, and is the fruit of a much more thorough labour than the Massôrâ', which was finished at a considerably later date.

3. It was only about the commencement of the 10th century, that the first beginnings were made by the Jews in

compiling their grammar, after the example of the Arabs. The earliest attempts, by Rabbi *Saadia* († 942) and others, are mostly lost, only *Saadia's* Arabic explanation of O. T. *hapax legomena* having been preserved; but those of R. *Yehuda Chayyûǵ* (called also *Abû-Zakaria Yachya*) about the year 1000, and of R. *Yona* (*Abû-'l-Walîd Marwân ibn Ganâch*) about 1030, composed in the Arabic language, are still extant. Assisted by these pioneer labours, *Abraham ben Ezra* (died 1167) and R. *D. Kimchi* († ab. 1232), especially won for themselves a classic reputation as grammarians.

From these first grammarians proceed many methods of arrangement and technical terms, which are still in part retained; e. g. the designation of the derivative and the weak verbs after the paradigm פעל (§ 39, 4), the *voces memoriales*, as בְּגַדְכְּפַת, and the like.[1]

The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was *John Reuchlin* († 1522), to whom Greek literature also owes so much. But he, as also the grammarians of the next succeeding period down to *John Buxtorf* († 1629), still adhered almost exclusively to Jewish tradition. It was only after the middle of the 17th century, that the field of view gradually widened; and that the study of the sister tongues, chiefly through the labours of *Albert Schultens* († 1750) and *N. W. Schröder* († 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

The value of the subsequent labours,[2] that have any en-

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[1] On the oldest Hebrew lexicographers and grammarians, see *Gesenius's* Preface, &c (as above, p. 8); *H. Ewald* and *L. Dukes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des A. T.; *Hupfeld*, de rei grammaticæ apud Judæos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus; and *Munk*, notice sur Abou'l-Walid et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du X^e^ et du XI^e^ siècle in Journal asiatique, 1850; *Neubauer*, Notice sur la Lexicographie hébreu, in Journal asiatique, 1861—63; *Böttcher*, Ausführl. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache, Introd. to Vol. I (ed. *Mühlau*, Leipsic 1866).

[2] The complete literature of this subject, down to 1850, is found in *M. Steinschneider's* Bibliograph. Handbuch für Heb. Sprachkunde, Leipzig, 1859.— Fuller and newer works on Heb. Grammar are *W. Gesenius's* Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache (Leipzig, 1817), *Isaak Nordheimer's* Critical Gram. of the Heb. Language, 2 vols. N. York, 1841, 8, *H. Ewald's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache (8th ed. Göttingen, 1870), *Justus Olshausen's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache

during scientific merit, must be estimated by comparison with what is required in elaborating the grammar of an ancient language, viz.—1) that all the phenomena of the language shall be fully and accurately *observed,* and *exhibited* in their organic connection (the empirical and historico-critical element);—2) that these facts shall be *explained,* partly by comparison with one another and with the analogy of the sister tongues, and partly from the general philosophy of language (the philosophical, scientific element).

§ 4.

DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GRAMMAR.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar depend on the three parts that constitute every language, viz.—1) articulate *sounds* denoted by *written signs,* and their connection in *syllables,* 2) *words,* and 3) *sentences.*

Accordingly, the first part (*doctrine of elements*) includes the doctrine of the *sounds,* and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of speech, the manner of pronouncing written signs (orthoëpy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined into syllables and words, and of the laws and conditions of this combination.

The second part (*doctrine of forms*) treats of words in their character as *parts of speech,* and contains:—1) the doctrine of the *formation of words,* or of the rise of the different parts of speech from the roots or even from one another;—2) the doctrine of *inflection,* i. e. of the varied forms which words assume, according to their relation to one another and to the sentence.

(Braunschweig, 1861), from which may he dated the new era of Hebrew philology in which the attempt has been made to trace back existing forms to the supposed original Semitic, which have been preserved essentially in the old Arabic, *F. Böttcher's* Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache, nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von *Ferdinand Mühlau* (Leipzig, 1866—68, in 2 vols. 8vo).

The third part (*syntax*, or doctrine of the construction of words) teaches:—1) partly how the various inflections, existing in the language, are used for expressing variously modified thoughts, and how other thoughts for which no forms have been coined in the language are expressed by circumlocution;—2) partly the laws, by which the parts of speech are combined into sentences (*doctrine of the sentence*, or syntax in the stricter sense).

PART FIRST.

OF THE ELEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF READING AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 5.

OF THE CONSONANTS: THEIR FORMS AND NAMES.

(See the Table of Ancient Semitic Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now employed (commonly called the *square* or *Assyrian character*), in which the manuscripts of the O. Testament are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, are not those originally used. *Old Hebrew writing,* as it was used in public monuments as early as the 9th century B. C., is to be seen in the inscriptions (very like in style) on the Stone of Mêshaʿ and on the Maccabean Coins of the 2d cent. B. C., as also on the ancient Gems (see § 2, 2); and with this Old Hebrew the Phenician writing is nearly identical (see the Table of Ancient Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history of other alphabets, we may assume that out of, and along with, the above writing on stones, another and somewhat quicker style was early formed for writing on softer materials (on skin or parchment, on bark or papyrus, etc.), which style the Samaritans retained in their MSS of the Pentateuch, when they separated from the Jews, while the latter soon after (from the 6th to the 4th century B. C.) exchanged the same for an Aramæan style, out of which came the so-called *Square Character* (from

the 4th to the end of the 3d century B. C.), which has great resemblance to the still extant Aramæan, the Aram.-Egyptian,[1] the Nabatæan,[2] and especially the Palmyrene.[3] One of the Heb. inscriptions in the earlier square character belongs to the year 176 B. C.[4]

2. The Alphabet of the Hebrews, as well as of the other Shemites, consists only of consonants, 22 in number, some of which have also the power of vowels (§ 7, 2). Their forms, names, sounds and numerical values (Rem. 3 below) are shown in the Table on next page.

3. The five characters which have a different form at the end of a word (*final letters*),[5] ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ, terminate (with the exception of ם) in a straight stroke directed downwards, whilst the common form has a horizontal connecting line, directed towards the following letter.

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1 Specially one Inscription (the Stone of Carpentras, so called because kept in that city of Provence) and some Papyrus-Fragments, see *Ed. F. Ferd. Beer's* Inscriptiones et Papyri in Ægypto reperti, Lips. 1833, 4to; *Gesenius*, Monumenta Phœnicia, p. 226 seq. See our Ancient Alphabet Table.

2 See p. 2, Note 3.

3 See *M. A. Levy* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell., Bd. XVIII. S. 65 ff.; *De Vogüé*, Syrie Centrale, Paris (1868), fol. p. 1—88 and Tab. 1—12.

4 *De Vogüé*, in Revue Archéol. IX (1864), p. 205 and Tab. VII, No. 2, comp. *Nöldeke* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges. Bd. XIX, S. 640, and *Merx's* Archiv I, S. 361; also *Chwolson's* Heb. Grabschriften aus der Krim, Petersburg, 1865. Comp. Table of Anc. Alphabets.

5 These letters are formed into one word and pronounced as כְּמֹנְפַּ֫ץ. Such *voces memoriales* were invented by the Jewish grammarians to help the remembering of certain letters. So too אֲהַלְתֶּם (p. 24), and other *mnemonic* words in § 6, 3 and 4. [Comp. also אֶחֱוִי (§ 7, 2, Note 3) for vowel letters and the memorial words אֵיתָן מֹשֶׁה יְכֻלֶּב to designate *serviles* among consonants, of which איתן are prefixed to the *Impf.* of verbs; הַאֲמַנְתִּיו to represent letters used in the formation of nouns from roots; and the *vox memor.* אֱמֶת for the poetical books composed of the first consonants of תְּהִלִּים (Psalms), מִשְׁלֵי (Proverbs) and אִיּוֹב (Job).—*Ed.*]

THE HEBREW ALPHABET.

Form		Pronunciation.	Hebrew name.	Sounded as[1]	Signification of the name.	Numerical value.
Final	א	'	אָלֶף	*Ā'-lĕph*	Ox	1
	ב	b, bh	בֵּית	*Bêth*	House	2
	ג	g, gh	גִּימֶל	*Gī'-mĕl*	Camel	3
	ד	d, dh	דָּלֶת	*Dā'-lĕth*	Door	4
	ה	h	הֵא	*Hē*	Vent-hole, window	5
	ו	w[2]	וָו	*Wāw*	Hook	6
	ז	z	זַיִן	*Zā'-yĭn*	Weapon	7
	ח	ch	חֵית	*Chêth*	Fence or barrier	8
	ט	ṭ	טֵית	*Ṭêth*	Snake (winding)	9
	י	y	יוֹד	*Yôdh*	Hand	10
ך	כ	k, kh	כָּף	*Kāph*	Bent-hand	20
	ל	l	לָמֶד	*Lā'mĕdh*	Ox-goad	30
ם	מ	m	מֵם	*Mēm*	Water	40
ן	נ	n	נוּן	*Nûn*	Fish	50
	ס	s	סָמֶךְ	*Sā'-mĕkh*	Prop	60
	ע	'	עַיִן	*Ā'-yĭn*	Eye	70
ף	פ	p, ph	פֵּא	*Pē*	Mouth	80
ץ	צ	ṣ *or* ss	צָדֵי	*Ṣā-dhē'*	Fish-hook	90
	ק	q[3]	קוֹף	*Qôph*	Back of the head	100
	ר	r	רֵישׁ	*Rêsh*	Head	200
	שׂ	s	שִׂין	*Sîn*	Tooth	300
	שׁ	sh	שִׁין	*Shîn*		
	ת	t, th	תָּו	*Tāw*	Sign or cross	400

4. Hebrew is written and read from right to left. The division of a word at the end of a line is not allowed; and

[1] For the sounds of the consonants and vowels in this table, see § 6 and Notes on § 8. NB. In our common way of reading Hebrew the letters א and ע have no sound; and the *g* for ג is always *hard* as in *give;* the *ch*, always guttural as in Welsh and German, or the Greek χ.—*Tr.*

[2] As in Arabic, or as the English *w*, not as the German.

[3] The latin *q* serves well for the Semitic ק (Greek κόππα), as it holds its very place in the Alphabet.

to fill out a line, certain letters (*dilatabiles*) are at times dilated in MS and in print. These are in our printed books the five following:

ם, ח, ל, ה, א (אַהֲלְתָם).

Rem. 1. The *forms* of the letters were originally hasty and rude representations of visible objects, the names of which began with the letter, which they were meant to indicate; e. g. *Yôdh*, in the older alphabets a rude figure of a hand, denotes properly a *hand*=יָד *yādh*, but as a letter only the initial י (*y*); *'Ayĭn* (prop. *eye*), עַיִן, stands only for ע, the initial letter. In the Phœnician alphabet specially, the similarity of the *figures* to the objects signified by the *names* may still be seen for the most part, and even in the square character it appears yet in some letters, as in ו, ז, ט, כ, ל, ץ, ש.

NB. The *forms* of the letters in each of these seven groups, פ כ ב, נ ג, ת ד ר, ח ח ת, ן ו ז, ס ם מ ט, צ ע, must be carefully noted to avoid confusion.—*Tr.*

The most probable signification of the *names* of the letters is given in the Alphabet Table, p. 23.

However certain it is, on the one hand, that the Shemites were the first to adopt this alphabet, yet it is highly probable, on the other, that the Egyptian writing (the so-called phonetic hieroglyphics and their modified or hieratic style) suggested the principle, though not so much the forms; for these hieroglyphic characters, for the most part, indicate the initial sound in the name of the pictured object; e. g. the hand, *tot*, indicates the letter *t;* the lion, *laboi*, the letter *l*[1].

2. The *order* of the letters in the Alphabet (on which we have an ancient testimony in the alphabetical poetic compositions in Ps. **25**, **34**, **37**, **111**, **112**, **119**, **145**; Lam. **1**—**4**; Prov. **31**, 10—31), certainly depended originally on a grammatical consideration of the sounds, as we may see from the occurrence in succession of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds, viz. ב, ג, ד, also of the three liquids, ל, מ, נ, and other similar arrangements; but yet other considerations must also have had some effect upon it, for it is certainly not a mere accident, that two letters representing a *hand* (*Yôdh* and *Kāph*), also two exhibiting the *head* (*Qôph* and *Rêsh*), are put together, as is done also with several characters denoting related or connected objects (*Mēm* and *Nûn*, *'Ayĭn* and *Pē*).

Both the names and the order of the letters (with a trifling alteration), passed over from the Phœnician into the Greek, in which the

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[1] See the works of *Young*, *Champollion*, *Lepsius* and others on the Hieroglyphics. Comp. *Hitzig*, die Erfindung des Alphabets, Zürich, 1840. 4to. *J. Olshausen*, über den Ursprung des Alphabets, Kiel, 1841. 3vo. *F. Böttcher*, unseres Alphabetes Ursprünge, Dresden, 1860. 8vo. *Ed. Böhmer*, das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung. Ztschr. der D. Morgenl. Ges., Bd. XVI, S. 579 ff.

letters, form *Alpha* to *Tau*, correspond to the ancient alphabet. From the Phœnician proceeded also, directly or indirectly, the Old-Italic, the Roman, and all the alphabets derived from the Latin and the Greek. Comp. *Gesenius*, Monumenta Phœnicia, p. 65.

3. The letters are used also for *signs of number*, as the Hebrew had no special arithmetical figures or ciphers[1]. But this use of them as numerals (see Alphabet Table) did not, if we may judge from the existing MSS, take place in the O. T. text, and is first found on coins of the Maccabees (middle of 2d cent. B. C.). It is now employed in the editions of the Bible specially for numbering the chapters and verses. Much like the Greek numerals, the Heb. *units* are denoted by the letters from א to ט, the *tens* by י—צ, the *hundreds* from 100 to 400 by ק—ת, but from 500 to 900, they are sometimes marked by the five final letters, thus, ך 500, ם 600, ן 700, ף 800, ץ 900; and sometimes by ת=400, with the addition of the other hundreds, as תק 500. In combining different numbers the greater is put first (i. e. on the right), as יא 11, קכא 121. Fifteen however is marked by טו=9+6, and not by יה, because with these two letters the name of God (יהוה) commences; and 16 by טז not by יו, for a similar reason. The *thousands* are denoted by the units with two dots above, as א֞ for 1000.[2]

4. *Abbreviations* of words are not found in the text of the O. T. On coins, however, they occur, and they are in common use among the later Jews. The sign of abbreviation is usually an oblique stroke, as יש׳ for יִשְׂרָאֵל, פ׳ for פְּלֹנִי *aliquis*, וגו׳ for וְגוֹמֵר *et complens=et cætera*, but also יְיָ or יָ for יְהוָה.

§ 6.

PRONUNCIATION AND DIVISION OF CONSONANTS.

1. It is of the greatest importance to understand well the old and genuine sound of every consonant, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§§ 18, etc.) are dependent on, and can be explained only by, the nature of the sounds and their pronunciation. Our knowledge of this is derived partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects,

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[1] Yet the Phœnicians had arithmetical signs in early times, as may be seen in *Schröder's* Phönizische Sprache, pp. 186—9, with a Table.

[2] The Jews count their dates from the creation of the world, and they have what they call the "great chronology", (לְפָרָט גָּדוֹל) including the thousands and the "small chronology" (לְפ׳ קָטוֹן) omitting the thousands. The date according to the christian era is found by adding 240 to the short Jewish reckoning for the first thousand years and 1240 for the second.

particularly of the still living Arabic, partly from observing the affinity and interchange of the letters in Hebrew itself (§ 19), partly from the tradition of the Jews.[1]

The pronunciation of the Jews of the present day is very divergent. The Polish and German Jews adopt a worse one, partly like the Syriac, while the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, whom most Christian scholars (after the example of Reuchlin) follow, prefer a purer one, more in harmony with the Arabic.

The manner in which the Septuagint (LXX) wrote Hebrew proper names in Greek letters, furnishes an older and more weighty tradition. Several, however, of the Hebrew sounds they were unable to represent for want of corresponding characters in the Greek language, e. g. ט, ע, צ, ק, שׁ (in which cases they made the best shifts they could). This is true also of Jerome's expression of Hebrew words in Roman letters, after the Jewish pronunciation of his time. For that of the Jews now in northern Africa, see *Bargès*, Journ. Asiat. 1848, Nov.; for that of the South Arabic Jews see *J. Derenbourg*, Manuel du Lecture etc. Paris 1871.

2. The following list embraces those consonants which require special attention as to the pronunciation, those being arranged and viewed together which resemble each other in sound.

Rem. 1. Among the *gutturals*, א is the slightest, a scarcely audible breathing from the lungs, the *spiritus lenis* of the Greek, which stands for it in our Alphabet Table, p. 23; similar to ה, but weaker. Even *before* a vowel, it is almost lost upon the ear (אֵמֶר, ἀμάρ, *āmā'r*), like the *h* in the French *habit, homme*, Eng. *hour*, but *after* a vowel it is mostly quite lost in that vowel-sound (מָצָא *māṣā'*, § 23, 1; however comp. רֵאשִׁים).

ה before a vowel is exactly our *h* (*spiritus asper*); also after a vowel at the end of a syllable, it is a guttural-breathing (נֶהְפָּךְ *něh-pā'kh*); but at the end of a word it only represents a vowel, so that its force as a consonant is not at all heard (גָּלָה *gā-lā'*); see § 7, 2 and § 14, § 75, 1.

ע is related to א but stronger; and is a sound peculiar to the organs

[1] Important aid may also be derived from an accurate, physiological observation of the whole system of sounds, and of their formation by the organs of speech. See *Liskovius'* Theorie der Stimme, Leipzig, 1814, *J. Müller's* Handbuch der Physiologie, Bd. II., S. 179 &c., *Strodtmann's* Anatomische Vorhalle zur Physiologie der Stimme und der Sprachlaute, Altona, 1837, also *H. Hupfeld* in Jahn's Jahrbücher f. Philologie, 1829, H. 4, *H. E. Bindseil's* Abhandlungen zur allgem. vergleichenden Sprachlehre (Hamb. 1838), *E. Brücke's* Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik d. Sprachlaute, Wien, 1856, *C. L. Merkel's* Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache, Leipzig, 1866.

of the Semitic race. Its hardest sound is that of a *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as עַזָּה, LXX Γάζα, עֲמֹרָה Γόμορρα; it is elsewhere a weaker sound of that sort, which the LXX indicate only by a *breathing* (the *spiritus asper* or *lenis*), as in עֵלִי Ἡλί, עֲמָלֵק Ἀμαλέκ. In the mouth of the Arabs, the first often strikes the ear like a soft guttural *r*, the second as a sort of vowel-sound like *a*.—To pass over ע, as many do in reading and in the expression of Hebrew words by our letters (e. g. עֵלִי *Eli*, עֲמָלֵק *Amalek*), and to pronounce it simply as *g* or as nasal *ng*, are both incorrect. An approximation to its stronger sound would be *gh* or *rg;* but since the softer sound was probably predominant in Hebrew, it may suffice to mark it (as in the Alphabet Table, p. 23) by ʿ, as אַרְבַּע *ʾarbăʿ*, עֲמֹרָה *ʿamôrāʾ*.

ח is the firmest of the guttural sounds, being a guttural *ch*, as the Swiss pronounce it, as in *macht*, *docht*, *zucht*[1] (not as in *licht*, *knecht*), resembling the Spanish *x* and *j*. While the Hebrew was a living language this letter was doubtless uttered more softly in many words, more strongly in others.[2]

ר also the Hebrews frequently pronounced with a rattling guttural sound, not as a lingual made by the vibration of the tongue. Hence it is not merely to be reckoned among the liquids (*l*, *m*, *n*, *r*), but, in many respects, it belongs also to the class of gutturals (§ 22, 5).

Rem. 2. In *sibilant* sounds the Hebrew language is uncommonly rich, but they arose in part from the lingual sounds, which appear still as such in Aramæan and, as affected with an aspiration, in Arabic (see ז, צ, שׁ in Lex.).

שׁ and שׂ were originally one letter ש, and in unpointed Hebrew this is still the case. But as its sound *sh* was in many words very soft, approaching to that of *s*, the grammarians distinguished this double pronunciation by the diacritic point into שׁ *sh* (which occurs most frequently), and שׂ *s*.

שׂ accordingly was closely allied to שׁ in pronunciation, and so was uttered more strongly than ס. Hence this difference of sound made at times a difference in sense, as סָגַר *to close up* and שָׂכַר *to hire*, סָכַל *to be foolish* and שָׂכַל *to be wise*. The Syrians employed only ס for both. They are also interchanged even in the later Hebrew; as שָׂכַר=סָגַר *to hire* Ezr. 4, 5; סִכְלוּת for שִׂכְלוּת *folly* Eccl. 1, 17.[3]

ז is a soft, whizzing *s*, the Gr. ζ (by which also the LXX represent it), the Fr. and Eng. *z*, quite different from the Germ. *z*.

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[1] As also in the Keltic dialects.—*Tr.*

[2] In the Arabic language, the hard and soft sounds of ע and ח (as well as certain differences in the pronunciation of ד, ט, צ), are indicated by diacritic points. Two letters are thus made from each: from ע the softer غ *ʿAin*, and the harder غ *rGain;* from ח the softer خ *Cha*, and the harder خ *Kha*.

[3] But on the contrary the Samaritans of this day, in reading their Heb. Pentateuch, always pronounce שׁ as שׂ.

Rem. 3. The צ is, like ק and ט, uttered with strong articulation, and with a compression of the organs of speech in the back part of the mouth. The two latter differ essentially from כ and ת, which answer to *k* and *t*, but are often aspirated (see No. 3 of this §.). The צ has a peculiar articulation differing from every other *s*, and by no means the same as the Germ. *z* or *ts*. [Our *ss* as in *hiss!* sounded not at the teeth, but at the palate, is not very unlike it; but ʂ is here used to represent it.]

3. Six consonants, the so-called *mutes*,

בּ, גּ, דּ, כּ, פּ, תּ (בְּגִדְכְּפַת)

have come down to us with a twofold pronunciation[1]:—1) a harder, more slender sound (*tenuis*) as *b, g, d, k, p, t,* and 2) a softer sound, uttered with a gentle aspiration (*aspirata*). The harder sound is the original. It maintains itself at the beginning of words and syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding, and it is indicated by a point in the letter (*Dāghḗsh lenė*, § 13), as in בּ *b*, גּ *g*, דּ *d*, כּ *k*, פּ *p*, תּ *t*. The aspirated sound occurs after a vowel immediately preceding, and is denoted in manuscripts by *Rāphė* (§ 14, 2), but in the printed text it is known by the absence of the *Dāghḗsh*. In some of these letters (especially גּ), the difference is less perceptible to our ear. The modern Greeks aspirate distinctly β, γ, δ, and the Danes *d* at the end of a word. The Greeks have two characters for the two sounds of the other letters of this class, as כּ κ, כ χ; בּ π, פ φ; תּ τ, ת θ.

For the cases in which the one pronunciation or the other occurs, see more fully in § 21.—The modern Jews sound the aspirated ב as *v*, and the ת nearly as *s*, e. g. רַב *răv*, רֵאשִׁית *rēshî́s*.

4. After what has been said, the usual division of the consonants according to the organs of speech (i. e. throat, palate, tongue, teeth and lips), employed in uttering them, will be more intelligible and useful. The common division is as follows:

a) Gutturals א, ה, ע, ח, (אַהֲחַע);

b) Palatals, ג, כ, ק, (גִּיכֵק);

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[1] Sound תּ as *t*, ת as *th* in *thick;* דּ as *d*, ד *dh* as *th* in *that*, Anglo-Sax. ð; פּ as *p*, פ as *ph* or *f*; בּ as *b*, ב *bh* as *v;* גּ and גּ as *g* in *go*, or in the German *gegen;* כּ and כ as *k*. To give the aspirated sound of גּ and כ, pronounce *g* and *k*, rolling the palate at the same breath.—*Tr.*

c) Linguals, ט, ת, ד, with נ, ל, (דְּטַלְנָת);
d) Dentals or sibilants, צ, ש (שׁ and שׂ), ס, ז, (זְסַצַשׂ);
e) Labials, ף, ב, מ, ו, (בּוּמָף).

The letter ר appertains partly to the first and to the third class, as being both a throat-sound and a tongue-sound.[1]

Also the liquids (ר, נ, מ, ל), which have in many respects a common character, are grouped together as a distinct class.

The following classification may be useful:

	Mutes			Liquids				Sibilants				Aspirates			
	s.	m.	e.	vibr.	nasal	semiv.		s.	m.	e.		s.	m.	h.	e.
Gutturals				[ר]										ח ה ע א	[ע]
Palatals	ג	כ	ק			י									
Linguals				ר											
Dentals	ד	ת	ט		ל	נ		ז	שׂ	שׁ	ס	צ			
Labials	ב	פ				מ	ו								

Rem. 1. The signification of the letters in the superscription is as follows: s=soft; m=medium; h=hard; e=emphatic. Consonants pronounced by the same organ are called *homorganic* (e. g. ג and כ as palatals). Consonants, whose sound is of the same nature, are called *homogeneous* (e. g. מ and נ as liquids). The possibility of an exchange of consonants within the language, as well as between kindred dialects depends upon their homorganic character and upon their homogeneousness. Generally the soft sound changes with the soft, the hard with the hard etc. (e. g. ז=ד, ת=שׁ, ט=צ). Yet other transpositions are not excluded. It is important to observe, whether the change takes place at the beginning, middle or end of the word, since a change in the middle consonant does not always indicate the possibility of a change in the same letter, when standing at the beginning.

Rem. 2. In the Hebrew, as well as in all the Semitic dialects, the strength and harshness of pronunciation, which generally characterised the earlier periods of the language, gradually gave way to more soft and feeble sounds. In this way many nice distinctions of the earlier pronunciation were neglected and lost.

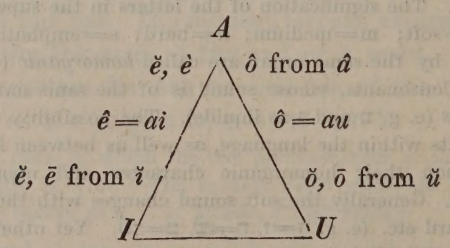
[1] Compare, in regard to the double pronunciation of the ר, *Delitzsch*, Physiol. u. Musik p. 10 ff.

This appears partly in the preference for the softer letters; e. g. זָצַק, צָזַק (see § 2, 5, Rem.), Syr. ܙܥܩ; partly in the pronunciation of particular letters; thus the stronger ע ʿg, known even in the LXX (see above in No. 2, Rem. 1), is lost in later times; the Samaritans and Galileans utter it, as well as ח, only like א; in Ethiopic too ח sounds as *h*, ע as א, ש as *s*.

§ 7.

OF THE VOWELS IN GENERAL, VOWEL-LETTERS, AND VOWEL-SIGNS.

1. That the scale of five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u,* proceeds from the three primary vowel sounds *A, I, U*, is even more distinctly seen in the Hebrew and the rest of the Semitic tongues, than in other languages. *E* and *O* are derived from a blending together or obscuring of the purer vowels, viz., short *ĕ* from *ĭ* or even *ă*, short *ŏ* from *ŭ*; and also the long *ê* from the union of *I* with a preceding short *A*, i. e. from the diphthong *AI*, and the long *ô* partly from the obscuring of *â*, partly from the combination *AU*, according to the following scheme:[1]—



The more ancient Arabic still keeps the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, specially with stronger consonants; e. g. שׁוֹט (*shôt*), Arab. *saut;* עֵינַיִם (*ʿênaim*), Arab. *ʿainain*. It is only in the later Arabic they become *ê* and *ô*, at least with feebler consonants, as בֵּין, Arab. *bain, bên;* יוֹם, Arab. *yaum, yôm*. This contraction of the diphthongs is also sufficiently familiar in Greek and Latin (e. g. Καῖσαρ, Cæsar; θαῦμα, Ion. θῶμα; *plaustrum=plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au* (comp. in Eng. *ai* in *said*, and *au* in *naught*), in the Germanic languages (Goth. *auso*, auris, Old High-Ger. *ôra*, ear; Goth. *snaivs*, Old High-Ger. *snêo* = Schnee = snow), and even in the modern German vulgar dialect (*Oge* for Auge, Goth. *augô*, eye; *Steen* for Stein, stone, Goth. *stains*).

[1] For the sound of these vowels, see note on § 8.— *Tr.*

Obscuring of the vowel-sounds often occurs also in other tongues, e. g. *å* in Swedish, in modern Persian, in Eng. *fall* etc. The modern Jews constantly obscure the sound of the Heb. long A (ָ), like the Swedish *å*. But the Arabic of the Bedawîn, in its pronunciation of the vowels, does not even now depart so much from the three primary sounds, *a*, *i*, and *u*, as the Arabic spoken in Syria and Egypt (see *Wallin* and *Wetzstein* as referred to above, p. 7, Note[1]).

2. With this is connected the earlier and very sparing way of indicating the vowels in writing. Only the three principal vowels were thus distinguished; and even these were indicated not by peculiar signs, but by certain consonants employed for this purpose, whose feeble consonant sounds have naturally a close affinity with the vowel-sounds to be expressed.

Thus ו (like the Lat. *V*) represented *U* and also *O*.
י (like the Lat. *J*) represented *I* and also *E*.

A, the purest of all the vowels, and the most frequent, was as a rule[1] not indicated at all, except at the end of a word, where the final *a* was represented by ה in Hebrew, sometimes by א.[2] These two letters stood also for *e* and *o* final.[3]

Even those *two vowel-letters* (ו and י) were used but sparingly, being at first, and as a rule, employed only when the sounds which they represent were *long*, and not always then (§ 8, 4).[4] Everything else relating to the quantity of the

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[1] So in Sanscrit, the ancient Persian cuneiform writing and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not indicated by any sign, but the bare consonant is pronounced with short *a*.

[2] The close connection between the aspirates ה, א and the A sound, ו (= *w*) and the U sound, י (= *y*) and the I sound, admits of easy physiological explanation, if we attend to the formation of these sounds by the organs of speech. The vowel A is formed by opening the mouth, without changing the position of the organs; so also ה and א. U is sounded in the fore part of the mouth, with the lips a little projecting and rounded; so also ו. The I is formed at the fore part of the palate; so also י. E is sounded at the back of the palate, between *i* and *a*; O in the under part of the mouth, between *u* and *a*.

[3] The four letters א, ה, ו, י (forming the *mnemonic* sign אֶהְוִי *'ĕhewî*) are commonly called *quiescent* or *feeble letters*.—*Tr.*

[4] The Samaritan writing also has remained at the same stage.—The Phœnicians did not indicate even the long vowels, except in very rare cases,

vowel-sounds, and also the entire absence of a vowel, and even whether the vowel-letter in the particular case was a vowel or a consonant, the reader had to decide for himself.

Thus, for example, קטל might be read *qāṭăl, qāṭēl, qāṭōl, qᵉṭōl, qôṭēl, qĭṭṭēl, qăṭṭēl, qŭṭṭăl;* דבר, *dābhār* (word), *dă'bhĕr* (pestilence), *dĭbbēr* (he has spoken), *dăbbēr* (to speak), *dôbhēr* (speaking), *dābhûr* (spoken), *dŭbbăr* (it has been spoken); מות might be *mā'wĕth* (death), or *mûth, môth* (to die); בין might be read *bîn, bên, băyĭn.*

How imperfect and indefinite such a mode of writing was, is easily seen; yet during the whole period in which the Hebrew was a living language, no other signs for vowels were employed. Reading was therefore a harder task than it is with our more adequate modes of writing, and the reader's knowledge of the living mother-tongue had to supply much.

3. But when the Hebrew had died out, and the ambiguity arising from such an indefinite mode of writing, and the fear of losing the right pronunciation, must have been increasingly felt; then the *vowel-signs* or *vowel points* were invented, which minutely settled what had till then been left uncertain. Of the date of this punctuation (*vocalisation*) of the Old Testament text we have no historical account; but a comparison of historical facts warrants the conclusion, that the present vowel-system was not completed till the seventh century after Christ; and that it was done by Jewish scholars, well versed in the language, who, it is highly probable, copied the example of the Syriac, and perhaps also of the Arabic, grammarians.

See *Gesenius,* Gesch. d. hebr. Spr. S. 182 ff. and *Hupfeld* in den theolog. Studien und Kritiken, 1830, No. 3, where it is shown that the Talmûd and Jerome make no mention of vowel-signs; *Abr. Geiger,* Zur Nakdanim-Literatur (Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben, Jahrg. X, Breslau, 1872, S. 10 ff.); *Geiger,* Massorah bei den Syrern (Ztschr. der D. M. G. Bd. XXVII. Leipz., 1878, S. 148 ff.); *H. Strack.* Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr. Leipz., 1873; *Strack,* Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-Textes (Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1875. IV, S. 736 ff.)

4. This vowel-system has, probably, for its basis the pronunciation of the Jews of Palestine; and its consistency,

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and their old monuments have scarcely any vowel signs (see *Gesenii* Mon. Phœnicia, pp. 57, 58; and above in § 2, 3).—The vowel-letters are quite as sparingly used in the old Heb. inscription of Mĕsha' (see § 2, 2), as early as 900 B. C.

as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, furnishes strong proof of its correctness, at least as a whole. We may, however, assume, that it exhibits not so much the pronunciation of common life as the formal style, which was sanctioned by tradition in reading the sacred books, in the synagogues and schools, in the 7th century after Christ. Its authors laboured with great care to represent by signs the minute gradations of the vowel-sounds, marking even half-vowels and helping-sounds (§ 10), spontaneously adopted in all languages, yet seldom expressed in writing. To the same labours on the Hebr. Text we owe the different marks, by which the sound of the consonants themselves is modified (§§ 11—14), and the accents (§§ 15, 16).

The Arabs have a much more simple vowel-system, for they have only three vowel-signs, according to the three primary sounds. The Syriac vowel-pointing is likewise based upon a less complicated system. It is possible that the Hebrew also had at an earlier period a more simple vowel-system, but no actual traces of it are found.

§ 8.

OF THE VOWEL-SIGNS.[1]

1. Of full vowels, besides which there are also certain *half-vowels* (§ 10, 1, 2), grammarians have generally reckoned *ten*, and divided them into *five long* and *five short* or *doubtful*. As this division, though not faultless, is simpler and more convenient for the beginner, it is here presented:[2]—

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[1] The vowels, as represented in this translation, are supposed to be sounded as follows:—*ā* or *â* like *a* in *father*; *ă* like *a* in *fat*; *ä* like *æ*, or as *a* in *fate*; *ē* or *ê* like *e* in *there*; *ĕ* like *e* in *her*; *ī* or *î* like *i* in *pique*; *ĭ* like *i* in *pick*; *ō* or *ô* like *o* in *no*; *ŏ* like *o* in *not*; *û* or *ū* like *u* in *rule* (sounded as *rool*); *ŭ* like *u* in *full*; *ai* and *au* as proper diphthongs, each vowel being distinctly heard, as in German.—NB. The same vowel, whether long or short, has properly but *one* sound, differing only in *quantity*, i. e. in the longer or shorter time we may take in pronouncing it, as in *sō* and *sŏt*.—*Tr.*

[2] It is founded on the 12th edition of the original, and Dr. *Rödiger* is not responsible for its insertion here.—*Tr.*

Long Vowels.	*Short Vowels.*
◌ָ *Qā'mĕṣ, â, ā,* קָם *qâm,*[1] יָם *yām.*	◌ַ *Pă'thăch, ă,* בַּת *băth.*
◌ֵ *Ṣē'rĕ, ē,* שֵׁם *shēm.*	◌ֶ *Seghô'l, ĕ, è* or *ä,* מֶלֶךְ *mä'-lĕkh.*
◌ִי (or ◌ֵ) *Chî'rĕq long, î,* בִּין *bîn,* גּוֹרִים *gô-yî'm.*	◌ִ *Chî'rĕq short, ĭ,* מִן *mĭn.*
וֹ (or ◌ֹ) *Chō'lĕm, ô, ō,* קוֹל *qôl,* סֹבּ *sōbh.*	◌ָ *Qā'mĕṣ-chāṭû'ph, ŏ,* חָקַר־ *chŏq.*
וּ (or ◌ֻ) *Shû'rĕq, û,* מוּת *mûth,* מִתְּי *mû-thî'.*	◌ֻ *Qĭbbû'ṣ, ŭ,* שֻׁלְחָן *shŭl-chā'n.*

A more philosophic and complete view of the vowels, according to the three primary vowel-sounds (§ 7, 1, 2), is the following:—

First Class. For the A *sound.*

1. ◌ָ *Qā'mĕṣ, ā, â,* יָד *yādh* (hand), קָם *qâm* (he arose).
2. ◌ַ *Pă'thăch, ă,* בַּת *băth* (daughter).
3. ◌ֶ *Seghô'l, ĕ, è (ä),* a modification of *a,*[2] as in the first syllable of יֶדְכֶם *yĕdhe-khĕ'm* (your hand) from *yădhe-khém,* פֶּסַח[3] *pèsăch* (πάσχα); also in union with י as יָדֶיהָ *yā-dhè-khā* (thy hands), גְּלֵינָה *gelè-nā,* like the French *è* in *mère* or the first *e* in Eng. *there.* Comp. in Eng. *man* changed into *men;* Ger. *mann* into *männer;* W. *carreg* (stone) into pl. *cerrig.*

Second Class. For the I *and* E *sound.*

I
1. ◌ִי and ◌ֵ *long Chî'rĕq, î,* צַדִּקִים *ṣădh-dî-qî'm* (just ones).
2. ◌ִ *short Chî'rĕq, ĭ,* אִם *'ĭm* (if).

E
3. ◌ֵי *Ṣē'rê* with *Yôdh, ê,* and ◌ֵ *Ṣē'rê* without *Yôdh, ē,* as in בֵּית *bêth* (house), שֵׁם *shēm* (name). Very rarely the ◌ֵ (defective, see No. 4 on p. 37) stands also for *ê.*
4. ◌ֶ *Seghô'l, ĕ,* as in שֶׁן־ *shĕn* (tooth), where it has proceeded from *i;* but *è* in the tone syllable, חֶצְיִ (Grdf. *chĭphṣ*).

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[1] The equivalents for the Hebrew vowels are marked here variously, viz., *â, ê, ô* for the essentially long-vowels, *ā, ē, ō* for the merely tone-long, *ă, ĕ, ŏ* for the short (see § 9.). For the others, the distinction of *î* aud *ĭ*, *û* and *ŭ* is sufficient.

[2] So mostly; hence Jewish grammarians call *Seghôl* also *small Pă'thăch* (פַּתַח קָטֹן).

[3] The sign ◌ֹ marks in this Grammar the *accented* syllable of Heb. words, when that syllable is not the last, as in פֶּסַח. Comp. § 15, Rem. 3.

Third Class. For the U *and* O *sound.*

U

1. וּ *Shûrĕq, û,* מוּת *mûth* (to die), rarely also for *ŭ*.
2. ◌ֻ *Qŭbbûṣ, ŭ,* סֻלָּם *sŭl-lā́m* (ladder), but also *û*, written defectively (see No. 4 on p. 37) instead of *Shûrĕq,* מֻתִּי *mû-thī́* (my dying).

O

3. וֹ and ◌ֹ *Chōlĕm, ô, ō,* קוֹל *qôl* (voice), רֹב *rōbh* (multitude). Often defective ◌ֹ for *ô,* seldomer וֹ for *ō*.
4. ◌ָ *Qā́mĕṣ-chāṭûph, ô,* חָק *chôq* (statute).

5. also ◌ָ, obtuse *ĕ,* so far as it is changed from *u* or *o,* as in אַתֶּם *'ăttĕ́m* (ye) from *'āttû́m* (see § 27, Rem. 4, *b*), אַתְּ *'ĕth* (from אוֹת).

The *names* of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in uttering the sounds. Thus, פַּתַח signifies *opening,* צֵרֵי (also שֶׁבָר) *bursting* (of the mouth), חִירֶק *gnashing,* חוֹלָם *fulness,* from its full tone (also מְלֹא פוּם *full mouth*), שׁוּרֶק properly συρισμός, קִבּוּץ *closing* (of the mouth). This last meaning belongs also to חֲטַף; and the reason why long *a* and short *o* (קָמֶץ חָטוּף *Qā́mĕṣ correptum*) have the same sign and name, seems to be that the inventors of the vowel-signs pronounced the long *a* rather obscurely, and somewhat like *o*, as it then passed over to a full *o* with the present German and Polish Jews; comp. the Syriac *â* with the Maronites=*ô*, the Swedish *å*, and the early change of *â* into *ô* even in the Hebrew (§ 9, 10, 2).[1] The distinction between them is shown in § 9. But *Sᵉghô'l* (סְגוֹל *bunch of grapes*) appears to be named after its *form;* so too some call *Qibbûṣ* שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדוֹת (*three points*).

The names were, moreover, so formed that the sound of each vowel was heard in the first syllable; and in accordance with this, some write *Sāghô'l, Qā́mĕṣ-chāṭû'ph, Qŭbbû'ṣ.*

2. As appears from the examples given above, the vowel-sign is regularly put *under* the consonant *after* which it is to be pronounced, as בָ *rā,* בַ *ră,* בֵ *rē,* בֶ *rĕ,* etc. There is an exception to this rule in *Pă'thăch,* when it stands under a guttural at the end of a word (*Pă'thăch furtive,* see § 22, 2, *b*), for it is then spoken *before* the consonant, as רוּחַ *rûᵃch* (wind,

[1] It has been conjectured that the signs for these vowels originally differed (as ◌ָ *ā,* ◌ *ŏ*), and became identical only through carelessness in writing; but such a difference cannot be proved, for these two marks are quite identical, the former (◌ָ) being only the original, and the second (◌) the modified form.

spirit). We must also except *Chō'lĕm* (without *Wāw*), which is put to the left *over* the letter, as in רֹ *rō*.[1]

NB. When *Chō'lĕm* (without *Wāw*) and the diacritic point over שׁ (שׂ, שׁ) come together, one dot serves for both, as שׂוֹנֵא *sô-nē'* (not שׁוֹנֵא) hating, מִשְׂהּ *mô-shè* not מִשָּׂהּ. שׁ (with two points), when no vowel stands under it, is *sho*, as in שֹׁמֵר *shô-mē'r* (keeper); when no vowel goes before it, *os*, as in יִרְפֹּשׁ *yĭr-pō's* (he treads down), like רִקְטַל הַנְּשְׂאִים, Is. 45, 20 *han-nô-sᵉî'm* (the bearers), like הַקְּטָלִים.

The figure וֹ is sometimes sounded *ow*, the ו being a consonant with *Chō'lĕm* before it, as לֹוֶה *lô-wè* (lending); and sometimes *wō*, the *Chō'lĕm* being read after the *Wāw*, as עָוֹן *ʿā-wô'n* (sin) for עָיֹן. In very exact impressions a distinction is made thus: וֹ *ōw*, וֹ *wō*, and וֹ *ō*.

3. The vowels of the first class (the *A* sound) are, with the exception of ◌ִ— in the middle, and of ◌ָה—, ◌ָא—, ◌ָ—

[1] Only very recently have we been made acquainted with a vowel system in many respects different from the common one. It is found in some MSS formerly kept at Odessa, but now in St. Petersburg. All the vowels except וֹ are placed above the consonants, and deviate almost throughout in figure, and partly even in respect to the department of sound. Thus, for instance, Pathach and Sᵉghol, when they have the tone, are expressed by the same sign; but the short vowels without the tone are marked variously, according as they stand in a syllable sharpened by Daghesh forte (§ 12) or not. The accents deviate less, and stand partly under the line of the consonants. In respect to this, the so-called "Babylonian punctuation" (נִקּוּד בַּבְלִי) see *A. Harkavy* and *H. L. Strack's* "Catalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersb." Vol. I & II., Petersb. & Leipz. 1875 p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by *H. Strack's* facsimile edition of *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Petersb. 1876 fol.); a codex of the year 916 which was discovered by *Firkowitsch* in 1839 in the synagogue of Tschufutkale in the peninsula of the Crimea. *Strack* has given a fragment of the same codex in *Hosea et Joel prophetæ ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.* St. Petersb. 1875. The result shows that the two systems (the Eastern or Babylonian and the western or Tiberian) were developed simultaneously, but that the western shows a higher degree of originality and approaches nearer the ancient fundamental laws of punctuation. A long specimen of this peculiar Text (the Book of Habakkuk) is given in *Pinner's* Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Gesch. und Alterth. gehörenden ältesten hebr. und rabb. Manuscripte, Odessa, 1845, 4. A sketch of this vowel-system, which had probably its origin among Babylonish Jews, has been given by *Rödiger* in the Halle Allgem. Lit. Zeit. 1848, Aug., No. 169, and by *Ewald* in the Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft, I., Göttingen, 1849, p. 160 and foll.; but more thoroughly still by *Pinsker* in his Einleitung in das Babylon.-hebr. Punctationssystem, Wien, 1863; and *Olshausen* in the Monatsbericht d. Berlin. Akad. d. Wissensch. July, 1865.

(§ 9, 1, 3) at the end of a word, indicated *only* by vowel-signs (§ 7, 2); but those of the two other classes (the *I* and *E* sound and the *U* and *O* sound) when long, are mostly expressed by vowel-letters, the sound of which is determined by the sign standing before or within or above them. Thus,—

י may be determined by *Chî'rĕq* (ִי), *Ṣĕ'rê* (ֵי), *Sᵉghô'l* (ֶי).

ו by *Shû'rĕq* (וּ) and *Chō'lĕm* (וֹ).[1]

In Arabic the *long* â is regularly indicated by the vowel-letter *'A'lĕph* (אָ), so that in it three vowel-letters answer to the three vowel-classes. In Hebrew the relation is somewhat different (§ 9, 1, and § 23, 3, Rem. 1).

4. When, in the second and third classes, the long vowel is expressed *without* a vowel-letter, it is called *scriptio defectiva*, when *with* a vowel-letter, *scriptio plena*. Thus קוֹל and קוּם are written *fully,* קֹלוֹת and קָם *defectively.*

The choice of the full or the defective mode of writing is not always arbitrary, as there are certain cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus, the full form is written for *û, î, ê* as well as for *è* in חֹזֶה etc. (§ 9, 8), and is necessary at the end of a word, e. g. קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתְּ, יָדִי, מַלְכֵי; but in Is. 40, 31 the Massora requires וְקוֵּי for וְקוֹי, but the defective is usual when the vowel is preceded by the analogous vowel-letter as consonant, e. g. גּוֹיִם for גּוֹיִים *nations,* מִצְוֹת for מִצְוֹוֹת *commands,*[2] עֲשׂוּיִם for עֲשׂוּוִים.

But in other cases, much depended on the option of the transcribers, so that the same word is written in various ways, e. g. הֲקִרְמוֹתִי Ezek. 16, 60, הֲקִמֹתִי Jer. 23, 4, where other editions have הֲקִמוֹתִי (comp. § 25, 1). It may be observed, however,

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[1] The vowel-sign, which serves to determine the sound of the vowel-letter, is said to be *homogeneous* with that letter. Many, after the example of the Jewish grammarians, use here the expression, 'The vowel-letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel sign.' Hence the letters י and ו (with א und ה, see § 23) are called *litteræ quiescibiles;* when they serve as vowels, *quiescentes,* when they are consonants, *mobiles.* But the expression is not suitable; we should rather say, 'The vowel-letter is sounded as this or that vowel, or stands in place of the vowel.' The vowel-letters are also called by grammarians, *matres lectionis,* since they partly guide in reading the unpointed text.

[2] So also עֵדוֹת *testimonies* is for עֵדוֹוֹת (plural of עֵדוּת in Aram. style), but used only in pl. with suf. as in עֵדֹתָיו 1 K. 2, 3 *his testimonies.—Tr.*

a) That the defective writing is used chiefly, though not constantly, when the word has increased at the end, and the vowel of the penultima has lost somewhat of its stress in consequence of the accent or tone of the word being moved forward (see § 29, 2), as צַדִּיק, צַדִּיקִים; קוֹל, קוֹלוֹת;

b) That in the later books of the Old Testament the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual[1].

5. In the kindred dialects, when a vowel-letter has before it a vowel, that is not kindred or homogeneous, if it be *a,* then a diphthong is formed, e. g. וַ— *au,* יַ—, יָ— *ai.* But in Hebrew, according to the pronunciation handed down, ו and י retain here their consonant-sound, so that we get *āw, ay,*[2] e. g. וָו *wāw* (hook), חַי *chăy* (living), and so also גּוֹי *gôy* (nation), עָשׂוּי *ʿāsûy* (made), גֵּו *gēw* (back). The sound of יו— is the same as וּ—, namely, *âw,* as in דִּבְרֵיו *dᵉbhā-râʾw* (his words); therefore often וּ— defectively for יו—.

The LXX give generally, in these cases, an actual diphthong as in the Arabic, and this must be considered as an earlier mode of pronunciation; the modern Jewish pronunciation is, on the other hand, similar to the modern Greek, in which αὐ, εὐ sound like *av, ev.* In the manuscripts *Yodh* and *Waw* are, in this case, even marked with *Mappîq* (§ 14, 1). The Italian Jews sound these syllables more like diphthongs, e. g. *chài, gèu,* and so also *bait* (בַּיִת).

§ 9.

CHARACTER AND VALUE OF THE SEVERAL VOWELS.

Numerous as the Heb. vowel-signs appear, they are yet insufficient for completely representing the various modifications of the vowel-sounds in respect to length and shortness, sharpness and expansion. It may be observed further, that the indication of the sound by these signs cannot be called always perfectly appropriate. We therefore give here, for the better understanding of this matter, a short commentary on the character and value of the several vowels,

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[1] The same historical relation may be shown in the Phœnician, and in the Arabic when א is used as a vowel-letter. Probably the vowel letters have been added to the older text of the Bible, in part at least, by later copyists.

[2] The *w* and *y* in these cases, as expressing the consonant-sound, are as much as possible like *w* in *wo* and *y* in *yet,* not as in *now* and *nay.*—*Tr.*

especially in respect to *length* and *shortness;* but at the same time noticing also their *changeableness* (see §§ 25, 27).

I. *First Class:* A *sound.*

1. *Qā'měṣ* (ָ—) is every where long *a,* but yet is in its nature of two kinds:

a) The essentially long *â* which is not easily shortened and never entirely dropped (§ 25, 2), for which the Arabic regularly has ا—, as כָּתָב *kᵉthâ'bh*[1] (writing), גַּנָּב *găn-nâ'bh* (thief), קָם *qâm* (he arose), very seldom written קאם.[2]

b) The prosodically lengthened or tone-long *ā* (see § 26, 3), both in the tone-syllable and close before or after it. This sound invariably proceeds from the original short *ă,*[3] and is found in an open syllable (i. e. one ending with a vowel, see § 26, 3), e. g. לָהּ, קָטַל, קָמִים, אָסִיר (in Arabic *lăkă, qătălă, yăqûm, 'ăsîr*), and also in a closed syllable (i. e. one ending with a consonant), as יָד, כּוֹכָב (Arabic *yăd, kaukăb*). In the closed syllable, however, it can stand only when this has the tone,[4] דָּבָר, עוֹלָם, but in the open, it is especially frequent *before* the tone-syllable, as דָּבָר, זָקֵן, גְּדוֹל, קְטַנִּי, לָכֶם. When the tone is either moved forward or lessened, this vowel becomes, in the former case, short *a* (Pă'thăch), and in the latter, vocal *Shᵉwâ* (§ 27, 3), דָּבָר, דִּבַּר (*dᵉbhă'r*); חָכָם, חֲכַם (*chᵃkhă'm*); קָטַל, קְטָלָם.

Under the final letter of a word, *Qā'měṣ* may stand alone (קָטַלְתְּ, לָהּ), but in this position it is also indicated by ה (קָטַלְתָּה, אַתָּה, אִשָּׁה). Comp. § 7, 2.

2. *Pă'thăch,* or the short *ă,* stands properly only in a closed syllable with and without the tone (קָטַל, קָטַלְתֶּם). Most of the cases where it now stands in an open syllable, had the syllable originally closed, as in נַחַל (original form *nachl*) and

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[1] This long *â* is rare in Hebr., since it has generally changed into *ô*, see No. 10, 2 on p. 42.

[2] Of another sort are the cases in which א has lost its original consonant-sound by softening (see § 23, 1, 2).

[3] In the Arabic, the short *a* is still maintained.

[4] When the tone is marked in this book, the sign — is usually put over the first letter of the syllable, see § 15, 2, Rem. 3.—*Tr.*

בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28, 4. Such an *a* in an open syllable is else generally changed into *ā* (ָ—); comp. above in No. 1, *b*.

On the rare union of Pă'thăch with א (ַא—), see § 23, 2; on *ă* as a helping-sound (*Pă'thăch furtive*), see § 22, 2, *b* and § 28, 4.

3. *Seghô'l* (*ĕ, ė* or *ă*) belongs, according to its origin, chiefly to the first class of vowels, but now and then to the second or the third. It belongs to the first, when it is a modification of *a* (as in the Ger. *Bad,* pl. *Bäder*) either in an unaccented syllable, e. g. יֶדְכֶם (for יַדְכֶם), or in the tone-syllable, e. g. אֶרֶץ from קֶרֶן, אֶרֶץ (Arabic *qărn*), קֶמַח (Arab. *qămch*); even in an accented final syllable e. g. בֶּרֶזֶל, or with a final ה as in מֶרְאֶה (Arab. *mar'à*), or even in the gravest tone-syllable at the end of a clause or sentence (in *pause,* § 29, 4), as in מֶלֶךְ, צֶדֶק, though it then becomes *ā* in other words of this form, as in קֶמַח, קֶרֶן. *Seghô'l,* which seems to be lengthened from *shewâ* but which in fact comes likewise from an original *ă,* stands in pausal forms, as פֶּרִי (groundform *părī*), יְהִי (*yăhī*) etc.

II. *Second Class:* I *and* E *sound.*

4. The *long Chi'rĕq, î,* is most commonly expressed by the letter י (a *fully* written *Chi'rĕq* ִי—); but even when this is not the case, it makes no essential difference, provided the vowel is long by nature (§ 8, 4), e. g. צַדִּיק *just,* plur. צַדִּקִים (*ṣădd-dî-qi'm*); יִירָא *he fears,* plur. יְרֵאִוּ *they fear.* Whether a *defectively* written *Chi'rĕq* is long, may be best known from the grammatical origin and character of the form, but often also from the character of the syllable (§ 26), or at the same time from the position of *Mèthĕgh* (§ 16, 2) at its side, as in יְרֵאִוּ (*yî-rewû'*).

5. The *short Chi'rĕq* (never written with י) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (קִטֵּל, אִמִּי),[1] and in closed unaccented syllables (לִקְטֹל). It often comes from a shortening of *a,* as in בִּתִּי (*my daughter*) from בַּת, דִּבְרֵי from דָּבָר, יִקְטֹל out of יַקְטֹל; or it is an original *ĭ,* lengthened by the tone to

[1] For this sharp *i* the LXX mostly use ε, עִמָּנוּאֵל Ἐμμανουήλ.

ē, as in אֹיְבֵךְ (*thy foe*) from אוֹיֵב (orig. *'âyĭbh*). Sometimes also it is a mere helping-vowel, as in בֵּירֹת for בֵּרֹת (§ 28, 4).

The older grammarians call every *fully* written Chîrĕq, *Chîrĕq magnum*, and every *defectively* written one, *Chîrĕq parvum;* but as to the sound, this gives a wrong distinction.

6. The longest *ê, Ṣē'rê* with Yôdh (ֵי), is a blended sound of the diphthong *ai* ַי (§ 7, 1), which, in the Arabic and Syriac, stands for it, as הֵיכָל (*palace*), in Arab. and Syr. *haikal*. It is therefore a very long and firm vowel, longer even than ִי, since it approaches the quantity of a diphthong. This ֵי is but very seldom written defectively (עֵנֵי for עֵינֵי Is. 3, 8), and then it retains the same value.

At the end of a word, ֵי and ַי *must* be written fully. In the form קָטַלְתִּי (§ 44, Rem. 4), the vowels belong to the marginal reading קָטַלְתִּי, called the *Qᵉrî* (§ 17).

7. The *Ṣē'rê* without Yôdh is the long *ē* of the second rank, always lengthened from a short *ĭ*, and it stands only *in* and *close by* the tone-syllable, like the *ā* above (p. 39) in No. 1, *b*. It stands in an open syllable *with* or *before* the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (Arab. *sĭphr*) *book*, שֵׁנָה (Arab. *sĭnăt*) *sleep;* in a closed syllable only *with* the tone, as in בֵּן *son*, אֵלֵם *dumb*.

8. The *Sᵉghô'l*, so far as it belongs to the second class, is most generally a short obtuse *ĕ*, a shortening of the tone-long ֵ, (this shortening having been occasioned by the weakening of the tone through the addition of a suffix or a word joined by *Măqqē'ph*), as תֶּן־ from תֵּן (*give*), יֹצְרֵהּ from יֹצֵר (*maker*), but also in the tone-syllable, as גֶּרְזֶן *gărzĕ'n* (Arab. *kărzĭn*) *an axe*, אַחֶרֶת (fem. of אַחֵר), and at the end of a word as in חֹזֶה *chô-zĕ* (*a seer*); it appears besides as a helping-sound, as in סֶפֶר for סְפֶר, יֶגֶל for יְגֶל (§ 28, 4).

On the rise of Sᵉghô'l out of other vowels see more in § 27, Rems. 1, 2, 4.

III. *Third Class:* U *and* O *sound.*

9. In the *third class* is found much the same relation as in the second. In the *U* sound we have:

1) the *long û*, whether *a*) fully written as *Shûrĕq* וּ (answering to the ִי of the second class), e. g. גְּבוּל (*border*), or *b*) defectively written (analogous to the long ֵ of

the second class) without the Wāw, as *Qibbûṣ* (ֻ); viz., that which stands for Shûrĕq, and should more properly be called *defective Shûrĕq* (רְמִתִּין, גְּבִלִּין), being in fact a long vowel like *Shûrĕq,* and only an orthographic shortening for the same.

2) The *short ŭ,* the proper *Qibbûṣ* (analogous to the short *Chîrĕq*), in an unaccented closed syllable, and especially in a sharpened one, as שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), סֻכָּה (*booth*).

For the latter the LXX put *o*, e. g. עֲדֻלָּם, Ὀδολλάμ; but this only indicates on their part a defective pronunciation, since they also express *Chîrĕq* by ε, as Ἐμμαουήλ for עִמָּנוּאֵל. Equally incorrect was the former custom of giving to both sorts of *Qibbûṣ* the sound *ü*, though it finds an apparent justification in Palestine, (comp. the Turkish *bülbül* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the Syrian pronunciation *dünjā* of the Arabic *dunja*.)

Sometimes also the short *ŭ* in a sharpened syllable is expressed by וּ, e. g. רֻבַּד=רוּבַּד (see § 27, Rem. 1 and *Delitzsch* Com. Ps. 31. 3).

10. The *O* sound stands in the same relation to *U,* as *E* to *I* in the second class. It has four gradations:

1) the longest *ô,* sprung from the diphthong *au* (§ 7, 1), and mostly written in full וֹ (*Chō'lĕm plenum*), שׁוֹט (*a whip,* Arabic *saut*), עוֹלָה (*evil*) from עָוְלָה; more rarely it is written defectively, as שֹׁרְךָ (*thy bullock*), from שׁוֹר;

2) The long *ô,* which has sprung from an original *â* (comp. Germ. *alt* = Eng. *old*), usually written *fully* in a tone-syllable and *defectively* in a toneless one, as קֹטֵל (Arab. *qâṭ̣il* and Aram. *qâṭ̣ēl*); אֱלוֹהַּ (*god*), Arab. *'ilâh*, and Aram. *'ĕlâh,* pl. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sâq;* גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *găbbâ'r;* חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *khâtăm;* רִמּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rŭmmâ'n;* שִׁלְטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שָׁלְטָן, Arab. *sŭlṭâ'n;* שָׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *sălâ'm.* Sometimes both forms co-exist, as שִׁרְיָן and שִׁרְיוֹן (*coat of mail*); comp. § 68.

3) The tone-long *ō,* which is lengthened by the tone from an original short *o* or *u,* and which becomes short again on its removal, as כֹּל (*all*), כָּל־ (*kŏl*), כֻּלָּם (*kŭl-lām*), וְקָטַל, וְקָטְלָה, וְקָטְלוּ (in this last instance it is shortened to vocal Sh^{e}wâ, *yiq-ṭ^{e}lû',* Arab. *yâq-tŭlû*). In this case the Chō'lĕm is *fully* written only exceptionally.

4) The *Qā'mĕṣ-chāṭû'ph* (—), always short and in the same relation to *Chō'lĕm* as the *Seghô'l* of the second class to the *Ṣē'rê*, כֹּל *kŏl*, וַיָּקָם *wăy-yā'-qŏm*. On the distinction between this and *Qā'mĕṣ*, see below in this section.

11. The *Seghô'l* also belongs here, so far as it arises out of *u* or *o* (No. 3), e. g. in אַתֶּם, קְטַלְתֶּם. See § 27, Rem. 4, *b*.

On the *half-vowels*, see § 10.

12. In the following table we give a scale of the vowel-sounds in each of the three classes, with respect to their quantity, from the greatest length to the utmost shortness. The table does not indeed suffice to exhibit all vowel transitions, which occur in the language, but yet it furnishes a view of those in more frequent use:—

First Class: A.	*Second Class: I and E.*	*Third Class: U and O.*
— longest *â* (Arabic א—).	ֵי— *ê* diphthongal (from *ai*).	וֹ *ô* diphthongal (from *aw*).
	ֵי— *è* (from *ai*).	וֹ or — *ô* changed from *â*.
	י— or — long *î*.	וּ or — long *û*.
— tone-long *ā* (from short *ă* or —) in and by the tone-syllable.	— tone-long *ē* (from — *ĭ* or — *ĕ*) in and immediately before the tone-syllable.	— tone-long *ō* (from — *ŏ* or —) in the tone-syllable.
— short *ă*.	— short *ĭ*.	— short *ŭ*, specially in a sharpened syllable.
— partly tone-long *è*, partly short *ĕ*, — *ĭ* attenuated from *ă*.	— *ĕ*, accented *è*.	— short *ŏ*.
		— *ĕ*, accented *è*.
Greatest shortening to —^{a} —^{ĕ} or —^{e}, also to	Greatest shortening to —^{ĕ} or —^{e}.	Greatest shortening to —^{o} or —^{e}.

ON THE DISTINCTION OF QĀ'MĔṢ AND QĀ'MĔṢ-CHĀTÛPH.[1]

As an instance of incongruity in the vowel-signs, we may notice the fact, that the long *ā* (*Qā'-mĕṣ*) and the short *ŏ* (*Qā'-mĕṣ-chāṭû'ph*) are both represented by the same sign (—), e. g. קָם *qâm*, כֹּל *kŏl*.[2] The beginner who has as yet no

[1] This portion must, in order to be fully understood, be studied in connection with what is said on the syllables in § 26, and on Mèthĕgh in § 16, 2.

[2] For the cause of this, see Note [1] on p. 35; but cf. *Bær-Del.* Job 17, 9.

knowledge of that surest of guides, viz., the grammatical derivation of the words he has to read, may, in order to distinguish between these two vowels, follow these two chief rules: viz.—

1. *The sign* (—ָ) *is ŏ in a closed syllable which has not the tone* (or *accent*); for such a syllable cannot have a long vowel (§ 26, 5). The examples are various:

a) When *simple Sh^{e}wâ'*, as syllable-divider (§ 10, 3), follows, as in חָכְמָה *chŏkh-mā'* (*wisdom*), אָכְלָה *'ŏkh-lā'* (*food*); with a *Mèthĕgh* on the contrary, the (—ָ) is *ā* and closes the syllable, and then the following Sh^{e}wâ is a half-vowel (*vocal* Sh^{e}wâ), as in אָכְלָה *'ā-kh^{e}lá* (*she ate*), according to § 16, 2.

b) When *Dāghē'sh forte* follows, as in חָנֵּנִי *chŏn-né-ni* (*pity me*); also בָּתִּים *bŏttî'm* (*houses*), בֶּתֵּיכֶם *bŏt-tê-khém*, though the *Mèthĕgh* (§ 16, 2) makes others pronounce these words better with *â*, as *bât-tî'm*.

c) When *Măqqē'ph* follows (§ 16, 1), as כָּל־הָאָדָם *kŏl-hā-'ādhā'm* (all men).

d) When the closed unaccented syllable is final, as וַיָּקָם *wăy-yā'qŏm* (*and he stood up*).—There are some cases where *â* in the final syllable loses its tone by *Măqqē'ph* (§ 16, 1) and yet remains unchanged, e. g. בְּתֹךְ־הַדָּת Est. 4, 8, שֶׁת־לִי Gen. 4, 25, 16, מָנָת־חֶלְקִי Ps. 16, 5. In such cases the *Mèthĕgh* or a secondary accent generally stands by the (—ָ).

In cases like הֲלָאמָה, לָמָּה *lā'mma*, where the (—ָ) of the closed syllable has the tone, it is *ā*, according to § 26, 6.

2. The sign (—ָ) as short *ŏ* in an *open syllable* is less frequent. It occurs:—*a*) when *Chāṭĕph-Qā'mĕṣ* follows, as פָּעֳלוֹ *pŏ-'^{o}lô'* (his deed); or simple vocal *Sh^{e}wâ* as דָּרְבָן *sting*;—*b*) when another *Qā'mĕṣ-chāṭûph* follows, as פָּעֳלֵךְ *pŏ-'ŏl^{e}khā'* (thy deed);—*c*) in two anomalous words, where it is also written with (—ָ), which is found in manuscripts, viz., קָדָשִׁים *qŏ-dhā-shî'm* (sanctuaries) and שָׁרָשִׁים *shŏ-rā-shî'm* (roots).

In these cases (—ָ) is followed by *Mèthĕgh*, which indicates that the *Massora* (comp. *Bœr-Del.* Job VI.) read *ā* thus: *pā-^{o}lō*, *dā-r^{e}bān*, *pā-^{o}l^{e}khā*, *qā-dāšîm*. This tradition though sustained by the Babylon. Punct. (§ 8, 2, Note) and by the orig. Jewish Grammarians, is not to be accepted without question. The *Mèthĕgh* may orig. have had another meaning, or have been founded upon an error. It is better to divide and read: *pŏ^{o}-lō* (f. *pŏ'-lō*), *pŏ^{o}-l^{e}khā*, *qŏdā-šîm* (clearly orthogr. for *q^{o}dāšîm*). Quite as difficult would be *Mèthĕgh* as a sign of *ā* in בְּחָרֵי־אָם Ex. 11, 8, however possibly in בְּאֳנִי *bā-^{o}nî*, *in the fleet* 1 K. 9, 27 where the *ā* of the article is found under the ב.

§ 10.

THE HALF-VOWELS AND THE SYLLABLE-DIVIDER (SHEWÂ).

1. Besides the full vowels, which § 9 chiefly treats of, the Hebrew has also a series of very slight vowel-sounds, which may be called *half-vowels*.[1] They are to be regarded in general as extreme shortenings, perhaps mere traces, of fuller and more distinct vowel-sounds in an earlier period of the language.

To them belongs, first, the sign ◌ְ, which indicates the shortest, slightest, and most indistinct half-vowel, something like an obscure half *ĕ* (*ᵉ*). It is called *Shᵉwâ*,[2] and also *simple Shᵉwâ*, to distinguish it from the *composite* (see below in No. 2), and *vocal Shᵉwâ* (*Shᵉwâ mobilĕ*), to distinguish it from the *silent* (*Shᵉwâ quiescens*), which is merely a divider of syllables (see No. 3). This last can occur only under a consonant closing the syllable, and is thus distinguished from the vocal Shᵉwâ. Of the vocal *Shᵉwâ* we have again to distinguish two kinds,

1) the real *Shᵉwâ mobile*, beneath such consonants as are closely united (as a kind of *appoggiatura*), with the following syllable, whether — *a*) at the beginning of the word, as קְטַל *qᵉṭōl*, מְמַלֵּא *mᵉmallĕ'*; or — *b*) in the middle of the word, as קוֹטְלָה *qô-ṭᵉlā'*, יִקְטְלוּ *yĭq-ṭᵉlû'*, קִטְלוּ *qĭṭṭᵉlû'*,

2) the so-called *Shᵉwâ medium*,[3] or Shᵉwâ wavering [*schwebende*] placed under such consonants as stand at the end of a syllable with a short vowel, and thus effect at least a slight close of the same, while at the same time they serve as appoggiatura to the following syllable. The *Shᵉwâ medium* therefore stands between the *Shᵉwâ quiescens* and the real *Shᵉwâ mobile*. With reference to pronunciation however, it must be

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[1] In the table § 9, 12 on p. 43, the half-vowels have already been exhibited for the sake of a more complete view. We express them by very small letters.

[2] The name שְׁוָא is written also שְׁבָא, and its derivation and proper meaning are disputed.

[3] Dr. *Davies* preferred to regard the cases here classified (under the name of *medium*) as exceptionally faint *vocal Shewâs*, to be indicated in English by an apostrophe (′), thus מַלְבַּר *măl'-khē'*.—*Ed.*

counted among the latter; e. g. הִנֵּנִי *hin^{e}nî* (which stands for הִנְנִי *hin-n^{e}nî*); לַמְנַצֵּחַ *la-m^{e}naṣṣē$^{'a}$ch* (for לַמְ), מַלְכֵי *mal^{e}khê'*.

The sound *ĕ* may be regarded as representing *vocal Sh^{e}wâ*, although it is certain that it often accorded in sound with other vowels. The Sept. express it by ε, even η, כְּרוּבִים Χερουβίμ, הַלְלוּ יָהּ ἀλληλούϊα, oftener by α, שְׁמוּאֵל Σαμουήλ, but very often they give it a sound to accord with the following vowel, as סְדֹם Σόδομα, שְׁלֹמֹה Σολομών (besides Σαλωμών), צְבָאוֹת Σαβαώθ, נְתַנְאֵל Ναθαναήλ.[1] A similar account of the pronunciation of Sh^{e}wâ is given also by the Jewish grammarians of the middle ages[2].

How the Sh^{e}wâ sound springs from the slight or hasty utterance of a stronger vowel, we may see in בְּרָכָה (for which also בֶּרֶכָה occurs, see No. 2, Rem.) from *barakha*, as this word also sounds in Arabic. This language has still regularly for *vocal Sh^{e}wâ* an ordinary short vowel.

2. With the simple *vocal Sh^{e}wâ* is connected the so-called *composite Sh^{e}wâ* or *Chāṭĕ'ph* (*rapid*), i. e. a *Sh^{e}wâ* attended by a short vowel to indicate that we should sound it as a half *ă, ĕ,* or *ŏ*. We have, answering to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7, 1), the following *three Chāṭĕ'phs:*

(ֲ) *Chāṭĕ'ph-Páthăch,* as in חֲמוֹר *ch^{a}môr* (ass).
(ֱ) *Chāṭĕ'ph-S^{e}ghôl,* as in אֱמֹר *^{e}mōr* (to say).
(ֳ) *Chāṭĕ'ph-Qāmĕṣ,* as in חֳלִי *ch^{o}lî* (sickness).

These *Chāṭĕ'phs,* at least the two former, stand chiefly under the four gutturals (§ 22, 3), the utterance of which naturally causes the annexed half-vowel to be rather more distinctly sounded. At the beginning of the syllable a guttural can never have a *simple Sh^{e}wâ*.

Rem. Only (ֱ) and (ֲ) occur under letters which are not gutturals.

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[1] This is not unusual in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phœnician words, e. g. מְלָכָא *Malaca,* גְּבוּלִים *gubulim* (see *Gesen.* Mon. Phœnicia p. 436, *Schröder,* die phonic. Spr., S. 139 ff., *Mover's* article *Phönizien* in the Encyclop., p. 436). Comp. the Latin augment in *momordi, pupugi,* with the Greek in τέτυφα, τετυμμένος, and the old form *memordi.*

[2] See especially *Juda Chayyuǵ,* p. 4 and p. 130 of the edition by Nutt, (Berlin, 1870) = p. 200 in ed. by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844), also in *Ibn Ezra's* Sachoth, p. 3, *Gesenius's* Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache, S. 68. The "Manuel du lecteur" mentioned above § 6, 1 contains also express rules for the different utterances of the *vocal Sh^{e}wâ.*

The *Chāṭēph-Pă'thăch* is thus found instead of *simple vocal Sh^{e}wâ*, especially *a*) under a doubled letter, since the doubling causes a more distinct utterance of the vocal Sh^{e}wâ, as שִׁבֳּלֵי *branches* Zech. **4**, 12, especially also where the sign of doubling has fallen away (*Del.* and *Guer.* Ztschr. Bd. 24, p. 499), וַתְּאַלְּצֵהוּ Judg. **16**, 16; no less universally where after a consonant with (—ְ) the same consonant follows (for sharper distinction) e. g. סֹורְרִים Ps. **68**, 7; קְלָלָתְךָ Gen. **27**, 13 (except some special cases like חָנֵנִי *see me!*) and finally under ר after the long vowel and before the tone e. g. בָּרְכִי Ps. **103**, 1; *b*) under the initial sibilants after ו copulative e. g. וְזָהַב Gen. **2**, 12; וְשָׁקָה Gen. **27**, 26, to give the *Sh^{e}wâ* more prominence; for the same reason under emphatic ק in וְקָרְבוּ Ps. **55**, 2 and under ר in וְרָעֵם Ps. **28**, 9; *c*) under liquids, sibilants, or ק after ĭ, e. g. אֶמְרוֹת Ps. **12**, 7, בְּסִבְכֵי־ Ps. **74**, 5 for the same reason, as cases under *b*.

The *Chāṭēph-Qā'mĕṣ* is less connected with the gutturals than the first two, and stands frequently for *simple vocal Sh^{e}wâ* when an *O* sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e. g. רָאִי for *vision* (§ 93, VI. Rem. 6), יִרְהֳפֶךָ for the usual יִרְהֲפֶךָ Ez. **35**, 6, from יִרְהַף; קָדְקֳדוֹ *his pate* from קָדְקֹד. It is used, also, like (—ָ) when *Dāghĕ'sh fortè* has fallen away, לָקְחָה for לָקְּחָה Gen. **2**, 23. Here, as in יִסְּגָדָה 1 K. **13**, 7, and וְצָעֳקִי Jer. **22**, 20, the choice of this *composite Sh^{e}wâ* is dependent on the following guttural and the preceding *U* sound; in וְטָהֳרִי־ (*u-ṭ^{o}hŏr*) additionally on the fol. *O* sound.

3. The sign of the *simple Sh^{e}wâ* (—ְ) serves also as a mere *syllable-divider,* without expressing any sound, and therefore called in this case *silent Sh^{e}wâ* (Arab. *sukûn* rest). It stands in the midst of a word under every consonant that closes a syllable; at the end of words, on the other hand, it is omitted, except in *final* ד, e. g. מֶלֶךְ (*king*), and in the less frequent case where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant, as in נֵרְדְּ (*nard*), אַתְּ (*thou, fem.*), קָטַלְתְּ (*thou hast killed*), יַשְׁקְ (*and he watered*), וַיִּשְׁבְּ (*and he took captive*), אַל־תִּשְׁתְּ (*drink thou not*).

Yet in the last examples *Sh^{e}wâ* under the last letter might rather pass for *vocal,* since it is pretty clear that a final vowel has been shortened, e. g. אַתְּ *'att^{e}* from אַתִּי *'attî*, קָטַלְתְּ from קָטַלְתִּי, יִשְׁבְּ *yishb^{e}* from יִשְׁבָה,[1] etc. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in the analogous forms. In נֵרְדְּ (Cant. **4**, 14) borrowed from the Indian, קְשְׁטְ (*truth*) Prov. **22**, 21, *qōshṭ*, אַל־תּוֹסְפְּ (*ne addas*) Prov. **30**, 6 the final mute draws from itself a very slight vowel sound.

[1] So thought *Juda Chayyuḡ* among the Jewish grammarians.

§ 11.

OF THE OTHER SIGNS WHICH AFFECT THE READING.

In intimate connection with the vowel-points stand the *reading-signs,* which were probably adopted at the same time. Besides the diacritic point of שׁ and שׂ (p. 27), a point is used *in* a letter, in order to show that it has a stronger sound, or is even doubled; and, on the contrary, a small horizontal stroke *over* a letter, as a sign that it has *not* the strong sound. The use of the point *in* the letter is *threefold:* — *a*) as *Dāghē'sh fortė* or sign of *doubling* (§ 12); — *b*) as *Dāghē'sh lenė* or sign of the hard (not aspirated) sound (§ 13); — *c*) *Mappī'q*, a sign that the vowel-letter (§ 7, 2) especially the ה at the end of a word (§ 14, 1), has the sound of a consonant. The stroke *over* a letter, *Rāphė,* has a contrary effect, and is rarely used in the printed text (§ 14, 2).

§ 12.

OF DĀGHḖSH IN GENERAL, AND DĀGHḖSH FORTÈ IN PARTICULAR.

1. *Dāghē'sh* is a point written in the bosom[1] of a consonant, and is employed for two purposes; *a*) to indicate the *doubling* of the letter (Dāghē'sh *fortė*), e. g. קַטֶּל *qăṭ-ṭē'l;* *b*) the *hardening* of the aspirates (§ 6, 3), i. e. the removal of the aspiration (Dāghē'sh *lenė*). Comp. Note p. 49.

The root דגשׁ, from which דָּגֵשׁ is derived, signifies in Syriac to *thrust* or *bore through* (with a sharp iron). Hence the word Dāghē'sh is commonly supposed to mean, with reference to its figure merely, a *prick* or a *point.* But the names of all similar signs are expressive of their grammatical power, and in this case, the name of the sign refers both to its figure and its use. In grammatical language דגשׁ means,— 1) *acuere* (*literam*), *to sharpen* the letter by doubling it;—2) *to harden* the letter by taking away its aspiration. Accordingly דָּגֵשׁ means *sharpening* and *hardening,* i. e. the sign of sharpening or hardening (like

[1] The ו with Dāghē'sh is easily distinguished from Shûrĕq, which never admits a vowel or Sh^{e}wâ under or before the ו. The *Wāw* with Dāghē'sh (וּ) ought to have the point not so high up as the *Wāw* with *Shûrĕq* (וּ). But this difference is mostly neglected in print.

Măppî'q, מַפִּיק *proferens*, i. e. *signum prolationis*), and it was expressed in writing by a mere *prick* of the *stilus* (*punctum*). In a manner somewhat analogous, in textual criticism letters and words are represented as expunged (*ex-puncta*) by a *point* or *pointed instrument* (*obeliscus*) affixed to them.—The opposite of Dāghē'sh is רָפֶה *soft* (§ 14, 2).—That דָּגֵשׁ, in grammatical language, is applied to a *hard pronunciation* of various kinds appears from § 22, 4, Rem. 1.

2. Its use as *Dāghē'sh forte*, i. e. for *doubling* a letter, is of chief importance (compare the *Sicilicus* of the ancient Latins, e. g. *Luculus* for *Lucullus*, and in German the stroke over m̄ and n̄). It is wanting in the unpointed text, like the vowel and other signs.

For the cases where it stands, and for further particulars respecting its varieties, see § 20.

§ 13.
OF DĀGHĔSH LENE.

1. Dāghē'sh *lene*, the sign of *hardening*, belongs only to the aspirates (*literae aspiratae*) בְּגִדְכְּפַת (§ 6, 3)[1]. It takes away their aspiration, and restores their original *slender* or *pure* sounds (*literae tenues*) e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mă'-lĕkh*, but מַלְכוֹ *mal-kô'*; תָּפַר *tā-phă'r*, but יִתְפֹּר *yĭth-pō'r*; שָׁתָה *shā-thā'*, but יִשְׁתֶּה *yĭsh-tè*.

2. Dāghē'sh *lene*, as shown in § 21, stands only at the beginning of words and syllables. It is thus easily distinguished from Dāghē'sh *forte*, since in such cases the doubling of a letter is impossible. Thus the Dāghē'sh is *forte* in אַפִּי *'ăp-pî'*, רַבִּים *răb-bî'm*, but *lene* in יִגְדַּל *yĭgh-dă'l*, פָּנִים *pānîm*.

3. Dāghē'sh *forte* in an aspirate doubles it in its original harder sound, so excluding its aspiration and serving at once for both *forte* and *lene*, as in אַפִּי *'ăp-pî'*, רַכּוֹת *răk-kô'th*. Compare in German *stechen* and *stecken*, English *stitch* and *stick*, *wachen* and *wecken*, Engl. *watch* and *wake*.

It is natural that where the letter is to be doubled, it does not admit easily of such a softening of its sound. In confirmation of this rule

[1] Prof. *Kautzsch* notices here an anomalous application of the *Dāghē'sh lene* to other than the aspirates in order to accentuate the beginning of a new syllable. Examples of this are to be found in the corrected text of *Baer-Delitzsch*, e. g. בְּכָל־לִבִּי Ps. 9, 2, מַחְסִי Ps. 62, 8, comp. *Delitzsch*, luth. Ztschr. 1863, S. 413.—*Ed.*

we may refer to certain Oriental words, which, in the earliest times, passed over into the Greek language, as כַּפָּא κάππα (not κάφφα), yet סַפִּיר σάπφειρος.

The doubling of a letter does not occur in Syriac, at least not in its Western dialects. Where it would be required, however, according to etymology and analogy, in some cases the hard sound at least remains: thus אַפִּין in Syriac is read *'apîn* for *'appîn*, דַּכִּי *dakî* for *dakkî*.

§ 14.
MAPPÎ'Q AND RĀPHÈ.

1. *Măppî'q,* like Dāghē'sh, to which it is analogous, is a point *in* a letter. It belongs only to the vowel-letters ו, י, and א, ה (*literae quiescibiles*, see § 7, 2), and shows that they are to be fully sounded as *consonants,* instead of serving as vowels. It is at present used only in final ה, for in the body of a word this letter always has its consonant force, e. g. גָּבַהּ *gā-bhă'h* (*to be high*), אַרְצָהּ *'ăr-ṣâ'h* (*her land*), the *h* having its full consonant-sound (shortened from *-hâ*), in distinction from אַרְצָה *'ă'r-ṣā* (*land-ward*), which ends with a vowel.

Without doubt such a ה was uttered with stronger aspiration, like the Arabic *He* at the end of the syllable. The use of *Măppî'q* with א, ו, י, to mark them as consonants, is almost confined to manuscripts, e. g. גּוֹי (*gôy*), קָוּ (*qāw*); and it appears in the printed text only very seldom with the *'Ălĕph*, thus אּ Gen. 43, 26, Lev. 23, 17, Ezr. 8, 18.

The name מַפִּיק signifies *proferens* i. e. a sign that requires the sound of the letter to be clearly expressed as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this and for Dāghē'sh, because the design was analogous, viz., to indicate the strong sound of the letter. Hence also *Rāphè* is the opposite of both.

2. *Rāphè* (רָפֶה i. e. *soft*), a horizontal stroke *over* the letter, is the opposite of both Dāghē'sh and Mappî'q, especially of Dāghē'sh *lene*. In exact manuscripts especially an aspirate has either Dāghē'sh lene or Rāphè, e. g. מַלְכְּךָ *mă'lekh*, תְּפַר, שְׁחָה; but in printed editions of the Bible (except of Baer-Delitzsch, v. Note, p. 49) it is used only when the absence of Dāghē'sh or Mappî'q is to be expressly noted, e. g. *Dagh. f.* wanting in יַתְּאַכְּלֵהוּ for יַתְּאַכְּלֵהוּ Judg. 16, 16, and *Dāghē'sh lenè* in מִשְׁתִּי v. 28, and *Mappî'q* in Job 31, 22.

§ 15.
OF THE ACCENTS.

1. The design of the *accents* in general is, to show the rhythmical members of the verses in the Old Testament text, especially in the poetical books. But as such the use is two-fold, according to which they are chiefly to be noticed in the grammar, viz.—*a*) to show the logical relation of each word to the whole sentence;—*b*) to mark the tone-syllable in each word. In respect to the former, they serve as signs of *interpunction;* in respect to the latter, as signs of the *tone* or *accent.*

By the Jews they are moreover regarded as signs of *declamation*, intimating the elevation and depression of the tone, and are used as such in the recitation, or rather the *cantillation*, of the Old Test. in the synagogues. This use of them is also connected with the general rhythmical design.

2. As a sign for marking the *tone* of a single word, the accent, whatever its rhythmical value besides may be, stands regularly (comp. Rem. 2, p. 54) with the syllable which has the chief tone in the word. In most words the tone is on the last syllable, less frequently on the last but one (*penultima*). In the first case, the word is called by the grammarians *mĭl-rāʿ* (מִלְרַע Aram. *from below*), e. g. קָטַל *qā-ṭāʾl;* in the second, *mĭl-ʿêl* (מִלְעֵיל Aram. *from above*), e. g. מָלְךָ *mā-lĕkh.* On the third syllable from the end (*antepenultima*) the chief tone never stands; but we often find there a secondary one, or by-tone, which is indicated by the *Mèthĕgh* (§ 16, 2). The Jewish grammarians accept also a proparoxytone in such cases as נֶעֱמְדָה יַחַד Is. 50, 8.

3. The use of the accents as signs of *interpunction* is somewhat complicated, since they serve not merely to *separate* the members of a sentence, like our period, colon, semicolon and comma, but also as marks of *connection.* Hence they form two general classes, *Distinctives* (Domini) and *Conjunctives* (Servi). Again there is to be distinguished a double system of accentuation *a*) the *Prosaic*, found in 21 O. T. books (the so-called כ״א i. e. 21) and *b*) the *Poetical* in the three first

books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Comp. Note[5] p. 22. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the Prosaic.

The following list of the accents presents them in the order[1] of their value as *signs of interpunction*.

I. PROSAIC ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives (Domini).

I. *Imperatores*

1. ( ) סִלּוּק (*Sillûq*,[2] "end") with (:) סוֹף פָּסוּק;
2. ( ) אַתְנָח (*Athnā'ch*, "rest");[3]
3. ( ) סְגוֹלְתָּא (*Seghôltā*, "bunch of grapes"); ††
4. ( ) שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת גְּדוֹלָה (*Shălshèlĕth*, "chain") with פָּסִיק following;

II. *Reges*

5. ( ) זָקֵף קָטוֹן (*Zāqēph qātōn*, "slight suspension");
6. ( ) זָקֵף גָּדוֹל (*Zaqēph gādhôl*, "great suspension");
7. ( ) רְבִיעַ (*Rebhîa'*, "square" or "reposing");

III. *Duces*

8. ( ) פַּשְׁטָא (*Pāshṭā*, "letting down"); ††
9. ( ) יְתִיב (*Yethîbh*, "sitting still"); †
10. ( ) טִפְחָא (*Tiphchā*, "palm of the hand"); †
11. ( ) תְּבִיר (*Tebhîr*, "interruption");
12. ( ) זַרְקָא (*Zarqā*, "dispersion"); ††

IV. *Comites*

13. ( ) גֵּרֵשׁ (*Gērĕsh*, "expulsion");
14. ( ) גְּרֵשַׁיִם (*Gerâshim*, "double Geresh");
15. ( ) לְגַרְמֵהּ (*Legarmēh* = מֵהֵג (see 21) with (ו) פָּסִיק (*Pesiq*, "cut off");
16. ( ) פָּזֵר (*Pāzēr*, "separator");
17. ( ) קַרְנֵי פָרָה (*Qārnê-phārā*, "heifer's horns");
18. ( ) תְּלִישָׁא גְדוֹלָה (*Telîshā Gedholā*, "great shield");

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[1] This list has been tabulated and enlarged for the sake of clearness. The order here given is that adopted by *Kautzsch*, with the addition of the Hebrew names and their definitions as given by *Stade* (Lehrb. 1879), *Ewald* and others.—*Ed.*

[2] Only at the end of the verse and always united with (:) *Sôph-pāssûq* which separates each verse, e. g. :הָאָרֶץ.

[3] Usually under the tone-syllable of the last word in the first half of the verse.

[4] For explanation of the signs † and †† see Rem. 2 below.

B. Conjunctives (Servi).

19. (ֽ) מֵרְכָא (*Mēr^{e}khā*, "prolonging");
20. (ֽ) מֵרְכָא כְּפוּלָא (*Mēr^{e}khā kh^{e}phūla*, "m. doubled");
21. (ֽ) מוּנָח (*Mûnāch*, "at rest");
22. (ֽ) דַּרְגָּא (*Dărgā*, "progress");
23. (ֽ) קַדְמָא (*Qădhmā*, "beginning");
24. (ֽ) מַהְפַּךְ (*Măhpāch*, "inverted");
25. (ֽ) תְּלִישָׁא קְטַנָּה (*T^{e}lîshā Q^{e}tannā*, "little shield");††
26. (ֽ) יֵרַח בֶּן־יוֹמוֹ (*Yērăch ben Yōmō*, "moon a day old");
27. (ֽ) מְאֵיְלָא (*M^{e}'ailā*, "from afar").[1]

II. POETICAL ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives.

1. (ֽ:) סִלּוּק *Silluq* (see above).
2. (ֽ) מֵרְכָא מְהֻפָּךְ *Mēr^{e}khā m^{e}huppākh* or *'Ōlèv^{e}jōrēd*, a stronger separator than
3. (ֽ) אַתְנָח *'Athnā'ch* (v. s.). In smaller verses *'Athnāch* suffices as chief separator; in larger ones the *Mēr^{e}khā m^{e}huppākh* serves as such, and is then always followed by *'athnach* as greatest distinctive of the second half of the word,
4. (ֽ) רְבִיעַ גָּדוֹל Great *R^{e}bîă*,
5. (ֽ) רְבִיעַ מְגֻרָשׁ *R^{e}bhî^{a} Mugrāsh*, i.e. *R^{e}bhî^{a}* with *Gĕ'rĕsh* over the same word,
6. (ֽ) שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת *Shălshĕlĕth* (v. s.),
7. (ֽ) צִנּוֹר *Ṣinnôr* (*Zărqā*) ††;
8. (ֽ) רְבִיעַ קָטֹן Little *R^{e}bhî^{a}*, immediately before *Mēr^{e}khā m^{e}huppakh*,
9. (ֽ) דְּחִי *D^{e}chî* or *tiphchā prepositive* †,
10. (ֽ) פָּזֵר *Pāzēr* (v. sup.),

11*a*. (ֽ) מְהֻפָּךְ לְגַרְמֵהּ *M^{e}huppākh l^{e}garmēh*, i. e. *mahpakh* with *P^{e}sîq*,

11*b*. (ֽ) אַזְלָא לְגַרְמֵהּ *'Azlā l^{e}garmēh*, i. e. Azlâ with *P^{e}sîq*.

[1] To indicate the secondary tone in words which have *Sillûq* or *'Athnā'ch*.

B. Conjunctives.

12. ( ) מֵרְכָא *Mēr^{e}khā* (v. s.),

13. ( ) מוּנַח *Mûnach* (v. s.),

14. ( ) עִלּוּי *Illui* or *Munach Superior,*

15. ( ) טַרְחָא *Tărchā* placed under the tone-syllable and thus easily distinguished from No. 9.

16. ( ) גַּלְגַּל *Galgal* (or *Yĕrăch* v. no. 26 supra.),

17. ( ) מַהְפַּךְ *Măhpākh* (v. s.),

18. ( ) אַזְלָא *Azlā* (v. s.),

19. ( ) שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת קְטַנָּה *Shalsheleth q^{e}tannāh* (little Sh.). The last three are distinguished from the distinctives of the same name by the absence of the *P^{e}siq* stroke.

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

1. As in Greek and English (comp. εἶμί and εἶμι, *entrance* and *ênt'rance*), so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants and vowel-signs are often distinguished by the accent, e. g. בָּנוּ *bā-nû'* (*they built*), בָּנוּ *bā'nû* (*in us*); קָמָה *qā'mā* (*she stood up*), קָמָה *qāmā'* (*standing up*, fem.).

2. As a rule, the accents stand on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. Some, however, stand only on the first letter of a word (*prepositive*), others only on the last letter (*postpositive*). The former are designated in the table by†, the latter by††. These do not, therefore, clearly indicate the tone-syllable, which must be known in some other way.

3. The place of the accent, specially when it is on the penultima, is indicated in this book by the sign (—), e. g. קָטַלְתָּ *qā-ṭă'l-tā.*

II. *As Signs of Interpunction.*

4. In respect to this use of the accent, every verse is regarded as a period, which closes with Sĭllû'q[1], or, in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a realm (*ditio*), which is governed by the great Distinctive at the end (*Imperator*). According as the verse is long or short, i. e. as the empire is large or small, so varies the number of *Domini* of different grades, which form the larger and smaller divisions.

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[1] This has the same form with *Mèthĕgh* (§ 16, 2); but they are readily distinguished, as *Sillûq* always stands at the last tone-syllable of a verse, while *Mèthĕgh* never stands at a tone-syllable.

5. Conjunctives (*Servi*) unite only such words as are closely connected in sense, as a noun with an adjective, or with another noun in the genitive. For the closest connection of two or several words *Măqqē'ph* is used (§ 16, 1).

6. In very short verses few conjunctives are used, and sometimes none; a small distinctive, in the vicinity of a greater, having a connective power (*servit domino majori*). In very long verses, on the contrary, conjunctives are used for the smaller distinctives (*fiunt legati dominorum*).

7. Without attempting here to explain[1] the laws of consecution, we may remark, to avoid misunderstanding, that in poetic accentuation, the *Rebhîa Mugrāsh* before *Sillûq* and the *Dechî* before *'Athnā'ch* must be changed into a *conjunctive*, unless at least two unaccented syllables precede the chief distinctives. Here *Shewâ mobile* after *Qā'mĕṣ*, *Ṣē'rê* or *Chō'lĕm* (with *Mèthĕgh*) is considered as forming a syllable.

§ 16.
OF MĂQQĒPH AND MÈTHĔGH.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. *Măqqē'ph* (מַקֵּף *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between two words, which thus become so united that, in respect to tone and interpunction, they are regarded as one, and have but one accent. Two, three, and four words may be united in this way, e. g. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֵת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb* Gen. 1, 29, אֵת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ *all which to him* (was) Gen. 25, 5.

Certain monosyllabic words, like אֶל־ *to*, עַל־ *on*, אֶת־ sign of the *Acc.*, כָּל־ *all*, are almost always thus connected. But a longer word may also be joined to a monosyllable, e. g. תְּחַנֵּךְ־נַחַ Gen. 6, 9, וַיְהִי־כֵן Gen. 1, 7. 9; or two polysyllables, e. g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר Gen. 7, 11. —Compare the Greek proclitics ἐν, εἰς, ἐκ, εἰ, ὡς, οὐ, which as ἄτονα lean on the next word.

2. *Mèthĕgh* (מֶתֶג *a bridle*), a small perpendicular line on the left of a vowel, indicates a kind of check upon the influence of the accents as marking the tone-syllable, and shows

[1] The curious student is referred, for a full treatment of the Accents, to *Ewald's* Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache, §§ 97—100. See also Prof. *A. C. Davidson's* Outlines of Heb. Accentuation. Edinb. 1861, the appendix to *Delitzsch's* commentary on Psalms, and *Delitzsch's* review, in Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's elements (Leipz. 1877). It is to be noted that a thorough study of the accents can only be made with the aid of correct editions of the text, like those of *Baer-Delitzsch*, our ordinary texts being corrupt.

that the vowel, though not accented, should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation; (hence the other names of *Mèthĕgh: Maᵃrikh* (מַאֲרִיךְ), i. e. *lengthener,* or *gă'yā* (גַּעְיָא) i. e. *raising* of the voice).[1]

There has to be distinguished: 1) The *light Mèthĕgh.* This is divided again into: *a*) the ordinary *Mèthĕgh* of the secondary tone, as a rule on the second syllable before the tone, e. g. הָאָדָם; but also in the third when the second is closed, e. g. הָאַרְבָּעִים and, when the third cannot take it, even the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Mèthĕgh* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone when it already stands in the second. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open *ultima* which is joined by *măqqĕ'ph* to a word beginning with *Shᵉwâ* pretonic, e. g. מִי־לְךָ, שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי to prevent the *Shᵉwâ* from being regarded as *silent.*

This *Mèthĕgh* never stands with the ו *copulative;* therefore *not.* וּבָנִים *etc.* (likewise not וּבְנִי *etc.*—contrary to *b*, α, below; although וְזָהָב *etc.* according to *b*, δ, comp. § 10, 2. Rem.)

b) the firm or indispensable *Mèthĕgh.* α) with all long vowels which are followed by vocal *Shᵉwâ* pretonic, e. g. קָטְלָה *etc.* β) to emphasize a long vowel immediately before *Măqqĕ'ph,* e. g. שָׁת־לִי Gen. 4, 25 (ā, not ŏ). γ) with *Ṣērê* which has lost its accent by the removal of the tone, to prevent its pronunciation as *Sᵉghôl,* e. g. אֵהֵב (not *'ōhĕbh*). δ) with all vowels before composite *Shᵉwâ* e. g. רֶעֱמֹד, צֶעֱקִים etc. except when the following consonant is doubled, e. g. רֶקֶבְבוּ. Is. 62, 2, because the sharpening by *dāghĕ'sh* excludes the lengthening of the vowel by *Mèthĕgh.* ε) In the initial syllable of all forms of הָיָה *to be,* and חָיָה *to live,* where the ה and ח stand with *silent Shᵉwâ* (for greater distinctness of utterance) e. g. יִהְיֶה, תִּהְיֶה *etc.* ζ) with the *Qā'mĕṣ* of the plural forms בַּיִת, *house* (thus בָּתִּים *bāttîm etc.*) and with אָנָּא *prithee!* to avoid the sounds *bŏttim, ŏnnā.*

Every kind of light *Mèthĕgh* may in certain circumstance be changed into a conjunctive accent.

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[1] Comp. as the source of the article on Mèthĕgh, the thorough discussion of *S. Baer* upon the "Metheg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen" in *A. Merx,* Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test. Heft I (Halle 1867), S. 56, and Heft II (1868), S. 194.

2) The *grave Mèthĕgh* (Gá'yā in a more limited sense) is not employed to lengthen, but only to give more importance to a short vowel or an initial *Shᵉwâ,* especially to the *Păthăch* of the article or the prefixes ל, כ, ב, when followed by *Shᵉwâ,* e. g. הַמַּסֵּכָה, לַמַּסֵּכָה *etc.*, but not before י (except וַיְהִי and יְהִי when they stand before *Mèthĕgh* or with the accent *Pāshtā*) nor before or after the ordinary *Mèthĕgh.* It is also put with interrogative ה when it has *Păthăch* and at the *right side* of it e. g. הַאַתָּה (except before י, *dāghĕ'sh forte,* or the tone). The so-called *Shᵉwâ Gá'yā* is especially important in poetical accentuation, for purposes of musical recitation. It stands chiefly upon words whose principal tone is marked by a *Distinctive* without a preceding *Conjunctive.*

3) The *Euphonic Gă'yā,* for the distinct enunciation of such consonants as, in consequence of the loss of the tone, might easily be neglected, e. g. וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gen. 24, 9; פַּדֶּנָה אֲרָם 28, 2 *etc.*

Rem. 1. The *Mèthĕgh* is of special service to the beginner, as indicating (according to letter *a,* above) the quantity of *Qāmĕṣ* and *Chîrĕq* before a *Shᵉwâ.* Thus in אֲכָלָה *'ā-khᵉlā'* the *Mèthĕgh* shows that the *Shᵉwâ* is here *vocal*; but the (ָ) in an open syllable before (ַ) must be *long* (§ 26, 3), consequently *Qāmĕṣ,* not *Qāmĕṣ-chāṭû'ph.* On the contrary, in אָכְלָה *'ŏkhlá* without Mèthĕgh the (ָ) stands in a closed syllable and is consequently *short* (*Qāmĕṣ-chāṭû'ph*). Thus also יָרְאוּ (they fear) with *Mèthĕgh* with a long *î, yî-rᵉ-'û',* but יְרָאוּ (they see) without *Mèthĕgh* with short *ĭ, yĭr'û'*; see also the rule about *Qāmĕṣ* and *Qāmĕṣ-chāṭû'ph* above in § 9.

Rem. 2. It should be said however that the Jewish Grammarians do not consider syllables lengthened by *Mèthĕgh* as open. With them the *Shᵉwâ* is silent, in cases like אֲכָלָה (above), the כ belonging to the preceding syllable. Comp. *Baer.* Torath 'Emeth p. 9. and in *Merx's* Archiv I. p. 60. Rem. 1.

§ 17.

OF THE QᵉRÎ AND KᵉTHÎBH.

The margin of the Bible exhibits a number of various readings of an early date (§ 3, 2), called קְרִי (*read*), because in the view of the Jewish critics they are to be preferred

to what stands in the text, and to be read instead of what is there written, hence called כְּתִיב (*written*). Those critics have therefore attached the vowel-signs, appropriate to the marginal reading, to the corresponding word in the text; e. g. in Jer. 42, 6, we find in the text אֲנַ֫חְנוּ, in the margin קרי אנחנו. Here the vowel-points in the text belong to the word in the margin, which is to be pronounced אֲנַ֫חְנוּ *we;* but in reading the *Kᵉthîbh* אנו, the proper vowels must be supplied, namely אָנוּ *we*. A small circle or asterisk over the word in the text always directs to the marginal reading. — With some words of frequent occurrence, that are *always* read otherwise than they are written, it has not been thought needful to put in the margin the word as read, but only to attach its vowels to the word in the text; and the word so pointed is called a *Qᵉrî perpetuum*. So we find הִוא (*Q.* הִיא) in the Pentateuch wherever it stands as *feminine* (§ 32, Rem. 6); יִשְׁכַּב (*Qᵉrî* יִשְׁכַּר) Gen. 30, 18 *etc.* comp. *Gesen.* Lex. and *Baer-Delitzsch,* Liber Genesis p. 84, וְיִרוּשָׁלַ֫ם (*Qᵉrî* וְיִרוּשָׁלַ֫יִם), properly וְיִרוּשָׁלֵם; יְהוָֹה (*Qᵉrî* אֲדֹנָי *the Lord*), or יְהוִֹה (*Q.* אֱלֹהִים *God*) whenever אֲדֹנָי stands next before it in the text, but properly it is always יַהְוֶה *Yăh-wė* (comp. § 102, 2, Rem.).

As to the critical value of the marginal readings see *Gesenius's* Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache, S. 50, 75.

CHAPTER II.

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLES AND THE TONE.

§ 18.

In order fully and rightly to comprehend the changes which the forms of the various parts of speech undergo, it is necessary first to get acquainted with certain general laws which govern those changes. These laws are founded

partly on the peculiarities of certain classes of letters, considered individually or as combined in syllables, and partly on certain usages of the language in reference to the syllables and the tone.

§ 19.
CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

The changes occasioned among consonants by the formation of words, inflection, euphony, or certain influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation, assimilation, rejection* and *addition, transposition.*

1. *Commutation* takes place most naturally among letters which are *homorganic* or homogeneous (comp. § 6, Rem. 1 on page 29), e. g. עָלַץ, עָלַס, עָלַז *to exult;* לָאָה, לָהָה, Aram. לְעָא *to tire;* ים— and ין— (as plural ending); לָחַץ and נָחַץ *to press;* סָגַר and סָכַר *to close;* מָלַט and פָּלַט *to slip* or *escape.* In process of time, and as the language approximated to the Aramæan, hard and rough sounds specially were exchanged for softer ones, e. g. גָּאַל for גָּעַל *to reject,* שָׂחַק for צָחַק *to laugh;* and for the sibilants were substituted the corresponding flat sounds, as ד for ז, ט for צ, ת for שׁ; which latter cases may be regarded as a return to an earlier pronunciation.

This interchange of consonants affects the original forms of words more than it does their grammatical inflection; the consideration of it, therefore, belongs rather to the lexicon. Examples occur, however, in the grammatical inflection of words; viz., the interchange — *a*) of ת and ט in Hithpaēl, (§ 54); — *b*) of ו and י in verbs *Pē Yôdh* (§ 69), as יָלַד for וָלַד (*he begat*).

2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when a consonant, at the close of a syllable, passes over into the one beginning the next syllable, so as to form with it a double sound, as *illustris* for *inlustris, affero* for *adfero,* συλλαμβάνω for συνλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs—

a) most frequently with the slightly nasal נ, especially before harder consonants, e. g. מִשָּׁם (for מִנְשָׁם) *from there,*

מִזֶּה (for מִנְזֶה) *from this,* יִתֵּן (for יִנְתֵּן) *he will give,* נָתַתָּ (for נָתַנְתָּ) *thou hast given.* Before gutturals נ is commonly retained (except sometimes with ח); also after the prefix לְ, as לִנְגֹּף *etc.* and when the נ is the third letter of the stem, as שָׁכַנְתָּ *thou hast dwelt* (comp. however נָתַתָּ for נָתַנְתָּ); finally in isolated cases as תִּירַדְתָּ Ps. 68, 3 (here and elsewhere probably as intentional emphasis in long pause, comp. Is. 29, 1; 58, 3. Deut. 33, 9).

b) less frequently, and only in special cases, with ל, ר, ת, ד, e. g. וְקַח for וְלָקַח *he will take,* תְּכוֹנֵן for תִּתְכּוֹנֵן *to be established,* שֶׁלִּי for אֲשֶׁר לִי *who to me* (§ 36); אַחַתְּ for אַחַרְתְּ.

c) in isolated cases with אחור e. g. בְּסַאסְּאָה Is. 27, 8; אֲנָא from אָנָה; finally ו and י mostly before sibilants in forms like יְצֹר for יִיצֹר comp. § 71.

In all these cases, the assimilated letter is expressed by *Dāghē'sh fortè* in the next following. In a consonant at the end of the word, however, as it cannot be doubled (§ 20, 3, a), the Dāghē'sh is omitted, e. g. אַף *nose* for אַנְפ or אַנֶת, תֵּת for תְּנֵת (prop. תִּתְנָה) *to give,* לַת for לָדַת *to bear;* comp. τύψας for τύψανς.

In these last cases the assimilated letter has not Sh^{e}wâ, but the helping-vowel S^{e}ghôl (§ 28, 4), which, however, is only recognized as an euphonic substitute for *Sh^{e}wâ.*

By way of assimilation backwards, we occasionally find a second weaker sound swallowed up by the stronger one before it; e. g. קָטַלְתּוּ from קְטַלְתֻּמוּ (§ 59, Rem. 3), מִמֶּנּוּ for מִמֶּנְהוּ *from him* (§ 103, 2). With this may be reckoned יְסֹב for יְסֻבֵּב *he will surround* (§ 67, 5), also אֶסֹּק for אֶסַלֵּק (§ 66, 2).

3. The complete *rejection* or *falling away* of a consonant easily happens, especially in the case of the weaker ones, viz. the breathings (א, ה), or vowel-letters (ו, י), or liquids (נ, ל). It happens—

a) at the beginning of a word (*aphæresis*), when such a feeble consonant has not a full vowel, and its sound is easily lost upon the ear, as נַחְנוּ and אֲנַחְנוּ (*we*), שֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר (comp. No. 2, *b,* above), שֶׁב (*sit thou*) for יָשַׁב; דַּע for orig. יְדַע; קַח for לָקַח; תָּה 2 Sam. 22, 41 is anomalous.

b) in the midst of a word (*contraction*), when such a feeble consonant is preceded only by a Sh^{e}wâ, e. g. מוּם for מְאוּם (but comp. רִאשׁוֹן for רְאִשׁוֹן), לַמַּלְכָּהּ for לְהַמְלִיכָהּ (§ 23, 4, and § 35, Rem. 2), יַקְטִיל for יְהַקְטִיל (§ 53, 1). The contraction (or *syncope*) of א in the beginning of the syllable as בָּאדֹנָי, and לִקְרַאת for לִקְרִאת—the א being orthographically retained. Finally to the department of syncopè belongs the elision of the half vowel at the close of a syllable after a heterogeneous vowel, as e. g. רַד for רִוַד as well as that of the ו and י in verbs ל״ה (§ 75, 3).

c) at the end of words (*apocopè*), e. g. יִקְטְלוּ for יִקְטְלוּן, בָּנִים *sons,* before the genitive בְּנֵי (§ 89). Upon the apocopè of half vowels in verbs ל״ה see § 75.

Bolder changes were made in the infancy of the language, particularly in casting away consonants at the end of a word; thus, from אָבְ was formed אָב *only;* perh. from בַּיִת, בְּ; from הַל, הָ (see § 99, and § 100, 4). Here belongs also the change of the feminine ending ת—*ăth* to ה—*ā* (see § 44, 1, and § 80, 2).

4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation the *addition* of א (*Ā'lĕph prostheticum*), with its vowel, takes place sometimes at the beginning of a word, e. g. זְרוֹעַ and אֱזְרוֹעַ *arm* (comp. χθές, ἐχθές, Lat. *spiritus* = French *esprit,* Welsh *yspryd*).

5. *Transposition* seldom occurs in the grammar, as in הִתְשַׁתַּמֵּר for הִתְתַּשְׁמֵר (§ 54, 2) because *sht* is easier to sound than *thsh;* but oftener in the province of the lexicon, as כֶּבֶשׂ and כַּשֶּׂב *lamb,* שִׂמְלָה and שַׂלְמָה *garment,* מַלְתָּעָה and מִתַּלְעָה *tooth;* they are, however, chiefly confined to the sibilants and liquids.

Even consonants, especially the weaker ones, may at the end of a syllable be softened to vowels, like εἷς from ἕνς, F. *chevaux* from *cheval* (comp. § 30, 3, *e*), e. g. כּוֹכָב *star* from כַּבְכָּב for כַּוְכָב. Comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. art. כָּבַב.

§ 20.
OF THE DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

1. The doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè* (§ 13) takes place, and is *essential,* i. e. necessary to the form of the word (*Dāghē'sh essential*)—

a) when the same letter is to be written twice in succession, without an intermediate vowel—or *vocal Sh^{e}wâ;* thus for נָתַנּוּ we have נָתַנּוּ *we have given;* for שַׂתִּי, שַׂתִּי *I have set;* for חִכְרַתִּי, חִכְרַתִּי *I have cut off.*

b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19, 2), as יִתֵּן for יִנְתֵּן. In both these instances (*a* and *b*) it is called *Dāghē'sh compensative.*

c) when the doubling of a letter originally single is characteristic of a grammatical form, e. g. לָמַד *he has learned,* but לִמֵּד *he has taught* (*Dāghē'sh characteristic*).

The double consonant is actually and necessarily written twice (without admitting the compensation), whenever a vowel sound, even the shortest (a vocal Sh^{e}wâ), comes between. In the latter case according to the correct Massora, there should be a composite *Sh^{e}wâ* preceded by *Mèthĕgh* e. g. חוֹלָלִים, קְלָלַת etc. (comp. § 16). The *compos. Sh^{e}wâ* does not stand before the ה, e. g. תְּבָרְכֵהּ Gen. 27, 4, but also here the first כ has *Vocal Sh^{e}wâ* (otherwise the 2d כ would have naturally a *Dāghē'sh lene*). Also in cases where the first of the two consonants has already been doubled by *Dāghē'sh forte,* it can have no other than the *Vocal Sh^{e}wâ* and therefore a further contraction is impossible. This holds true also there when the *Dāghē'sh forte* (v. below 3 *b*) has been omitted, e. g. in חֲלָלוֹ really חֲלָלּוֹ=*hal-l^{e}lô.* The form חָנְנֵנִי Ps. 9, 14 (not חָנֻנִי) may be explained as *Imper. Pi'ēl*=חַנְּנֵנִי; in the *Imper. Qâl* the insertion of a *Vocal Sh^{e}wâ* under the first נ would be just as strange as in שָׁדְדוּ Jer. 49, 28 and in the *Imperf.* יְשָׁדְדֵם Jer. 5, 6.

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of *euphony.* The use of Dāghē'sh in such cases (*Dāghē'sh euphonic*) is only occasional, as being less essential to the forms of words. It is employed—

a) when two words are more closely united in pronunciation by doubling the initial consonant of the second (*Dāghē'sh fortè conjunctive*), 1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word accented on the first syllable and closely united by *Maqq^{e}ph* to a preceding word which ends in accented ה֗— or ה֣— (except when the ה֣— is the ending of the 3. masc. sing. perf. of a verb ל״ה, or of a substantival infinitive) the so-called דָּחוּק *pulsum* of the Jewish grammarians. Some limit the use of the *dāchîq* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following

Begadkephath. However here belong also cases like יְהֹוִה־שְׁמוֹ Jer. 23, 6 (for שְׁמוֹ is considered *one* accented syllable): לְקַחַת־זֹאת Gen. 2, 23; יְצַוֶּה־לָךְ Ps. 91, 11, and even with *Rêsh* מַעֲנֶה־רַךְ Prov. 15, 1 (here each 1st word was orig. *mĭl'ră*).

Analogous to this usage is the Neapolitan *le llagrime* for *le lagrime*, and (including the union of the two words in one) the Italian *alla* for *a la, della* for *de la.*

Rem. 1. It is very doubtful whether the close attachment of the interrogative מָה (מַה) to the following word by *Dāghēsh forte* must also be counted here. According to *Olshausen* this *Dāghēsh* comes from assimilation of the really consonantal *Hê.* In favor of this hypothesis are *a*) the form מַה־זֶּה *etc.* in which the ה has been kept only orthographically (therefore also מַזֶּה Exod. 4, 2 מַלְכֶם Is. 3, 15); *b*) the fact that the close union exists when no monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable follows, e.g. מַה־פָּרַצְתָּ, Gen. 38, 29.

Rem. 2. By no means do such examples as the following belong here: נְאֻמַּה נְאֻמָּה Ez. 15, 1, 21 (Comp. verse 11, בָּמְכָה, v. 13 נְגֻאֲלָתָּ, v. 16, כָּאֲבָן). In all these cases the *Dāghēsh* can be nothing but *lene* v. § 21, 1. Rem.

2) in the first letter of a monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable, after a closely connected *Mil'ēl* terminating in *Qā'mĕs,* ה— or ה֫—. Such a *Mil'ēl* is called by the Jewish grammarians אֲחֵי מֻרְחָק *veniens e longinquo* (i. e. as to accent). The attraction of the following tone syllable through *Daghesh forte conjunctive* has here its reason in a rhythmical pressure, e.g. שֶׁבֶט שִׁבְטִי Ps. 68, 19; חִרְחִיבָה שְׁאוֹל Is. 5, 14 (only the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ, וְ, in such cases receive no *Daghesh*). Forms like מָלְאָה שְׁחַד Ps. 26, 10; רְחֻקָה מִנִּי Job 21, 16 as well as נֶעֱמְדָה יְחַד Is. 50, 8, with an accented antepenultima (?), are likewise considered *Mil'ēl.* The *Daghesh* is used even then when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent but with a syllable having *Mèthĕgh,* e. g. חֻמָּה יִרְשׁוּ Ps. 37, 9; אַלֵּה יַעֲקֹב, Is. 44, 21; עֲשׂוֹת קְעָרֹתָיו Ex. 25, 29.

Rem. Cases like קְוֹבוּ צָאוּ Gen. 19, 14 (Com. Ex. 12, 15, 31, Deut. 2, 24.) have been wrongly counted here. In such cases the *Dāghēsh* is not *conjunctive* but *orthophonic,* that the sibilants may be duly articulated; v. *Delitzsch* (commentary) upon the *Dāghēsh orthophonic* in יָקוּם Ps. 24, 12.

b) when a consonant with *Shewâ,* preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in order to sharpen the syllable still more, and

to make the *Sheʷâ* more audible (*Dāghēʃ dirimens*), e. g. עִנְּבִי for עֲנָבִי *grapes* Deut. 32, 32; comp. Gen. 49, 10, Ex. 2, 3, Is. 57, 6, 58, 3, Job 17, 2, 1 Sam. 28, 10, Ps. 45, 10; Hos. 3, 2; Is. 9, 3. Several cases of this sort may be referred to the influence of a following consonant.[1]

c) when the final tone-syllable of a clause or sentence (§ 29, 4), is to receive more strength and emphasis by the doubling, the *daghesh forte affectuosum*, e. g. נָתְנוּ for נָתְנוּ *they gave* Ez. 27, 19, יְחַכּוּ for יְחֵלּוּ *they waited* Job 29, 21, Is. 33, 12.

d) the doubling of liquids by the so-called *Daghesh forte firmativum* in the pronoun הַמָּה, הֵנָּה, אֵלֶּה and in לָמָּה *wherefore*, to give greater firmness to the preceding vowel.

3. The Hebrew omitted, however, the doubling of a letter by Dāghēʃ fortè, in many cases where the analogy of the forms required it; viz.—

a) *almost always* at the end of a word, because there the pronunciation, at least as handed down to us, does not easily admit of such a sharpening. Thus the syllable *all* would be pronounced, not as in German with a sharpened tone,[1] but like the English *all, call, small*. Instead, therefore, of doubling[2] the consonant, they often lengthened the preceding vowel (§ 27, 2, *b*), as רֹב (*multitude*) from רָבַב; עָם (*people*) with a distinctive accent (§ 15, 3), for עַם from עַמַּם. The exceptions are very rare, as אַתְּ *thou f.*, נָתַתְּ *thou hast given* Ez. 16, 33 (see § 10, 3, Rem.).

b) *often* in certain consonants with *vocal Sheʷâ* in the body of a word (where the doubling of a letter is less audible, as in Greek ἄλτο, Homeric for ἄλλετο), under this rule come first ו and י, as well as the liquids מ, נ and ל, and then the sibilants (except ז), especially when a guttural

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[1] *Kautzsch* refers such cases chiefly to the nature of the consonant affected viz: *liquids, sibilants*, or the emphatic *Qôph*. Comp. however 3, *b*.—*Ed.*

[2] The doubling of a final letter is also omitted in Latin, as *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis; mel*, gen. *mellis*; *ōs*, gen. *ossis*. In the Middle-High German, the doubling of consonants never took place at the end of a word, but always in the middle (as in the Old-High Germ.), as *val* (Fall), gen. *valles; svam* (Schwamm), etc.: *Grimm's* Deutsche Gramm. 2nd ed. I. 383.

follows, and finally the emphatic ק. Of the *Begadkephat* ת is found only once (Is. 22, 10) without *Dâghē'sh*. Examples: עֹרְרִים, וַיְהִי (so always the prefix וְ in the *Impf.* of the verb), חַלְּלוּ, חַנְנִי, לַמְנַצֵּחַ, יִשְׁאוּ, יְקַחוּ etc. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dâghē'sh* is indicated by the *Rāphè* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in open syllables, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of the *Dag. forte implic.* v. § 22, 1. Rem.

c) In the gutturals (see § 22, 1).

Rem. We sometimes find *Dāghē'sh* omitted, especially in the later books in an abnormal way by lengthening the preceding vowel which is usually *chîrĕq* (comp. *mīle* for *mille*), as יְחִירֵן *he terrifies them* for יְחִתֵּן (Hab. 2, 17), זִיקוֹת Is. 50, 11 *fiery darts* for זִקּוֹת.

§ 21.

ASPIRATION: WHERE IT OCCURS AND WHERE NOT.

The *hard* but *thin* (*tenuis*) sound of (ת, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב) the six *aspirates* with *Dāghē'sh lenè* inserted, is to be regarded, agreeably to the analogy which languages generally exhibit in this respect, as their original pronunciation, from which gradually arose the softer and weaker aspirated sound (§ 6, 3 and § 13). The original hard pronunciation maintained itself in greatest purity when it was the initial sound, and after a consonant; but when it immediately followed a vowel or vocal *Shewâ*, it was softened and aspirated by the influence of the vowel, so פָּרַץ *pārăʦ* becomes יִפְרֹץ *yiphrōʦ*; כֹּל *kōl*, לְכֹל *lekhōl*. Hence the *aspirates* take Dāghē'sh lenè:

1. At the beginning of words, *a*) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, as עַל־כֵּן ʿăl-ke'n (*therefore*), עֵץ פְּרִי ʿēʦ pe·rî (*fruit-tree*, lit. *tree of fruit*), *b*) at the beginning of a chapter (בְּרֵאשִׁית *in the beginning* Gen. 1, 1), a verse, or even of a minor division of a verse (consequently after a distinctive accent, § 15, 3), even when the preceding word ends with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the influence of the vowel on the

following *tenuis*, e. g. וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר *it happened when* Jud. 11, 5 (on the contrary, וַיְהִי־כֵן *it was so* Gen. 1, 7); וְהִנֵּה חָרְבוּ פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה *and lo! the face of the ground was dried up* Gen. 8, 13; וַיִּפְלֹ֥וּ פָּנָיו (with dist. accent) 4, 5, but in ver. 6 נָפְלוּ פָנֶיךָ (with conj. accent); אֲחֵרֵי בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב Gen. 35, 5; שִׁטְרֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Ex. 5, 14.

Rem. 1. The vowel letters א, ה, ו, י, as such, naturally effect no close of syllable and are therefore followed in close connection by aspirates without *Dāghēsh*, e. g. וּמָצָא בָהּ *etc.* On the contrary syllables are closed by consonantal ו and י as well as by ה with *Mappiq*, e. g. פָּצוּ עָלַי פִּיהֶם Ps. 22, 14. (*Dāghēsh lenè* is therefore regularly found after יהוה, because אֲדֹנָי was read instead of it § 17.)

2. In a number of cases the *Dāghēsh lenè* remains, although a vowel closely precedes. It is almost always so when the word begins with combinations of consonants like the following: בְּב, כְּכ, בְּפ, כְּב, בְּפ, כְּפ (i. e. the aspirates with *Sheʷâ* before another aspirate); כְּנ is uncertain; according to *David Kimchî* בְּד, כְּד and בְּכ must remain aspirate. Sometimes the first letter in the above cases has a *Dāghēsh*, even when it is followed by a firm vowel instead of *Sheʷâ*. In all these cases an endeavor is shown to prevent too great an accumulation of aspiration. Doubly anomalous are the forms כַּרְכֹּד Is. 54, 12 and כַּלְכֵּל Jer. 20, 9.

2. In the middle of words after *silent Sheʷâ*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable, immediately preceded by a vowelless consonant, e. g. יִרְפָּא *yĭr-pā'* (*he heals*), יִזְכֹּר *he remembers*, קְטַלְתֶּם *ye have killed*. On the contrary, after *vocal Sheʷâ* the soft pronunciation obtains, e. g. רְפָא *rᵉphā* (*heal thou*), כְּבֵדָה *she was heavy*.

On קְטַלְתְּ, וַיִּשְׁבְּ and like forms see in § 10, 3.

Whether *Sheʷâ* be vocal and consequently cause the aspiration of the *tenuis*, depends upon the formation of the respective words. It is always vocal

a) when it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. רִדְפוּ *pursue ye* (not רְדְפוּ) from רָדַף; מַלְכֵי (not מלְכֵי) formed immediately from מְלָכִים *kings* (on the contrary, מַלְכֵי *măl-kî'*, because it is formed directly from מֶלֶךְ *mălk*); בֵּיתָה *house-ward* (not בֵּיְתָה) from בַּיִת.

b) With the כ in the *suffixes* of the 2d person (ךָ, ךְ, כֶם, כֶן), in which *vocal Sheʷâ* is characteristic, see § 58, 3, *b*.

Rem. 1. The form שָׁלַחְתְּ *thou* (fem.) *hast sent*, where we might expect the feeble pronunciation of ח on account of the preceding vowel, was originally שָׁלַחַתְּ; and the sound of the ח, notwithstanding the slight vowel sound thrown in before it, was not changed. Comp. § 28, 4.

2. The hard or soft pronunciation of these letters does not affect the *signification* of the words (comp. in Greek θρίξ, τριχός); but this affords no ground to deny that such a distinction was made in the sound.

§ 22.

PECULIARITIES OF THE GUTTURALS.

The four gutturals, ה, ח, ע, א, have the following properties in common, which result from the pronunciation peculiar to them; yet א and ע, both having a weaker sound than ח and ה, differ from these in several respects.

1. The gutturals cannot really be doubled in pronunciation, although they may be strengthened and so they do not admit *Dāghē'sh fortė*. But we must here carefully distinguish between *a*) the complete omission of the doubling and *b*) the so-called *half,* or better *virtual* doubling. In the first case the syllable preceding the letter which omits Dāghē'sh becomes longer in consequence of the omission;[1] hence its vowel is commonly lengthened, especially before א (*always* after the article § 35); as a rule also before ע, less often before ה, and still less before ח. The second case admitted a sharpening of the syllable, though orthography excluded the *Dāghē'sh f.* (as the *ch* in the German *sicher, machen,* has the sharp pronunciation without being written double), and hence the short vowel almost universally maintains its place before these letters, or in some cases, when it is a *Păthăch* followed by a guttural with *Qâmeṣ,* it is merely augmented into *Seghôl.* This virtual doubling takes place most frequently with ח, usually with ה, more rarely with ע and very seldom with א.

Examples of *a*) מֵאַיִן (f. מֵאַיִן); הָאָדָם f. הַאָדָם; הָעָם; הָהָר; יַחְבֵא (f. יַהְבֵא). Of *b*) הַהֹדֶשׁ, הֶחָג, אֶחָד, מְחוּט (f. מְנִיחוּט); הַהוּא, הַהָרִים; בְּעֵר, חֶעֱנִי (on the contrary before ע as initial letter of the tone-syllable always *Qā'mĕṣ* of the article, e. g. הָעֲרָב and so mostly before ה,

[1] Comp. *terra* and the French *terre;* the Germ. *Rolle* and the French *rôle;* Germ. *drollig,* and Fr. *drôle.* In this omission we see an enervating of the language. The fresher and more original sounds of the Arabic (§ 1, 6), still admit always the doubling of the gutturals.

e. g. הָהָר, whilst הַהַר Gen. 6, 19 is an exception); הַאִישׁ, הַאִשָּׁה etc.— In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dāghēsh fortè* is to be regarded at least as *implied* (therefore it is called *Dāghēsh fortè implicitum, occultum, delitescens*).

2. The gutturals are apt to take a short *A* sound before them, because this vowel is organically closely akin to them. Hence—

a) Before a guttural, *Pătháchh* is used instead of any other short vowel, such as *ĭ, ĕ* (*Chîrĕq parvum, Segholl*), and even for the rhythmically long *ē* and *ō* (*Ṣērê* and *Chōlĕm*); e. g. זָבֵח *sacrifice* for זֶבַח, שָׁמַע *report* for שֶׁמַע. This is still more decidedly preferred when the form with Păthăch is the original one, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the *Imper.* and *Impf. Qăl* of verbs, שְׁלַח *send thou,* יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not יִשְׁלֵח); *Perf. Pi'ēl* שִׁלַּח (not שִׁלֵּח); נַעַר *a youth,* יַחְמֹד (not יֶחְמֹד) *he will desire.* In the last 3 case *ă* is the original vowel.

Rem. But before the weak א *final* the ַ remains, e. g. פָּרָא, הָשָּׁא, etc.

b) After a heterogeneous long vowel i. e. after all except *Qā'mĕṣ,* the hard gutturals (consequently not א) demand, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a hasty *ă* (*Pă'thăch furtive*) between them and the vowel. This *Pă'thăch* is placed under the guttural but sounded before it. It is merely on orthographical indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e. g. רוּחַ *rû^{a}ch* (*spirit*), שָׁלוּחַ *shā-lû^{a}ch* (*sent*), רֵיחַ *rê^{a}ch* (*odour*), רֵעַ *rê^{a}'* (*companion*), גָּבוֹהַּ *gā-bhô^{a}h* (*high*) when consonantal ה is final, it necessarily takes *Măppîq,* הִשְׁלִיחַ *hĭsh-lĭ^{a}ch*,[1] etc. But הִמְצִיא without *Pă'thăch furt.* and so with hard gutturals at the beginning of a syllable e. g. רוּחִי etc.

For the same reason the Swiss pronounces *ich* as *i^{a}ch, Buch* as *Bu^{a}ch*, and the Arabian משיח as *mesî^{a}ch*, though neither *writes* the supplied vowel. The LXX write ε instead of Păthăch furtive, as נֹחַ Nῶε, at times α, as יְהוֹעַ Ἰεδδούα (also Ἰαδδού).

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[1] Compare with the above our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after long *ē, ī, ū* and the diphthong *ou,* e. g. *here* (sounded *hē^{e}r*), *fire* (*fī^{e}r*), *pure* (*pū^{e}r*), and *our* (*ou^{e}r*).—*Tr.*

Rem. 1. The guttural sometimes exerts an influence on the *following* vowel. But the examples (esp. with ח) are few, and are to be regarded rather as exceptions than as establishing a general rule, e. g. נַעַר *a youth* (not נָעֳר), פֹּעַל *deed* (not פֹּעֶל); but also רֶחֶם etc.

2. S^{e}ghôl is used instead of Chî'rĕq attenuated from Păthăch both *before* and *under* the guttural, but only in an initial syllable, as יֶחְבַּשׁ (also יַחְבֹּשׁ), יַחְבְּלִי, חֶבְלִי, נֶאְדָּר, נֶעְמָדָה etc.

When, however, the syllable is sharpened by Dāghē'sh, the more slender and sharp Chîrĕq is retained even under gutturals, as חַנָּה, חַטָּה; but when the sharpening of the syllable ceases by the falling away of Dāghēsh, the S^{e}ghôl, which is required by the guttural, returns, e. g. הֶגְיוֹן, const. state הֶגְיוֹן *meditation;* חֶזְיוֹן, constr. state חֶזְיוֹן *vision.*

3. Instead of *simple Sh^{e}wâ vocal* (§ 10, 1), the gutturals take a *composite Sh^{e}wâ* (§ 10, 2), e. g. אֶקְטֹל, אֱמֹר, אֱלֹהִים, שָׁחֲטוּ *they have slain,* יִשְׁחֲטוּ *they will slay.* This is the most common use of the composite Sh^{e}wâs.

4. When a guttural stands at the end of a (closed) syllable, in the midst of a word, it may retain its silent *Sh^{e}wâ,* especially with ח or ע at the end of the tone-syllable, e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ *thou hast sent,* but also before the tone (v. examples under No. 2, Rem. 2) and this also with ה and א. But when the syllable stands *before* the tone, the closed syllable is artificially opened by giving to the guttural a slight vowel (one of the *composite Sh^{e}wâs*), which has the same sound as the full vowel preceding, as יַחֲשֹׁב *he thinks* (also יַחְשֹׁב), פֹּעֲלוֹ *pŏ^{e}lô* (f. פָּעֲלָה), יֶחֱזַק (also יֶחְזַק); this composite Sh^{e}wâ is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, whenever the following consonant loses its full vowel in consequence of an increase at the end of the word, e. g. יַעַבְדוּ *yŏ-'ŏbh^{e}-dhû'* (from יַעֲבֹד), יַהַפְכוּ *yă-hăph^{e}-khû'* (from יַהֲפֹךְ).

Rem. 1. The grammarians call *simple Sh^{e}wâ* under the gutturals *hard* (דָּגֵשׁ), and the *composite Sh^{e}wâs* in the same situation *soft* (רָפֶה). See more in the observations on verbs with gutturals (§§ 62—65).

2. Respecting the choice between the three composite Sh^{e}wâs it may be remarked, that—

a) ח, ה, ע, at the beginning of syll. prefer ֲ, but א prefers ֱ, e. g. חֲמוֹר *ass,* הֲרֹג *to kill,* אֱמוֹר *to say.* But when a word receives an

increase at the end, or loses the tone, א also takes ָ (considered as lighter), as אֵלַי *to*, but אֲלֵיכֶם *to you;* אֵכֹל *to eat*, but אֶכְלֵ־ Gen. 3, 11. Comp. § 27, Rem. 5.

b) In the middle of a word, the choice of a composite Sh^{e}wâ is regulated by the vowel (and its class), which another word of the same form, but without a guttural, would take before the Sh^{e}wâ; as *Perf. Hĭphʿîl* הֶחֱמִיד (after the form הִקְטִיל), *Inf.* הַחֲמִיד (after הַקְטִיל), *Perf. Hŏphʿăl* הָחֳמַד (after הָקְטַל).

For some further vowel changes in connection with gutturals, see § 27, Rem. 2.

5. The ר, which in sound belongs also to the gutturals (§ 6, 4), shares with the other gutturals only the characteristics mentioned above in No. 1, and a part of those given in No. 2; viz.—

a) The exclusion of Dāghē′sh fortè; in which case the vowel before it is always lengthened, as בֵּרֵךְ *he has blessed* for בֵּרַךְ; בָּרֵךְ *to bless* for בָּרַךְ.

b) The use of *Păthăch*[1] before it, in preference to the other short vowels, though this is not so general as in the case of the other guttural sounds, e. g. וַיַּרְא *and he saw,* while the full form וַיִּרְאֶה is in use; וַיַּסֵּר for וַיָּסַר *and he turned back,* and for וַיְסַר *and he caused to turn back.*

Rare exceptions to the principle given under letter *a* are מָרָה *mŏr-rā′* (trouble) Prov. 14, 10; לֹא־כֹרַת שָׁרֵךְ *lô khŏrrāth shŏr-rēkh* (thy navel was not cut) Ez. 16, 4, (cf. Pr. 3, 8); שְׁהַאֲשֵׁי Cant. 5, 2 הַהְאִירֶם 1 Sam. 10, 24 (the Arab. and Samar. retains this doubling, and the LXX write שָׂרָה Σάῤῥα). A case of virtual doubling (after מִ for מִן) is found in Is. 14, 3 מֵרִגְזֵךְ and in 1 Sam. 23, 28 מֵרֹדֶף (for מֵהָדֹף), comp. 2 Sam. 18, 16.

§ 23.

OF THE FEEBLENESS OF THE BREATHINGS א AND ה.

1. The א, a light and scarcely audible breathing in the throat, regularly loses its feeble power as a consonant (i. e.

[1] The preference of *ă* for the vowel *a* is seen also in common Greek, e. g. in the feminine of adjectives ending in ρος, as φανερά for φανερή from φανερός.—*Tr.*

quiesces), whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves merely to prolong the preceding vowel (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*), as in מָצָא *he has found*, מָלֵא *he was filled*, מְצֹא *to find*, כְּלוֹא, מָצָאתָ (from מָצַאְתָּ), תִּמְצָאנָה. In cases like שָׂרָא, רֵרָא, חֵטָא etc. the א has only an orthographical significancy.

2. On the contrary א retains, generally, its power as a consonant and guttural in all cases where it begins a word or syllable, as אָמַר *he has said*, מָאֲסוּ *they have rejected*, or in a closed syllable with silent *Sheʷâ* e. g. נָאְדָר *nĕ'dar*, or where it is protected by *Chātēph* in a slightly closed syllable e. g. לֶאֱכֹל *for to eat*. Yet even in this case it sometimes loses its consonant sound, *a*) when it follows with a long vowel, a half-vowel (*vocal Sheʷâ*) in the middle of a word; for then the vowel *under* א is shifted back, to the place of the *Sheʷâ*, as in רָאשִׁים (*heads*) for רָאְשִׁים, בֹּרָאם for בֹּרְאָם Neh. 6, 8, מָאתַיִם (*two hundred*) for מְאָתַיִם; א is *orthogr.* in רֹאשׁוֹן for רְאִשׁוֹן, חֹטָאִים, חֹטְאִים (*chôṭ'îm*) for חַטָּאִים 1 Sam. 14, 33. Sometimes this causes a still greater change in the syllables, as מְלָאכָה for מַלְאָכָה, לְקֹרַאת for לִקְרַאת or with silent *Sheʷâ* וְשָׁמְעֵאל for וְשִׁמְעֵאל; *b*) when it stands with (ָ) or (ֻ) preceded by their corresponding firm vowel, the latter is sometimes lengthened and retains א only as a vowel letter (or merely orthographically), e. g. וַיָּאצֻל Num. 11, 25 for וַיֵּאָצֵל; יֹאכַל modified from יְאֻכַל for לֹאמַר; וַאֲכַל for וְאֻכַל etc. An elision of the *Chātēph* and retention of the short vowel occurs in וַאדֹנָי *and my lord* for וַאֲדֹנָי, לָאדֹנָי for לַאֲדֹנָי (§ 102, 2) וַיַּאת Is. 41, 25, etc.

Instead of א in such a case, there is often written one of the vowel letters ו and י, according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ô* and the latter with *ê* and *î;* e. g. בִּיר for בְּאֵר (*cistern*), רֵים (*buffalo*) for רְאֵם, רִישׁוֹן (*first*) for רִאשׁוֹן in Job 8, 8; comp. לוֹ for לֹא (*not*) 1 Sam. 2, 16 in *Kᵉthîbh;* at the end of a word ה also is written for א, as יְמַלֶּה (*he fills*) for יְמַלֵּא Job 8, 21.

3. When א is thus quiescent, it is sometimes entirely dropped, e. g. יָצְתִי (*I went forth*) for יָצָאתִי, מָלֵתִי (*I am full*) for מָלֵאתִי Job 32, 18, אֹמַר (*I say*) constantly for אֹאמַר, מָלוּ for מָלְאוּ Ezek. 28, 16, לַהְשׁוֹת (*to lay waste*) 2 K. 19, 25 for לְהַשְׁאוֹת (*Kᵉth.*) comp. Is. 37, 26.

Rem. 1. In Aramæan the א becomes a vowel much more readily than in Hebrew; but in Arabic, on the contrary, its power as a consonant is much firmer. According to Arabic orthography א serves also to indicate the lengthened *â;* but in Hebrew the examples are very rare, in which it is strictly a vowel-letter for the long *A* sound, as in קָאַם Hos. **10**, 14 for the usual קָם *he stood up*, רָאשׁ *poor* Prov. **10**, 4, **13**, 23 for רָשׁ (comp. § 7, 2). Hebrew orthography generally omits, in this case, the vowel-letter (§ 8, 3).

2. In Syriac א even at the beginning of words cannot be spoken with a half vowel (*vocal Sh^{e}wâ*), but always receives then a full vowel, usually *E*, as Aram. אֶכָּל, in Syr. ܐܶܟܳܠ. Accordingly in Hebrew, also, instead of a *composite Sh^{e}wâ* it receives, in many words, the corresponding long vowel, as אֵזוֹר *girdle* for אְזוֹר, אֳהָלִים *tents* for אָהֳלִים, אֲרֻוֹת *stalls* for אֲרָוֹת, אֵפוּ *bake ye* Ex. **16**, 23 for אֲפוּ.

3. We may call it a mode of writing common in Arabic, when at the end of a word an א (without any sound) is added to a final *û*, *î* and *ô*, as הָלְכוּא for הָלְכוּ (*they go*) Josh. **10**, 24; אָבִיא (*they are willing*) Is. **28**, 12; also נָקְרָא for נָקְר *pure*, לוּא for לוּ *if*, אֵפוֹא for אֵפוֹ *then*, רַבּוֹא for רַבּוֹ *myriad* Neh. **7**, 66, 72. As to the א in הוּא and הִיא, see also § 32, Rem. 6.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and scarcely ever loses its aspiration (or *quiesces*) in the middle of a word;[1] at the end also it may remain a consonant, and then it takes *Măppîq* (§ 14, 1). Yet at times the consonant sound of the ה at the end of a word is given up, and ה (without Măppî′q, or with Rāphè הֿ) then remains only as a representative of the final vowel, e. g. לָהּ (*to her*) Num. **32**, 42 for לָהּ, Job **31**, 22, Ex. **9**, 18. The ה is often elided *a*) by transferring its vowel to the place of the preceding *vocal Sh^{e}wâ* (v. § 23, 2, *a*, with א) e. g. (the ה of the article) לַבֹּקֶר (*at the morning*) for לְהַבֹּקֶר, בָּאָרֶץ (*in the land*) for בְּהָאָרֶץ; יַפְקִיד (*Impf. Hiph.*) for יְהַפְקִיד; יְהוֹנָתָן contracted יוֹנָתָן. *b*) by contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e. g. סוֹסוֹ (also written סוּסָהוֹ) from סוּסָהוּ (*a* + *u* = *ô*).—In other cases, however, the vowel *under* ה is displaced by the one *before* it, as בָּם (*in them*) from בָּהֶם.

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[1] A very few examples are found in *proper names*, as עֲשָׂהאֵל, פְּדָהצוּר, which are compounded of two words, and in many MSS are also written in two separate words. One other case, וְפֵה־פְּיָה Jer. **46**, 20, is also in the printed text divided by *Maqqēph*, in order to bring the *quiescent* ה at the end.

According to this, the so-called *quiescent* ה at the end of a word stands, sometimes, in the place of the consonant ה. But usually it serves quite another purpose, viz., to represent final *ā,* as also *ō, ē* and *ė* (S^egôl), e. g. אִשָּׁה, גָּלָה, גָּלָה, גִּלֵּה, יִגְלֶה. See § 7, 2, and § 8, 3.

Rem. In connection with *ō* and *ē,* ה is occasionally changed for ו and י (רָאוֹ=רָאֹה, חַבֵּי=חַבֵּה Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases for א according to later and Aramæan orthography, particularly with *ā,* e. g. שְׁנָא (*sleep*) Ps. 127, 2 for שְׁנָה, נְשָׁא (*to forget*) Jer. 23, 39 for נָשָׁה, etc., which shows that the so-called vowel letter, ה final, has chiefly an orthographical importance.

§ 24.

CHANGES OF THE FEEBLE LETTERS ו AND י.

The ו *w* and the י *y* are as consonants so feeble and soft, approaching so near to the corresponding vowel-sounds *u* and *i,* that they easily turn into these vowels in certain positions. On this depend, according to the relation of the sounds and the character of the grammatical forms, still further changes which require a general notice in this place, but which will also be explained in detail wherever they occur in the inflection of words. This is especially important for the form and inflection of the feeble stems, in which a ו or י occurs as a stem consonant (§ 69 etc., § 85, III.—VI, and § 93).

1. The cases where ו and י lose their power as consonants and turn into vowel-sounds, are principally only in the middle and end of words, their consonant sound being nearly always heard at the beginning. (Respecting the use of וְ for וְ *and,* see § 26, 1, and § 104, 2, *c.*) These cases are chiefly the following:—

a) When ו or י stands at the end of a syllable with a *silent Sh^ewâ* immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel. The feeble letter has not strength enough, in this position, to maintain its consonant sound but blends with its homogeneous vowel. Thus הוּשַׁב *it has been inhabited* for הוּשַׁב or הָוּשַׁב, יִיקַץ *he awakes* for יִקַץ, בִּיהוּדָה for בִּיהוּדָה; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עִבְרִי *ʿibh-rî*

(properly *-riy*, hence fem. עִבְרִיָּה *ʿibh-rĭy-yā'*) *a Hebrew;* עָשׂוּ (*made*) Job 41, 25 for עָשׂוּר (comp. עֲשׂוּרֹת 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kᵉthibh*). Thus the vowel substance of ו and י is blended with the preceding vowel into *one* (necessarily long) vowel, but they are mostly retained orthographically as quiescent letters. But after a heterogeneous vowel they sound as consonants (according to § 8, 5), as in שָׁלֵו *quiet*, זִו *May* (*month*), גּוֹי *nation*, גָּלוּי *disclosed*. Yet with a preceding short *ă* the ו and י mostly form a diphthongal *ô* and *ê*; see below, No. 2, *b*.

b) When ו or י is preceded by *vocal Shᵉwâ*, and such syllables are formed as *qᵉwom*, *bᵉwo*. Hence בּוֹא *to come* for בְּוֹא, קוֹם *to arise* for קְוֹם. When ו and י preceded by Shᵉwâ come to stand at the end of a word, they are either entirely dropped and orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בֶּכֶה from בְּכִי, though we have also the regularly formed בְּכִי *fletus;* comp. § 93) or they are likewise softened into their vowel sound. In the latter case the י, with its homogeneous *Chîreq*, also attracts the tone and the preceding vowel becomes *Shᵉwâ*, as e. g. פְּרִי from פִּרְיִ, really פִּרְיְ; ו changed into וּ is often without the accent (e. g. תֹּהוּ from תָּהְוְ).

c) Very seldom when the feeble letter has a full vowel both before and after it; as קוֹם *surgendo* for קָוֹם, קוּם for קָוּם. Comp. in latin *mihi=mî, quum=cum.*

In Syriac, where these letters flow still more readily into vowel-sounds, י is sounded, even at the beginning of words, merely as *i*, not as יְ or יִ (like *e* for אֶ § 23, 3, Rem. 2); and so in the LXX יְהוּדָה is written Ἰουδά, יִצְחָק Ἰσαάκ. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage, examples of which occur also in Hebrew, which shifts the vowel *i*, belonging to the feeble letter, forward to the preceding consonant, which should properly have simple Shᵉwâ, e.g. כִּיתְרוֹן *as the superiority* for כְּיִתְרוֹן Ec. 2, 13, וַיִּחְכְּוֹ (in some editions) for וַיְחַכְּוֹ Job 29, 21 (acc. to *Kimchi* וְקִטְּל=*'ikṭol* and the 1. pers. is punct. אֶקְטֹל to avoid confusion; in fact the Babylonian punct. has always *i* instand of *e*).

2. After such a contraction has taken place, the vowel-letter quiesces (see No. 1, *a* above) regularly in a *long* vowel. Respecting the *choice* of this vowel, the following rules may be laid down:—

a) When the vowel is short and homogeneous with the vowel-letter (ו or י) they are contracted into their corresponding long vowel, as יִיטַב *he is good* for יִוְטַב (analogous to יִכְבַּד), הוֹשִׁיב for הֵיְשִׁיב.

b) When a short *ă* stands before י and ו, then we get diphthongal *ê* and *ô* (according to § 7, 1); thus מֵיטִיב becomes מַיטִיב *doing good;* הוֹשִׁיב, הֵוְשִׁיב; עוֹלָה, עַוְלָה.[1]

c) But when the vowel is heterogeneous (*ă*), while the character of the form prevents contraction to a diphthong, especially at the end of words, the above mentioned dropping of ו and י (No. 1, *b*), or the substitution of ה occurs. So especially in the so-called ל״ה verbs, e. g. orig. גָּלַי=גָּלַ(ו)=גָּלָה, whilst *ă* after the rejection of ו comes to stand in an open syllable, and must be lengthened to *ā*. ה stands orthographically for the long vowel; in the same way שָׁלָה for שָׁלַו.[2] On the origin of יִגְלֶה from יִגְלַי v. § 75, 1; upon קָם as perf. of קוּם § 72, 2; upon יָלַד etc. from ולד § 69, 1.

§ 25.

IMMOVABLE OR FIRM VOWELS.

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and not removable, can be known, certainly and completely, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and from a comparison with the Arabic, in which the vowel-system appears purer and more original than in Hebrew. This holds, especially, of the *essentially long* vowels in distinction from those which are long only *rhythmically,* i. e. through the influence of the tone and of syllabication, and which, having arisen out of short vowels,

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[1] Instances in which no contraction takes place after a short *a* are מַיְמִינִים *using the right hand* 1 Chron. 12, 2; אַיְסִירֵם *I chastise them* Hos. 7, 12; שַׁלְוָתִי *I am at ease* Job 3, 26. At times both forms are found, as עַוְלָה and עוֹלָה *evil;* חַי *living,* construct state חֵי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form מָוְתָ) *death,* constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form עַיְנָ) *eye,* constr. עֵין.

[2] The Arab. often writes in this case (etymologically) גַּלַי, but speaks *gălà,* So the LXX write סִינַי as Σινᾶ. But in Arabic שלא is written for שָׁלַו and sounded *shălā.*

readily become short again or become *Sh'wâ* by a change in the position of the tone and in the division of the syllables. The beginner may be guided by the following specifications: —

1. The essentially long and hence hardly changeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, viz., *î, û, ê, ô,* are mostly expressed in the text by their vowel-letters, *î* and *ê* by י, *û* and *ô* by ו, with their appropriate vowel signs; thus ִי—, ֵי—, ִי, וּ, וֹ, as in יִיטִיב *he does well,* הֵיכָל *palace,* גְּבוּל *boundary,* קוֹל *voice.* The *defective* mode of writing these vowels (§ 8, 4) is frequent enough; e. g. יִיטֵב for יִיטִיב, גֶּבֶל for גְּבוּל, קֹל for קוֹל; but this is merely a difference of orthography, by which nothing is essentially changed in the nature and quantity of such a vowel, and the *û* in גֶּבֶל is as essentially long as in גְּבוּל; comp. § 8, 4.

It is an exception, when now and then a merely tone-long vowel of these two classes is written *fully,* e. g. the *ō* in יְקָטוֹל for יְקָטֹל.

2. The essentially long and immovable *â* (so far as it is not become *ô;* see § 9, No. 10, 2) has in Hebrew, as a rule, no representative among the consonants, though in Arabic it has, viz., the א, which occurs in Hebrew but very seldom (§ 9, 1, § 23, 3, Rem. 1). For ascertaining, therefore, whether *a* is long by nature (â) or only tone-long (ā), there is no guide but a knowledge of the forms (see § 84, Nos. 6, 13, 28).

Cases like מָצָא (§ 23, 1) do not belong here.

3. Unchangeable is also a short vowel in a sharpened syllable (§ 26, 6), followed by *Dāghē'sh fortė,* e. g. גַּנָּב *thief;* likewise in every closed syllable (§ 26, 2, *c*) which is followed by another closed syllable, e. g. מַלְבּוּשׁ *garment,* אֶבְיוֹן *poor,* מִדְבָּר *wilderness.*

4. Such are also the vowels lengthened because a *Dāghēsh fortė* has been omitted on account of a guttural, according to § 22, 1 (or ר see § 22, 5), e. g. מֵאֵן for מְאֵן *he has refused,* בֵּרַךְ for בֵּרֵךְ *he has been blessed.*

§ 26.

OF SYLLABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

To obtain an adequate view of the laws, according to which the long and short vowels are chosen or exchanged one for another, a previous acquaintance is required with the *theory of the syllable* on which that choice and exchange depend. The syllable may then be viewed with reference, partly to its commencement (its *initial* sound) as in No. 1, and partly to its close (its *final* sound) as in Nos. 2—7.

1. With regard to the *commencement* of the syllable, it is to be observed, that every syllable must begin with a *consonant;* and there are no syllables in the language which begin with a vowel. The single exception is וְ (*and*), in certain cases for וַ, e. g. in וּמֶלֶךְ (§ 104, 2, *c*),[1] The word אֲמַר is no exception, because the א has here its consonant force as a light breathing.

2. With regard to the *close* of a syllable, it may end —

a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ *qā-ṭā'l-tā* the first and last are open. See No. 3.

b) With one consonant, and called a *closed* or *mixed* syllable, as the second in קָטַל *qā-ṭā'l,* לֶבֶב *lē-bhā'bh.* See No. 5.

Here belongs also the *sharpened* syllable, as the first in קַטָּל *qăṭ-ṭē'l.* See No. 6.

c) With two consonants, as in קֹשְׁט *qōshṭ,* קָטַלְתְּ *qā-ṭā'lt;* comp. § 10, 3.

We shall now (in Nos. 3—7) treat in particular of the vowels that are used in these various kinds of syllables.

3. The *open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a *long vowel,*[2] whether they have the tone, as in בְּךָ *in thee,* סֵפֶר *book,*

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[1] It may be questioned whether וְ in the above position be a real exception; for וּמֶלֶךְ ought probably to be pronounced *wümä'lĕkh* (not *ûmälĕkh*), the וְ retaining its feeble *w* sound before the *Shûrĕq.—Tr.*

[2] In opposition to the fundamental law in Hebrew (long vowel in open syllable) the Arabic, and partly also the other Semitic languages retain every-

קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, or not, as in קָטֹל, עֵנָב *grape*, יִרְאוּ *they will fear*. Usually there is a long vowel (*Qāmĕṣ*, less frequently *Ṣērè*) in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לָהֶם, קָטַל, לֵבָב.[1]

Short vowels in *open* syllables occur more or less apparently:—

a) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4) from monosyllables (*Segholates*), as נַחַל *brook*, בַּיִת *house*, יִרְבֶּה *let him increase*, from the crude forms נַחְלְ, בַּיְתְ, יִרְבְּ. But the helping vowel cannot be taken strictly as a full vowel, i. e. it does not effect a complete close of the syllable. Forms like נַחַל (arab. *nachl* etc.) are therefore to be taken as *one* closed syllable.

b) The so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3) in certain forms of the *suffixes*, as קְטָלַנִי (Arab. *qătălănî*).[2]

c) Sometimes before the so-called *He local* (ה—), which has not the tone (§ 90, 2), e. g. מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness;* however only in the construct state (1 K. 19. 15), because the character of the form is unchanged, elsewhere it is מִדְבָּרָה.

In all these cases the short vowel is supported by the chief tone of the word.[3] Elsewhere it has at least the support of *Mèthĕgh*, viz.—

d) In these combinations, ——ֶ, ——ִ, ——ֹ, as טַעֲמוֹ *his taste*, יֶאֱסֹר *he will bind*, פָּעֳלוֹ *his deed*. In all these cases there really at first existed a closed syllable, but the guttural had caused the *Chateph*, and with it the opening of the syllable (comp. however יֶאְסֹר 1 K. 20, 14). For cases like וַהֲדַר comp. § 104, 2.

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where the orig. short vowels in open syllables. The above Heb. words in their Arabic forms sound as *bĭkă*, *sĭfr*, *qŭds*, *qătălă*, *ʿĭnăb*. Undoubtedly therefore the Hebrew had also short vowels in open syllables. Still it would be very hazardous to suppose that the present pronunciation is derived from the solemn, slow and chanting way of reading the Old Testament in the synagogues for with this hypothesis, facts like the very ancient lengthening of *ĭ* and *ŭ* in the open syllable to *ē* and *ō* would remain unexplained.

[1] The Arabic has for this pretonic vowel constantly a short vowel (*lăhŭm*, *yăqûm*, etc.); the Aramaic only a *vocal Sheva*, לְהוֹן, יְקוּם, קְטַל, לְבַב, which is the case also in Hebrew, when the tone is shifted forward (§ 27, 3, *a*). But this pretonic vowel must not be regarded as if it had been adopted, perhaps in place of Shᵉwâ, on account of the tone on the following syllable; but it originally was a short vowel, and the circumstance of its standing before the tone-syllable only lengthens it, whilst it is reduced to a vocal Shᵉwâ upon the shifting forward of the tone.

[2] But as נ is often Dagheshed, we may presume that the accented *Păthăch* causes a sharpening of the following liquid which is equivalent to the closing of the syllable.

[3] Compare the effect of the *Arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

c) In some other forms, as חֲזָקוּ *yĕ-chĕ-zᵉqû'* (*they are strong*), פָּעָלְךָ *pŏ'ŏlᵉkhā'* (*thy deed*). These cases had originally a closed syllable (therefore also וְחָזְקוּ; the other case originally sounded *pŏ'ᶜlᵉkhā*).

The first syllable in הֲדָרִים, הַחֹדֶשׁ, and similar forms, does not belong here (cf. No. 6); neither does accented ָ (fr. *ă*) in suffix as דְּבָרֶךָ, on שָׂרָשִׁים and קָדָשִׁים (*ŏ* for ָ) comp. p. 44, No. 2.

4. The above described independent syllables with the firm vowel are often preceded by a consonant with *vocal Shᵉwâ* (simple or composite). Such consonants with *vocal Shᵉwâ* have never the value of an independent syllable, and they constantly lean on to the stronger syllable that follows, e. g. לְחִי (*cheek*) *lᵉchî*, יִלְמְדוּ *yil-mᵉdhû'*, חֳלִי (*sickness*) *chᵒli*, פֹּעֲלוֹ *pō-ᶜalô'* (*his work*). The so-called prefixes ו, ב, כ, ל, especially belong here. See § 102. It is true, these *vocal Shᵉwâ's* have sprung from an originally firm vowel (e. g. יִקְטְלוּ, Arab. *yăqtŭlû*, בְּ, Arab. *bikă* etc.); from this however it cannot be concluded that the Masorites should have considered them as a kind of open syllable, for this would be in contradiction of their fundamental law requiring a long vowel in an open syllable, much more so than the exceptions cited in No. 3 above. Nor does the placing of the Mèthĕgh by the *Shᵉwâ* in certain cases (v. § 16, 2) prove that the Masorites considered these as open syllabes.

5. The *closed* syllables, ending with one consonant, have necessarily, when *without* the tone, *short* vowels, both at the beginning and at the end of words,[1] as מַלְכָּה *queen*, חָכְמָה *wisdom*, חָכְמַת *understanding*, וַיָּסָר *and he turned back*, וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם.

When *with* the tone, they may have a long-vowel just as well as a short, e. g. חָכָם *wise* and חָכַם *he was wise;* yet of the short vowels only *Pă'thăch* and *Sᵉghôl* have strength enough to stand in such a tone-syllable.[2] The accented closed penult permits only the *tone* long vowels (ā, ē, ō), not the *longest* vowels (î, ê, û, ô). Thus with יַקְטִילוּ (3d pl. impf. masc.

[1] There are some exceptions, when a word loses the tone through *Maqqēph*, as כְּתָב־הַדָּת (*kᵉthâbh*) Esth. 4, 8. In such cases the *Mèthĕgh* prevents a wrong pronunciation.

[2] See § 9, 2. Short *Chîrĕq* (*ĭ*) occurs only in the particles אִם, בִּן, עִם, which, however, are often toneless, because followed by *Maqqēph*.

Hiph.) we have the fem. תַּקְטֵלְנָה, the î being reduced to ē; with קוּמוּ (2d pl. imperat. *Qāl*) the fem. is קֹמְנָה (û contracted into ō).

6. A peculiar sort of *closed* syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end with the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, as אִמִּי *'im-mî'*, כֻּלּוֹ *kŭl-lô'*. Like the other closed syllables, these have, when *without* the tone, short vowels, as in the examples just given, when *with* the tone, either a short vowel, as סַבּוּ, הַגֵּנּוּ, or a long, as שָׂמָּה, הֵמָּה.

Sharpened syllables are wholly avoided at the end of words; see § 20, 3, *a*.

7. Closed syllables, ending with two consonants, occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, as קָטַלְתְּ, וַיִּשְׁבְּ, yet sometimes also *Ṣērê*, as נֶדֶרְ, וַיִּבְךְ, and *Chōlĕm*, as קָשְׁטְ. But compare § 10, 3. Most commonly this harshness is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4).

§ 27.

CHANGES OF VOWELS, ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT TO QUANTITY.

The changes which the Hebrew language has undergone, with respect to its sounds, before arriving at the state represented in the Massoretic text (see § 2, 4), have especially affected its vowel system, so that, for the better comprehension of the vowel changes occuring in the O. T. language, it is of importance to go back to the corresponding states and relations of the language in that earlier period, and, at any rate, to compare that which is preserved in the Arabic. In general it is to be observed especially: —

1) That the language has now in an originally open syllable often preserved only a half-vowel (vocal *Shᵉwâ*), where a full, short vowel stood; this is the case in the second syllable of the noun, and the first of the verb, before the tone, e. g. עֶגְלָה (original form *ʿăgălăt*) *waggon*, צְדָקָה (original form *ṣădăqăt*) *righteousness*, קָטְלוּ (Arab. *qătălû*);

2) That vowels originally short have now, in the tone-syllable, as also in open syllables before the tone, passed

over into tone-long vowels, *ă* into *ā*, *ĭ* into *ē*, *ŭ* into *ō* (see § 9, No. 1, 2. No. 7 and No. 10, 3). These, again, either return to their original shortness, when the tone is shifted or made lighter, or they become still more shortened even to half-vowels (vocal *Sh^{e}wâs*), at a greater distance from the tone, or are entirely dropped in consequence of a change in the relations of the syllables. E. g. מָטָר (Arab. *măṭăr*) *rain*, in construction with a following genitive (in the *construct state*, § 89) מְטַר, pl. מְטָרוֹת, *constr.* מִטְרוֹת; עָקֵב (Arab. *ʿăqĭb*) *heel*, dual עֲקֵבַיִם, עִקְבֵי; יִקְטֹל (Arab. *yăqtŭl*), pl. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. *yăqtŭlû*).

The vowels, with the changes of which we are chiefly concerned here, have been given in the vowel-table § 9, No. 12. According to that threefold classification, we have the following graduated scale to describe the process of lengthening or shortening:

A-class ă (ĕ) ā. Shortening: *ā (ĕ) ă*, attenuation from *ă* to *ĭ*.
I-class ĭ (ĕ) ē. „ *î ē ĕ ĭ.*
U-class ŭ ŏ ō. „ *ô û* (as obsc. from *ô*) *ō ŏ ŭ.*

Here also occurs in all the three classes the reduction of the original strong vowel (especially also the tone-lengthened or pretonic *ā ē ō*) to simple *Sh^{e}wâ mobile.*

Agreeably to the principles of § 26, the following changes occur:—

1. A tone-long vowel is changed into the original or kindred short one, when a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26, 5). Thus, when the tone is moved forwards, יָד *hand* is יַד, as יַד־יְהוָה *hand of God;* בֶּן *son,* בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ *son of the king;* כֹּל *a whole,* כָּל־הָעָם *the whole-of-the-people;* also when the tone is moved backwards, e. g. יָקֻם, יְקַם; יָלַךְ, יֵלֶךְ. So also, when an open syllable with a tone-long vowel becomes by inflection a closed one, e. g. סֵפֶר *book,* סִפְרִי *my book;* קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary,* קָדְשִׁי *my sanctuary.* In these cases *Ṣērê* (*ē*) passes over into *Chîrĕq* (*ĭ*) or *S^{e}ghôl* (*ĕ*), *Chōlĕm* (*ō*) into *Qāmĕṣ-chāṭûph* (*ŏ*). But

when a closed syllable with a long vowel becomes a sharpened one, i. e. ending with a doubled consonant, *Ṣērê* is changed back into *Chîrĕq,* and *Chōlĕm* into *Qibbûṣ,* as אֵם *mother,* אִמִּי *my mother;* חֹק *statute,* plur. חֻקִּים.

2. On the contrary, a short vowel is changed into a corresponding long one,—

a) When a closed syllable, in which it stands, becomes an open one, i. e. when the word receives an accession beginning with a vowel, to which the final consonant of the closed syllable is attached, as קָטַל, קָטְלוֹ *he has killed him;* סוּסָתִי *my mare* from סוּסָה = סוּסְה.

b) When a syllable, which should be sharpened by *Dāghē'sh forte,* has a guttural or ר for its final consonant (see § 22, 1), or stands at the end of a word (see § 20, 3, *a*).

c) When it meets with a feeble consonant (according to § 23, 1, 2, § 24, 2), as מָצָא for מָצַא *he has found,* for the א, losing its value as a consonant, loses also the power to close a syllable, and the open syllable demands a long vowel.

d) When the syllable is in *pause,* i. e. is the tone-syllable of the last word in a sentence or clause (§ 29, 4).

3. When a word increases at the end, and the tone is at the same time shifted forward, full vowels (long and short) may, according to the division of syllables, either pass over into a half-vowel (vocal *Sh^{e}wâ*), or may even be entirely *dropped,* so that only the syllable-divider (silent *Sh^{e}wâ*) supplies their place; e. g. the first is the case in שֵׁם (*name*), pl. שֵׁמוֹת, which become שְׁמִי (*my name*), and שְׁמוֹתָם (*their names*); the second in בְּרָכָה (*blessing*), *constr.* בִּרְכַּת. Whether the full vowel remains, or is changed into a half-vowel, or is altogether dropped (דָּם, דָּמִי; שֵׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two vowels disappears in two successive syllables, must be determined by the nature of the word; but in general it may be said, that in the inflection of nouns the first vowel is mostly shortened in this manner, while the second, when it stands immediately before the tone-syllable (as a pretonic vowel), remains, as יָקָר (*dear*), *fem.* יְקָרָה *y^{e}qārā';* in the in-

flection of verbs, the second, as יָקַר (*he was dear*), *fem.* יְקָרָה *yāqᵉrā'*. Thus we have a half-vowel in place of—

a) *Qā'mĕṣ* and *Ṣērê* in the first syllable (principally in the inflection of nouns), as דָּבָר *word, plur.* דְּבָרִים; גָּדוֹל *great, fem.* גְּדוֹלָה; לֵבָב *heart,* לְבָבִי *my heart;* תָּשׁוּב *she will return,* תְּשׁוּבֶינָה *they (fem.) will return.*

b) The short or merely tone-long vowels *a, e, o,* in the last syllable, especially in the inflection of verbs, e. g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה *qāṭᵉlā';* יִקְטֹל, *plur.* קְטָלִים *qôṭᵉlī'm;* יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭᵉlû'*. The *Sᵉghôl* as a helping vowel is entirely rejected (becomes silent Shᵉwâ), e. g. מֶלֶךְ (grdf. מַלְכִּי), מַלְכִּי. If there be no shifting of the tone, the vowel will remain notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, as יָשׁוּב, יְשׁוּבוּ; כִּרְמֶל, כַּרְמֶלָה.

Where the tone is advanced two places or syllables, *both* the vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, so that the first becomes *ĭ* and the second becomes *Shᵉwâ*. From דָּבָר we have in the *plur.* דְּבָרִים, and with a *grave suffix* (i. e. one that always has a strong accent) this becomes דִּבְרֵיהֶם *their words* (comp. § 28, 1). On the shortening of *ă* into *ĭ*, see especially in Rem. 3, below.

Some other vowel changes, chiefly also with respect to quantity, are exhibited in the following remarks:—

Rem. 1. The diphthongal וֹ *ô* (from *au*), as also the *ô* derived from the firm *ā* (§ 9, 10, 2), is longer than וּ *û;* and therefore, when the tone is moved forward, the former is often shortened into the latter; e. g. נָקוּם, נְקוּמוֹתָ (see Paradigm M. *Niph.*); נָנוֹס *flight, fem.* מָנוֹסָה, with *suff.* מְנוּסֹר; מָתוֹק *sweet, fem.* מְתוּקָה, The וּ stands sometimes even in a sharpened syllable, as in הוּכָּה Ps. 102, 5, כּוּלָּם Jer. 31, 34, חוּקֵי Ez. 20, 18, יוּבַל Judg. 18, 29. Nearly the same relation exists between diphthongal יֵ— *ê* and long יִ— *î;* see examples in § 75, 2.

NB. On the contrary, וּ *û* is shortened into *ŏ*, which in the tone-syllable appears as a tone-long *ō* (*Chōlĕm*), but on the removal of the tone it becomes again *ŏ* (*Qāmĕṣ-chāṭûph*), as יָקוּם (*he will rise*), יָקֹם (jussive, *let him rise*), וַיָּקָם (*and he rose*), see Parad. M. *Qal.* So also יִ— becomes a tone-long *Ṣērê* (*ē*), as יָקִים (*he will set up*), יָקֵם (*let him set up*), and in the absence of the tone, *Sᵉghôl* (*ĕ*), as in וַיָּקֶם (*and he set up*); see Parad. M. *Hĭphʿîl.*

2. From a *Pă'thăch* (ă) in a closed syllable there arises a *Seghôl* (ĕ), through an obscuring of the sound [Umlaut]. This happens—

a) in the closed antepenult, e. g. אֶבְיָתָר (*proper noun*) for אֲבִיָתָר; also in the closed penult e. g. יֶדְכֶם *your hand* for יָדְכֶם.

b) This is more regularly the case when *Dāghēsh fortè* is omitted in a guttural, that has a *Qāmĕṣ* under it. Thus always חָ— for חָ— (חָ—) e. g. אֶחָיו *his brothers* for אַחָיו, from אַחִים; חֶזְוֹן *the vision;* כֶּחָשׁ *false* for כַּחָשׁ, and so always with ח. With ה and ע the *Seghôl* is used only where a greater shortening is required on account of the distance of the tone; hence, הֶהָרִים for הַהָרִים *the mountains,* but הָהָר *the mountain;* הֶעָוֹן *the misdeed,* but הָעָם *the people.* Before א and ר, where a short sharpened vowel cannot so easily stand (§ 22, 1), *Qāmĕṣ* is constantly used, as הָאָבוֹת *the fathers,* הָרֹאשׁ *the head,* הָרָקִיעַ *the firmament* (as an exception we find הֶרָה *mountain-ward*). Comp. also the interrogative הָ (הַ, הֶ) in § 100, 4.

c) in the first class of the so-called segholate forms, when a helping vowel is inserted after the 2nd cons. (§ 28, 4); thus from כֶּלֶבְ with helping *Seghôl,* כֶּלֶב (Arab. *kelb,* and the LXX, Μελχισεδέκ for מַלְכִּיצֶדֶק), יֶרֶח with helping *Pāthāch,* יָרֵחַ. Thus in verbal forms like רֶגֶל (*Jussive* of the *Hiph.* of נָגַל) with a helping *Seghôl* for רָגֶל.

3. In a closed syllable, which loses the tone, ă is often attenuated into ĭ, e. g. *a*) with firm closing מִדּוֹ *his measure* for מַדּוֹ (sharpened); יְלַדְתִּיךָ *I have begotten,* יְלַדְתִּיךָ *I have begotten thee;*[1] cf. Ez. **38**, 23, Lev. **11**, 14; *b*) with a loose closing: דִּמְכֶם *your blood* for דָּמְכֶם; so with numerous segholates forms (*grdf.* קִטְלְ) e. g. צִדְקִי for צִדְקִי; בִּגְדֵי *constr. st. pl.* of בֶּגֶד (בִּגְדֵ).

4. The *Seghôl* arises, not only in the cases given above, in Rem. 1 and 2, but also—

a) From the obscuring in isolated cases of *ā* (*Qāmĕṣ*) final (ה— for ה—): Ps. **20**, 4, Is. **59**, 5, 1 Sam. **28**, 15.

b) Even from the obscuring of *u,* as אַתֶּם (*you*) from the original *'ăttum* (Arab. *'ăntŭm*), see § 32, Rem. 5 and 7; לָהֶם (*to them*) from the original (also Arab.) *lahum.* Comp. § 8, Third Class of vowels, p. 35.

5. Among the Chatephs (—ֲ) counts for shorter and lighter than (—ֱ), and the group (—ֲ—ֲ) than (—ֱ—ֱ), e. g. אֱדֹם *Edom,* but אֲדֹמִי *Edomite;* אֱמֶת (*emĕth*) *truth,* אֲמִתּוֹ *his truth;* נֶעֱלָם *hidden, plur.* נֶעֱלָמִים; וַחֲעַבְרֹתִי, תֶּעֱבְרִי.

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[1] Analogous to this attenuating of ă into ĭ, is the Latin *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus;* and to that of ă into ĕ (in Rem. 2), the Latin *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo.*

§ 28.

RISE OF NEW VOWELS AND SYLLABLES.

1. When a word begins with a so-called Appoggiatura (§ 26, 4), i. e. with a consonant which has a vocal Sh^{e}wâ, and there comes another consonant with Sh^{e}wâ before it, then this latter receives, instead of the Sh^{e}wâ, an ordinary short vowel. This vowel is almost always *ĭ* (*Chĭ'rĕq*). In most cases this is probably a weakened *ă* (*Păthăch*), and not a mere auxiliary vowel. In other cases analogy may have led to the choice of the *ĭ*. Thus the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ, before a consonant with (—ְ) become בִּ, כִּ, לִ, e. g. בִּפְרִי, כִּפְרִי, לִפְרִי; בִּיהוּדָה (from בְּיִהְ according to § 24, 1, *a*); the same with *Waw copulative* וִיהוּדָה for וְיִהְ. This restoration of the original vowel i. e. of *ă* (or *ĭ* weakened from *ă*) occurs frequently in certain appoggiatura in the formation of verbs which elsewhere (that is to say before consonants with a firm vowel) are pronounced simply with *Sh^{e}wâ*. At times the first appoggiatura after the restoration of the short vowel combines with the second into a firmly closed syllable, as לִנְפֹל *lĭn-pōl* Num. **14**, 3, in isolated cases also with כְּ: כִּזְכֹּר Jer. **17**, 2.

2. When the second of the two consonants is a guttural with *composite Sh^{e}wâ,* then the first takes, instead of the simple Sh^{e}wâ, the short vowel with which the other is compounded, so that we obtain the groups ——, ——, —— e. g. כַּאֲשֶׁר *as,* לַעֲבֹד *for to serve,* לֶאֱכֹל *for to eat,* לַחֳלִי *for sickness,* for כְּאֲשֶׁר, לְעֲבֹד, לֶאֱכֹל, לַחֳלִי. The new vowel has *Mĕthĕgh,* according to § 16, 2, *a*. Sometimes also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case the consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel which belonged to the suppressed *Chāṭēph,* e. g. לַחְטֹב for לַחֲטֹב; לֶאְסֹר (but also לֶאֱסֹר; and even רַעְצֹר Job 4, 2). In the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live* a simple *Sh^{e}wâ* vocal is maintained under the gutturals after a prefix, e. g. לִהְיוֹת *to be,* and וִהְיוּ *and be ye!* (comp. וֶהְיֵה *and be thou!* and וֶחְיֵה *and live!* with *S^{e}ghô'l* of the prefix, for וֶהֱיֵה)

3. By the same analogy a *Chāṭēph* (especially under a guttural) before a vocal *Shᵉwâ*, in the midst of a word is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, e. g. יַעֲמְדוּ *yă'ămᵉdhû'* for יַעֲמְדוּ *they will stand,* נֶהְפְּכוּ *nĕhĕphᵉkhû'* for נֶהְפְּכוּ *they have turned themselves,* פָּעָלְךְ *pŏ'ŏlᵉkhâ'* (*thy work*). Comp. § 26, 3, *e*. The division should be *yă'ă-mᵉdhû'*.

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10, 3, § 26, 7); yet only when the last of these is a consonant of strong sound, ט, ק, or an aspirate with its hard sound (*tenuis*), viz. ב, ד, ת,[1] e. g. יִשְׁטְ *let him turn aside,* וַיַּשְׁקְ *and he caused to drink,* קָטַלְתְּ *thou* (*fem.*) *hast killed,* וַיִּבְךְ *and he wept,* יִרְדְ *let him rule,* וַיִּשְׁבְ *and he took captive.* This harsh combination of letters is, however, avoided in general by supplying between the two consonants a *helping-vowel*, which is mostly *Sᵉghô'l*, but *Pă'thăch* under gutturals,[2] and *Chi'rĕq* after י, e. g. וַיִּגֶל *and he revealed* for וַיִּגְלְ, יִרְב *let it increase* for יִרְבְּ, קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary* for קָדְשְׁ, נַחַל *stream* for נַחְלְ, שְׁלַחְתְּ[3] for שָׁלַחְתְּ *thou f. hast sent,* בַּיִת *house* for בֵּיְתְ. These helping-vowels have not the tone, and they are dropped when-

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[1] There is hardly an instance of a similar use of ג and ת, which would in that case likewise require Dāghē'sh. The use of תֹּסֶךְ in Prov. **30**, 6 (shortened from תּוֹסֵף) is the only exception, and in some MSS the ף has not Dāghē'sh here.

[2] With the exception, however, of the א, as פֶּרֶא *wild ass,* דֶּשֶׁא *fresh grass.* Elsewhere the א loses its consonant power and is merely retained orthographically as in חֵטְא *sin,* גֵּיְא *valley* (also גַּי), שָׁוְא (Job **15**, 31 *Kethibh* שָׁו).

[3] In this form (§ 65, 2) *Dāghē'sh lenè* remains in the final *Tāw* just as if no vowel preceded (§ 22, 2), in order to indicate that the helping *Pă'thăch* is not a full vowel but merely an orthographical indication of a hasty sound. (Accordingly לָקַחְתְּ *thou hast taken* is distinguished also in pronunciation from לָקַחַת *for to take.*) The false epithet *furtive* given to this helping-vowel, in connection with the notion that such a vowel must be sounded *before* the consonant, caused the decided mistake, which long had its defenders, viz., that שָׁלַחְתְּ should be read *shalâacht;* although such words as שַׁחַת, נַחַל were always correctly sounded *shâchăth, nâchăl* not *naâchl.* Quite analogous is יִחַדְ *yĭchăd* in Job **3**, 6 (from חָדָה *to rejoice,* see § 75, Rem. 3, *d*).

ever the word increases at the end, as בֵּיתָה *house-ward,* קָדְשִׁי *my sanctuary.*

These helping-vowels have inappropriately been called *furtive*, a term which should be restricted to the *Păthăch* sounded before a final guttural, according to § 22, 2, *b.*

5. Full vowels rise out of *simple Sh*ᵉ*wâ* also by reason of the *Pause;* see § 29, 4.

§ 29.

OF THE TONE AND ITS CHANGES; AND OF THE PAUSE.

1. The principal tone, indicated by the accent (§ 15, 2), rests on the final syllable of most words, e. g. קָטַל, דָּבָר; דִּבְּרוּ, קְטַלְתֶּם, קְטָלוּ, קְדֹרוֹן (and as the last four examples show, even on additions to the stem); less frequently on the penultima, as in מֶלֶךְ, לַיְלָה *night*, קָטַלְתְּ, סַבּוּ, קָמוּ.

Connected with the principal tone is *Mèthĕgh*, a kind of secondary accent (§ 16, 2). Words which are united by *Măqqēph* with the following one (§ 16, 1), can have at the most a secondary tone.

It is not necessary here to single out the words accented on the penultima (*voces penacutæ*); for the sake, however, of calling attention to these words, they are chiefly marked in this book with ˊ, put over the tone-syllable.

In Arabic the tone is more on the penultima, and even on the antepenultima. The Aram. also accent mostly the penultima; and the Hebrew is pronounced thus, contrary to the accents, by the German and Polish Jews, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא, which they pronounce *brêshis bóro.*

2. The original tone of a word frequently shifts its place on account of changes in the word itself, or in its relation to other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is thrown forward (*descendit*) one or two syllables according to the length of the addition, as דָּבָר *word,* דְּבָרִים *words,* דִּבְרֵיכֶם *your words;* קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary,* קָדָשִׁים *sanctuaries;* קָטַלְתָּ, קְטַלְתָּהוּ. On the effect of this in the changes of the vowels, see § 27, 1, 3.

3. On the contrary, the original tone is shifted from the final syllable to the penultima (*ascendit*)—

a) When the syllable וַ (§ 49, 2) is prefixed to certain forms of the Imperfect, as יֹאמַר *he will say,* וַיֹּאמֶר *and he said;* יֵלֵךְ *he will go,* וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went.*

b) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllabic word, or one with the tone on the 1st syllable follows, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.[1] This rhythmical shifting back of the tone (נָסוֹג אָחוֹר *retrogression* as it is called by the Jewish grammarians) takes place however only on condition that the penult which now receives the accent, be an open syllable,—with long vowel,—while the last syllable, which loses the accent, must be an open one with a long vowel, or a closed one with a short vowel. Only *Ṣē'rĕ* can be kept in a closed unaccented *ultima*, but it is then, in correct editions, provided with a retarding *Mèthĕgh* in order to prevent its pronunciation as *Seghô'l*, e. g. לְבַעַר קֵן Num. **24**, 22. In other instances the shortening into *Seghô'l* really takes place, e. g. הֹלֵם פַּעַם *beating the anvil* Is. **41**, 7, for הוֹלֵם פַּעַם, Gen. **1**, 5, **3**, 19, **4**, 17, Job. **3**, 3, **22**, 28, Ps. **5**, 11, **21**, 2.

c) In *pause*. See No. 4 below.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (*letter b*) is avoided in another way, viz., by writing the words with *Măqqēph* between them, in which case the first wholly loses the tone, as וַיִּכְתְּבוּ־שָׁם *and he wrote there* Josh. **8**, 32.

4. Very essential changes of the tone, and consequently of the vowels, are effected by the *Pause*. By this term is meant the strong accentuation of the tone-syllable of the word, which closes a verse or clause of a verse, where a great *distinctive accent* stands (*Sillûq*, *'Athnāch;* also *Ôlè weyôrēd* in poetical accentuation); apart from these principal pauses there also occur often pausal changes with smaller distinctives (espec. with *Zăqēph-qātōn*, *Rebîà*, *Pāzēr*, even with *Tiphchā etc.*) The changes are as follows:—

a) When the syllable in *pause* has a short vowel, it becomes long; as קָטַל, קָטָל; מִים, מַיִם; קָטְלָה, קָטָלָה; קָשֶׁר (orig. form

[1] Even the prose of the Hebrews proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of Iambic rhythm. That the authors of the system intended to secure this object is evident, particularly from the application of Mèthĕgh.

קֶשֶׁר) *conspiracy*, קֶשֶׁר 2 K. 11, 14; אֶרֶץ, אֶרֶץ Jer. 22, 29. דְּבֶר becomes in pause דְּבֶר.

Yet sometimes the sharper *ă* is intentionally retained in Pause, especially if the closing consonant has *Dāghēsh forte implicitum*, the vowel thus being really sharpened e. g. בַּז Is. 8, 1 etc. but also elsewhere, e. g. עַד.

b) When a full vowel in an accented final syllable has lost its tone and become *Shᵉwâ* before an afformative, it is restored again in *pause*—if it was a short vowel—lengthened e. g. קָטַל *fem.* קָטְלָה (*qāṭᵉlâ*) in *pause* קָטְלָה (*qāṭālā*); שִׁמְעוּ (*šimᵉʿû*) *pause:* שִׁמְעוּ (from sing. שִׁמַע); מָלְאָה, מָלְאָה; יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ (sing. יִקְטֹל[1]). In segholate forms like לֶחִי, פֶּרִי (*grdf.* לַחְיִ, פַּרְיִ) the orig. *ă* returns at least as accented *Sᵉghôl*, thus לֶחִי, פֶּרִי; orig. *ĭ* as *ē*, e. g. חֵצִי, in *pause* חֲצִי; orig. *ŏ* (*ŭ*) as *ō*, e. g. חֳלִי (*grdf.* חֳלְיִ), in *pause* חֳלִי. In analogy with forms like לֶחִי etc. the shortened *impf.* יְהִי and יִהִי would become in *pause* יֶהִי and יִהִי (because in the full forms like יִהְיֶה *he will be*, and יִחְיֶה *he will live* the *Chîrĕq* is attenuated from orig. *ă*). Here belongs also שֶׁכֶם *the neck*, in *pause* שֶׁכֶם (*grdf.* שַׁכְמ) and the pronoun אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אָנִי, as well as the restoration of orig. *ă* as *ĕ* before the suff. הָ— *thou, thee* e. g. דְּבָרְהָ *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבָרֶהָ; רִשְׁמָרְהָ, in *pause* רִשְׁמָרֶהָ (on the other hand after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, אֵת (אֶת), בְּהָ, לְהָ, אִתָּהּ become in *pause* בָּהּ, לָהּ, (אָתָּהּ).

c) This tendency to place the tone on the *penultima* in *pause* shows itself, moreover, in several words, as אָנֹכִי *I*, אָנֹכִי; אַתָּה *thou*, אָתָּה; עַתָּה *now*, עָתָּה; and in special cases, like כֻּלּוֹ Ps. 37, 20 for כְּלוֹ, and also לֻעוֹ Job 6, 3 for לָעוֹ, from לָעָה.

Of other influences of the pause we have still to mention 1) the transition of an *ē* (lengthened from *ĕ*) into the sharper *ă* (v. supra. Remark to letter *a*) e. g. חַתַז for חֵתַז Is. 18, 5; קָמַל Is. 33, 9; חֲפַר Gen. 17, 14 etc. mostly before liquids or sibilants (yet also חָשַׁב Is. 42, 22 and without the pause חֵרַד Lam. 3, 48). The pausal of וַיֹּלֶךְ (shortened from וַיֵּלֵךְ) is וַיֹּלַךְ; comp. Lam. 3, 1 וַיֹּלַךְ; Judg. 19, 20 תֹּלֵךְ for תֹּלֶךְ. 2) the

[1] Such a pause-syllable is sometimes strengthened further by doubling the following consonant, § 20, 2, *c*.

transition from *ă* into *ĕ* in the ultima; so always in the expression לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד (for עַד) *for ever and ever*. 3) the *pausal Qâmeṣ* of the *Hithpael* form (for Ṣērê) e. g. יִתְחַלָּךְ Job. 18, 8. for יִתְחַלֵּךְ. 4) the restoration of a vowel which had become *Shᵉwâ* to a pretonic vowel. e. g. Job. 21, 11 יְרַקְּדוּן for יִרְקְדוּן. 5) the restoration of the י dropped from the end of the stem with its preceding vowel e. g. בְּעָיְרוֹ, אֲחָיְרוֹ Is. 21, 12 (for בָּעֹה, אֲחֹה, the latter word found thus also outside of the pause Is. 56, 9. 12); Comp. Job. 12, 6 and the same occurrence even in a word before the pause Deut. 32, 37; Is. 21, 12.

Several other changes occasioned by the *pause* will be noticed farther on, when treating upon the inflections of verbs and nouns.

NB. The supposition of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the pause springs merely from liturgical considerations, i. e. "to develope conveniently the *musical value* of the final accents by the aid of fuller forms" at Divine service, is at variance with the fact that similar phenomena may be observed even at the present day in the vulgar Arabic, where they can be based only upon rhythmical reasons of a general character.

PART SECOND.

OF FORMS AND INFLECTIONS, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

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§ 30.

OF THE STEM-WORDS AND ROOTS (BILITERALS, TRILITERALS, QUADRILITERALS).

1. The stem-words of the Hebrew and of the other Semitic languages have this peculiarity, that by far the most of them consist of *three consonants*, on which the meaning essentially depends, while its various modifications are expressed by changes in the vowels, e. g. עָמַק *he was deep*, עָמֹק *deep*, עֹמֶק *depth*, עֵמֶק *valley*. Such a stem-word may be indifferently either a verb or a noun, and usually the language exhibits both together, as זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed;* חָכָם *wise*, חָכַם *he was wise*. Yet it is customary and of practical utility for the beginner to consider the *third pers. sing. mas. of the Perf.* in *Qăl* (i. e. one of the most simple forms of the verb), as the stem-word, and the other forms of both the verb and the noun (both substantive and adjective), together with most of the particles, as derived from it, e. g. צָדַק *he was righteous*, צֶדֶק *righteousness*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, etc. Sometimes the language, as handed down to us, exhibits only the verbal stem, without so simple a form for the cognate noun, as סָקַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray;* and occasionally the noun is found without the corresponding verb-stem, e. g. נֶגֶב *south*, אֶבֶן *stone*. Yet it must be supposed that the language, as spoken,

often had the forms now wanting, since they still exist in several of the other Semitic dialects, e. g. for אֶבֶן the Arabic has the verb-stem *'ăbĭnă* to become hard (for נְגֶב Aram. *n^{e}gabh*).

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem-word, i. e. the 3. pers. sing. masc. of the Perf. in *Qăl* the *root* (שֹׁרֶשׁ), for which the Latin term *radix* is often used; and hence the three consonants of the stem are called *radical letters*, in contradistinction from the *servile* (or *formative*) *letters* (viz. א, ב, ה, ו, כ, ל, מ, נ, ש, ת, forming the mnemonic expression אֵיתָן מֹשֶׁה וְכָלֵב *Ethan, Moses and Caleb*), which are added in the derivation and inflection of words.[1] We, however, employ the term *root* in a different sense, as explained here, in No. 2.

2. Many etymologists give the name *root* to the three stem-consonants, viewed as vowelless and unpronounceable, from which the stems for both the verbs and the nouns are developed, as in the vegetable kingdom (from which the figurative expression is taken) the stems grow out of the concealed root. Thus for example—

Root: מלך (*ruling in general*).

Verb-stem: מָלַךְ *he has reigned.* Noun-stem: מֶלֶךְ *king.*

This supposition of an unpronounceable root is, however, an abstraction, and the term root instead of stem is liable to mislead and it is better, at least for the historical mode of treatments, to consider the concrete verb (3. pers. sing. masc. Perf. *Qăl*) as the stem-word.

3. These triliteral stems now generally form two syllables, as קָטַל. But among them are reckoned also such as have for their middle letter a ו, and by contraction (§ 24, 2, *c*) become one syllable, e. g. קָם for קָוַם; also, as a rule, stems whose second and third consonant are identical, e. g. צַר with צָרַר. But the original forms were doubtless trisyllabic, and became dissyllabic dy dropping the final vowel, as קָטַל from *qătălă* (still so in Arab.); קָם (קָוַם) from *qăwămă* (already dissyllabic in Arab. *qâmă*).

2. The use of three consonants in the stems of the verbs and nouns is so prevalent a law in the Semitic languages, that sometimes there is a semblance of artificial effort to preserve the triliteral form (e. g. יְדֹם for יְדֹם in verbs ע"ע). Even such monosyllabic nouns as might be deemed originally monosyllables (*biliteral roots*), since they express the first, simplest, and commonest ideas, as אָב *father,* אֵם *mother,* אָח *brother,* show by inflection that they also are mutilations of a triliteral stem. However the verbal stem has not been found for all such cases.

[1] See more in § 81, Rem. 1, Note 3.

3. Yet, on the other hand, stems with three consonants may be traced back to two consonants, which, in themselves unutterable are pronounced with a vowel between them and form a sort of *root*-syllable, to designate which grammarians use the sign √, e. g. √כר. Such root-syllables are called *primary* or *biliteral* roots. They are very easily distinguished when the stem has a feeble consonant, or the same consonant in the second and third place. Thus the stems דָּכָא, דּוּךְ, דָּכַךְ, דָּכָה have all the meaning of *to beat* and *to break in pieces,* and the two stronger letters דך *dakh* (comp. Eng. *thwack,* Sans. *tag* = θιγεῖν, L. *tago* (*tango*) = E. *touch*) constitute the monosyllabic root. The augmentation into a stem may also take place however by the addition of a strong consonant, which may be either a sibilant, liquid or guttural. To such a monosyllabic root there often belongs a whole series of triliteral stems, which have two radical letters and the fundamental idea in common.

Only a few examples of this sort:—

From the root קץ, which imitates the sound of *cutting,* are derived immediately קָצַץ, קָצָה *to cut off,* and metaph. *to decide, to judge* (hence קָצִין Arab. *qâdhî, a judge*); then קָצַב, קָצַע, קָצַר, with the kindred significations *to shear, to mow.* Related to this is the syllable קש, קס, from which is derived קָסַס *to cut into,* קָשַׁשׁ and קָשָׁה *to pare.* With a lingual instead of the sibilant קט, קר; hence קָטַב *to cut down, destroy,* קָטַל *to hew down, to kill,* קָטַף *to tear off, to pluck off,* קָרַר *to hew asunder, to split.* A softer form of this radical syllable is כס; hence כָּסַח and כָּסַם *to cut off, to shear off,* נכס Syr. *to sacrifice* or *to slay a victim.* Still softer are גז and גד; hence גָּזַז *to mow, to shear,* גָּזָה *to hew stones,* גָּזַם, גָּזַע, גָּזַל, גָּזַר *to hew off, to cut off, to eat off, to graze;* and so גָּדַד *to cut,* גָּדַע *to cut off;* compare also גָּדַף, גָּדַם. With the change of the palatal for the guttural sound, חָצַב, חָטַב *to hew stones* or *wood,* חָצַץ, חָצָה *to split, divide,* חֵץ *arrow* (σχίζα), חָדַד *to sharpen,* חָזִיז *arrow, lightning,* also חָזָה *to see* (comp. חדל, חדק, חדר, חדש,—חוּס, חוּע,—חסל, חסם, חסף—חטב, חטף in Ges. Lex.).

The syllable הם expresses the *humming* sound made with the mouth closed (μύω); hence הָמָה, נָהַם (נָאַם), Arab. همهم *to hum, to buzz.* To these add בהם *to be dumb;* דהם *to become mute, to be astonished.*

The root-syllable רע, of which both letters have a trilling sound, means *to tremble,* in the stemwords רָעַד, רָעַל, רָעַם, רָעַשׁ; then it is expressive of what causes thrilling motion or agitation, as *thunder* (רעם), the act of *shattering* or *breaking in pieces* (רעע, רעץ). Comp. פר, פל.

See also what is said in the Heb. Lexicon about the root-syllables גב with the idea of *elevation, curving upward* (*gibbous*) פר *to break;* לע, לח *to lick, to sip up*, under the articles גָּבַב, פָּרַר, לוּעַ.

From further consideration of this subject, the following observations occur:—

a) These roots are *mere abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves *not* in use. They merely represent the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet the latter have, now and then, so short a form, that they exhibit only the elements of the root itself, as תַּם *to be finished,* קַל *light.* The determination of the root and its signification is of the highest importance to the lexicographer. Another much contested question is whether there has ever been a period in the development of the Semitic languages when merely bi-literal roots, either rigidly isolated or already augmented by inflection, have served for the communication of ideas. If so, it must have been at a stage in its progress, when the ideas conveyed were extremely few and elementary and the gradual enlargement of words was required by the influx of stronger shades of thought. No historical evidence of such a transition has been clearly established.

b) Many of these monosyllabic roots are imitations of natural sounds, and sometimes coincide with like-meaning roots of the Indo-Germanic stock (§ 1, 4); e. g. תָּפַח (comp. E. *tap, thump, dump*), τύπτω (τύπω), רָפָא ῥάπτω (ῥάφω) (comp. Welsh *rhâff* = G. *Reif* = E. *rope* = *ribbon*), כָּלַח κολάπτω (comp. E. *club, clap*). Of other roots it is evident that the Semitic linguistic instinct regarded them as onomatopoetic, whilst the spirit of the Indo-Germanic languages refuses to accept them as imitations.

c) The stems with hard, strong consonants are to be regarded, according to the general progress of language (§ 6, 4), as the *oldest,* while the feebler and softer consonants distinguish forms of a later period, which consequently are more frequently used for the derivative and metaphorical significations; e. g. קָרַח and גָּלַח *to be smooth, to be shorn, to be bald;* and even גָּלָה *to be bare.* Comp. פזר and בזר, צחק and שׂחק, צעץ and זעץ, עלץ and עלז (עלס), רקק and רקד, and also the almost universal softening of initial ו and י. In other instances however harder stems have been adopted at a later period from the Aramaic, (e. g. טצה, Hebr. חצה). Sometimes the harder or softer sound is essential to the imitative character of the word, as גָּלַל *to roll* (spoken of a ball, of the rolling of waves), but גָּרַר more for a rough sound, as made in the act of *scraping* = σαίρω, σύρω, *verro;* so in חָצַב *to cut stones* or *wood,* we find a stronger sound than in גָּזַז *to cut grass, to mow.*

d) It appears also that those consonants, which *resemble* each other in strength or feebleness, are commonly associated in the formation of root-syllables, as קץ, כס, גז, גד (never כץ, גץ, גס, קז); בז, פץ (seldom פז); גר, קט (not גט). Rarely if ever are the first two radicals the same

in the (triliteral) stem. The seeming exceptions come from the reduplication of the root, e. g. דדה Arab. דאדא or from other reasons. Comp. בבה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants may be identical only in the so-called hollow stems (with middle ו or י), e. g. צוץ, נון. On the contrary, the last two are very often the same (§ 67).[1]

e) The tendency to substitute smooth for harsh sounds (see letter *c*) is sometimes so great, that *l*, *n*, *r*, especially when used as middle stem-letters, are even softened to vowels, as אוץ, אָצַל (comp. אנס) *to press*, עָקַם, עוּק, and many others. Comp. *salvare*, French *sauver; calidus*, Ital. *caldo*, in Naples *caudo*, French *chaud; falsus*, It. *falso*, in Calabria *fauzu*, French *faux;* and the pronunciation of the English words *talk*, *walk*. Comp. § 19, 5, Rem.

f) The cases where the triliteral stems cannot safely be traced back to a biliteral root, may have arisen in part from a combination of two roots, by which were created corresponding expressions for complicated ideas.

A fuller development of this active change in the primitive elements of the language belongs to the Lexicon.

4. To a secondary development (or later stage) of the language belong stem-words of *four*, and, in the case of nouns, even of *five*, consonants. These are, however, comparatively far less frequent in Hebrew than in its sister dialects, especially Ethiopic. They spring from the extension of the triliteral stem. This extension of the form is effected in two ways:—*a*) by adding a fourth stem-letter;—*b*) in some cases probably by combining into one word two triliteral stems, by which process even *quinqueliterals* are formed. Such lengthened forms as arise from the mere repetition of one or two of the three stem-letters, as קִטְלְטַל from קָטַל, סְכְסֵךְ from סָכַךְ, are not regarded as quadriliteral, but as variations in the so-called conjugation forms (§ 55). So likewise the few

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[1] Letters which are not found associated as radicals are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly such as too strongly resemble each other, as קג, גק, בפ, פב. Some letters, however, have been falsely considered *incompatible*, as ל, ר, which are found associated, e. g. in גָּרַל and חָרַל, softened from the harsher forms גָּרַר, חָרַר. Comp. γραπτός along with γράβδην, ὀκτώ along with ὄγδοος, and much that is analogous in Sanskrit.

words which are formed by prefixing שׁ, as שַׁלְהֶבֶת *flame* (from לָהַב), Aram. conj. *Shăphʿēl* שַׁלְהֵב.

Rem. on *a*). Some forms are made by the *insertion* particularly of *l* and *r* between the first and second radicals; as בָּרְסֵם, בָּרְסֵם *to shear off, to eat off;* שַׁרְבִּיט=שַׁבָּט *sceptre* (the form with ר very frequent in Syr.); by the insertion of *l* we have from זָנַח *to glow*, זַלְעָפָה *hot wind*, שַׁלְאֲנָן *tranquil* (from שָׁאַן) Job 21, 23, possibly also גַּלְמוּד from גָּמַד but comp. *Delitzsch* in Is. 49, 21. Comp. the Aramaic עַרְגֵּל *to roll*, as an expansion of the *Paʿēl* conjugation (corresponding to the Hebrew *Piʿēl*) עִגֵּל. In Latin there is a corresponding strengthening of the stem; as *findo, scindo, tundo, jungo* (in Sanskr., Class. VII.) from *fid, scid,* σχεδάω (=Eng. *scatter*), *tud* (=Eng. *thud*), *jug* (=Eng. *yoke*=Welsh *iau*). Additions are also made at the end, principally of *l* and *n*; as גַּרְזֶן *axe*, from גָּרַז *to cut* (comp. *graze*); כַּרְמֶל *orchard*, from כֶּרֶם; גַּבְעֹל *flower-cup*, from גָּבִיעַ *cup;* חַרְגֹּל *to hobble* which *Ges.* derived from חָרַג is by *Dietrich* referred to חָגַל with the insertion of ר, v. Lex.

Rem. on *b*). So probably are compounded צִפַּרְדֵּעַ *frog* Ex. 8, 1 ff., and חֲבַצֶּלֶת *meadow-saffron* (or *crocus*, comp. *Delitzsch* on Is. 35, 1) Cant. 2, 1, although this explanation is not altogether certain. [Comp. Ges. Lex. 8th Ed. where צפרדע is not regarded as a compound but, according to *Dietrich*, a derivation from the Arabic form of the word (ضُفْدَع) as the older, and this from the usual stem expansion]. Many words of this class may prove to have been taken from other languages (§ 1. 4) and therefore not appropriately considered here.

5. To a special class as derived from an earlier stage of the language, in which other laws prevailed, or from mutilations of already developed word-stems belong the *pronouns*. At all events their very irregular mode of formation requires a special treatment (§ 32). In like manner the *interjections* (§ 105), as an immediate imitation of natural sounds stand outside of existing formative laws.[1] On the other hand all the so-called particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) have in Hebrew, arisen from the fully developed nominal-stem, although in some instances, on account of their very great abbreviations, the original form is no longer distinguishable, see § 99.

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[1] Comp. *Hupfeld's* System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelnbildung, in der Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. II, S. 124 ff. 427 ff.

§ 31.

OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems, and their inflection, are effected in two ways:—*a*) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels;—*b*) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after. On the other hand the expression of grammatical relations through separate words by periphrasis (as in expressing the comparative degree and several relations of case), belongs rather to the syntax than to that part of grammar which treats of *forms*.

The second mode of forming words, viz., by agglutination, which is exemplified in the Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient of the two. Yet other languages, and particularly the Semitic, had early recourse also to the first mode, viz., internal modification of the stem, and in the period of their youthful vigour developed a strong tendency to follow this process; but in their later periods this tendency continually diminished in force, so that it became necessary to use syntactical circumlocution.—This is exemplified in the Greek (including the modern), and in the Latin with its branches (called the *Romance dialects*).

2. Both methods of formation and inflection are found together in Hebrew. That which is effected by vowel changes exhibits considerable variety (קָטַל, קָטֵל, קְטַל; קִטֵּל, קִטַּל, etc.). To this is joined in numerous cases the external formation (הִתְקַטֵּל, הִקְטִיל, נִקְטַל etc.), and even the formative additions undergo, also often, the inner transformation, e. g. הָקְטַל, הִתְקְטַל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, in the formation of the persons of the verb, where also the import of these annexed syllables is still, for the most part, perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47); moreover, it occurs in the distinction of gender and number in the verb and the noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, there appear in Hebrew only imperfect traces (§ 90).

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 32.

OF THE PERSONAL OR SEPARATE PRONOUN.

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronouns generally) belongs to the oldest and simplest component parts of the language (§ 30, 5); and therefore it here claims our first attention, because it lies at the foundation of the inflection of the verb (§§ 44, 47).

2. The separate and primary forms of the personal pronoun, which, as in Greek and Latin, serve to express more emphatically the subject-nominative, are the following:—

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1. *com.* אָנֹכִי, in *pause* אָנֹכִי; אָנִי, in *pause* אָנִי	*I*	1. *com.* אֲנַחְנוּ, in *pause* אֲנַחְנוּ (נַחְנוּ, p. נָחְנוּ), (אָנוּ)	*we*
2. *m.* אַתָּה (אַתְּ) in *p.* אָתָּה or אַתָּה; *f.* אַתְּ (אַתִּי, pr. אַתִּי) *p.* אָתְּ	*thou*	2. *m.* אַתֶּם; *f.* (אַתֶּן, אַתֵּנָה; אַתֵּנָה)	*ye*
3. *m.* הוּא	*he,* also *it*	3. *m.* הֵמָּה, (הֵם־), הֵם; *f.* (הֵן, הֵנָּה) הֵן	*they*
f. הִיא	*she,* also *it*		

The forms included in parentheses seldom occur. A complete view of these pronouns, with their shortened forms (*suffixes*), is given in Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar. Comp. also § 121.

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אָנֹכִי is less frequent than אָנִי which is probably shortened from it. The *former* is found in the Phœnician, Moabitic and Assyrian, but in no other kindred dialect;[1] from the *latter* are

[1] In Phœnician and Moabite (§ 2, 2) it is אנך, without the ending ־י, and in Punic *anec* (*Plaut.* Pœn. 5, 1, 8) or *'anekh* (*Plauti* Pœnulus, 5. 2, 35, comp. *Schröder*, Phön. Sprache, S. 143); in Assyrian, *anaku.* In ancient Egyptian, ANEK, Coptic *anok, nok.*

formed the *suffixes* (§ 33). אָנֹכִי prevails chiefly in the Pentateuch. In the Talmûd אָנֹכִי has almost entirely disappeared and in some later books wholly. The *ō* is probably an obscuring of orig. *a* (comp. Aram. אֲנָא, Arab. *'ána*).

2. The formation of the plural in this and the following persons, though analogous with that of nouns, exhibits (as also in the pronoun of other languages) much that is peculiar and irregular. The short form אֲנוּ, which resembles the suffix (§ 33), occurs only in Jer. **42**, 6 (*K^ethîbh*). The form אֲנַחְנוּ is found only six times; e. g. Num. **32**, 32. (Gen. **42**, 11 in pause אֲנָחְנוּ). In the Mischna the form אֲנוּ alone appears; in Arab. *nachnu* is the standard form.

3. The first person only is always of the *common gender*, because one that is present speaking needs not the distinction of gender, as does the second person addressed (in Greek, Latin, English etc., the distinction is omitted here also), and as the third person spoken of which needs it still more (but see Rem. 6).

II. *Second Person.*

4. The forms אַתָּה, אַתְּ, אַתֶּם, אַתֶּנָּה, are contracted from אַנְתָּה, etc., and the kindred dialects have still the *n* before the ת, Arab. *ánta*, f. *ánti* thou, plur. *ántum*, f. *antúnna* ye. In Syriac אַנְתְּ, *fem.* אַנְתִּי is written, but both are pronounced *at;* in the Western Aramaic אַנְתְּ stands for both genders.

אַתְּ without ה occurs only five times, e. g. Ps. **6**, 4, and each time as *K^ethîbh* with אַתָּה as *Q^erî*. As the vowels of the text belong to the *Q^erî* (§ 17), the reading of the *K^ethîbh* may have been אַתְּ, as an abbreviation from אַתָּה (acc. to Aram., see above), for אַתְּ actually serves twice for masc., as in Num. **11**, 15, Deut. **5**, 24, Ezek. **28**, 14.

The feminine form was originally pronounced אַתִּי, as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is still found in seven instances as *K^ethîbh* (e. g. Judg. **17**, 2, 1 K. **14**, 2), and shows itself also in the corresponding personal ending of the verb (see § 44, Rem. 4), specially before suffixes (קְטַלְתִּינִי § 59, 1, *c*). The final *î* sound, however, was gradually given up (in Syriac also it was at length only written, not pronounced), and the י therefore dropped, so that the Jewish critics, even in those seven passages, place in the *Q^erî* אַתְּ, the Sh^ewâ of which stands in the punctuation of the text (אַתִּי, § 17). The same final י— appears, moreover, in the rare forms of the suffix, —ִי, —ְכִי (§§ 58, 91).

5. The plurals אַתֶּם, אַתֶּן (אַתֵּן), are blunted forms (comp. 27, Rem. 4, *b*) of אַתֵּמוֹ (Arab. *ăntŭm*, Aram. אַתּוּן, אַנְתּוּן), and אַתֵּן or אַתֵּנָה (Arab. *ăntŭnnă*, Aram. אַתֵּין, אַנְתֵּין). Hence doubtless the fact that the *suff.* of the 2*d pers. pl. perf.* is added to the ending תּוּ (instead of תֶּם or תֶּן). אַתֶּן is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, being found only in Ez. **34**, 31 (so *Kimchi*,

others אַתֶּן), and אַתֵּנָה (for which MSS have also אַתֶּנָה) occurs only four times, viz., in Gen. 31, 6, Ez. 13, 11, 20, 34, 17 (13, 20 together with אַתֶּם for *fem.*).

III. *Third Person.*

6. At the end of הוּא *hû* and הִיא *hî*, the א seems to be only an orthographic finish for the long open syllable, as in לוּא, נָקְרָא, (§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), yet the writing with א is constant in the separate pronoun, and הוּא becomes הוּ (but הִיא becomes הָ) only as a toneless suffix (§ 33, 1).[1] (In Arab., as in Syr., they write הוּ and הִי but speak *hûwa*, *hûa*, *hû*, and *hîya*, *hîĕ*). However this Arab. pronunciation alone would decide nothing, as the vowel complement may be derived from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Æthiopic *we'tû* for הוּא, *yêtî* for הִיא, shows that originally the א indicated a vowel termination (comp. *Nöldeke*, Ztschr. der DMG Bd. XX, S. 459).

The form הוּא stands in K^{e}thîbh in the Pentateuch (except in 11 cases) also for the *fem.* הִיא as if similar to the epicene use of נַעַר for boy and girl (see § 2, 5, Rem.). But the punctators, whenever it stands for הִיא, give it the pointing הִוא, and require it to be read הִיא (comp. § 17).[2]

7. The plural forms הֵם (הֵמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *pref.* הֶן־) are derived from הוּא and הִיא in the same manner as אַתֶּם from אַתָּה. In Arab., where they are sounded *hŭm*, *hŭnna*, the obscure vowel-sound is retained, for which in Hebrew S^{e}ghô'l stands also in the suffixes הֶם־ and הֶן־ (comp. § 27, Rem. 4, *b*). The ה־ in both forms (הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה) is of *demonstrative* nature, but without observable effect of the sense. In West Aram. (הִמּוֹ, הִמּוֹן), Syr. *henûn*, Arab. *hŭmû*, (archaist. for *hum*) and Ethiop. (*hômû*) there is an *ô* or *û* appended, which appears in Hebrew in the poetical forms מוֹ, מוֹ־, מֹו־ (§ 58, 3, Rem. 1). In some passages הֵמָּה stands as feminine (Zech. 5, 11; Cant. 6, 8; Ruth 1, 22). The quite anomalous עַד־הֵם 2 K. 9, 18 should probably be read עֲדֵיהֶם.

8. The pronouns of the third person הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵן, refer to *things* as well as persons. On their *demonstrative* meaning, see § 122, 1.

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[1] In the inscription of Mêsha' (see § 2, 2), הא stands for הוא in line 6.

[2] *Kautzsch* does not accept the common opinion (v. Lex. 8th ed.) that this use of הוא for הִיא is an archaism,—since the epicene use *a*) lacks analogy in Sem. dialects, *b*) is not in oldest texts outside the Pent., *c*) is wanting in the kindred text of Joshua, and since *d*) הִיא occurs 11 times (Gen. 38, 25 together with הִוא),—but regards it as an orthographic peculiarity arising from some revision of the text of the Pentateuch. He cites as deserving of consideration, the supposition of Levy that originally הא was written for both forms (as it is found on the Moabite stone, see note above) and was then enlarged into הוא without regard to gender.—*Ed.*

§ 33.

THE SUFFIX PRONOUN.

1. The full forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronouns*), as given in the foregoing section, express only the nominative (but comp. § 121, 3): the accusative and genitive, on the contrary, are expressed mostly by shorter forms (or fragments) of them which are joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*suffix pronouns,* or usually *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (without accent) and וֹ *him* and *his* (from הוּא *he*), thus קְטָלְתָּהוּ *I have killed him,* קְטָלָתְהוּ or (with *āhû* contracted to *ô*) קְטָלְתּוֹ *thou hast killed him,* סוּסֹהוּ and סוּסוֹ *his horse.*

The same method occurs in all other Semitic tongues, as also in the Egyptian, Persian, Finn, Tartar and others; but in Greek, Latin and German, we find only slight traces of it, as πατήρ μου for πατὴρ ἐμοῦ, Lat. *eccum* in Plautus for *ecce eum*, Germ. *er gab's* for *er gab es.*

2. As to the *cases* which these suffixes indicate, let it be remarked that—

a) When joined to verbs, they denote the accusative (but comp. § 121, 4), as in קְטָלְתָּהוּ *I have killed him.*

b) When joined to substantives, they denote the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater ejus*), and then serve as *possessive pronouns,* as אָבִי (*ʾābh-î*) *my father,* סוּסוֹ *his horse* (answering to the Latin *equus ejus* or *equus suus,* comp. § 124, 1, *b*).

c) When joined to particles, they denote either the genitive or the accusative, according as the particle involves the meaning of a noun or a verb, e. g. אִתִּי (prop. *my vicinity*) *with me,* like Lat. *mea causa,* on the contrary הִנֵּנִי *behold me,* Lat. *ecce me.* בֵּינִי literally *interstitium mei* "between me."

d) The Indo-Germanic dative and ablative of the pronoun are expressed by combining with the suffixes the prepositions, that are signs of these cases (לְ *to* sign of the dative, בְּ *in,* מִן *from,* § 102), as לוֹ *to him* (Lat. *ei* and *sibi*), בּוֹ *in him,* מִנִּי *from me.*

3. The suffixes of the 2d person (ךָ—, etc.) are formed with the *k* (and not *t*) sound, based on an exchange of these two sounds exemplified also elsewhere.[1]

So likewise in all the Semitic tongues; but in Ethiopic also the verbal form is *qatalka* (thou hast killed)=Heb. קָטַלְתָּ.

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative), and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive), are mostly the same in form, but sometimes they differ, e. g. נִי— *me,* ִי— *my.*

Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar, gives a view of all the forms of the *pronoun,* both *separate* and *suffix;* fuller explanations about the *suffix to the verb* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in §§ 58—61, about the *suffix to the noun* in § 91, about *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, about *adverbs with suff.* in § 100, 5.

§ 34.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

Sing. m. זֶה[2] *f.* זֹאת (זוֹ, זֶהּ) } *this.* *Plur. com.* אֵלֶּה (rarely אֵל) *these.*

The feminine form זֹאת is (*ô* obsc. fr. orig. *â*) for זָאת (comp. זֶה=זָא; for the feminine ending ת, see § 80), and the forms זוֹ, זֶהּ, which are both of rare occurrence, come from זֹאת by dropping ת. In Ps. 132, 12 זוֹ is used as *relat.*, v. Lex. For זֹאת is found Jer. 26, 6 in *K^ethibh* הַזֹּאתָה (with article and demonstrative ה—). אֵל and אֵלֶּה are plural by usage, and not by grammatical form. The former (אֵל) occurs only in the Pentateuch and then always with the article as הָאֵל and 1 Chr. 20, 8, (without הָ). Both the singular and the plural is applicable to things as well as to persons.

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[1] That a palatal (*k*) and lingual (*t*) are liable to be exchanged, is manifest from the speech of young children, who frequently confound them, as *likkie* for *little.* Obvious instances of this exchange are found in many languages, as Gr. δαίω=καίω, Gr. τίς=Aeol. κίς, Lat. *quis,* and in the Hebrew itself שָׁתָה=שָׁקָה *to drink.* There is thus a strong presumption that the pronoun of the second person in the Semitic languages must have had two forms, one with *k* and the other with *t,* as אַכָּה and אַתָּה, אַכֶם and אַתֶם.—*Tr.*

[2] In many languages the demonstratives begin with *d,* hence called the *demonstrative sound,* which is, however, interchanged with a *sibilant* (as in Heb. זֶה) or a rough breathing. Thus in Aram. דָּא, דֵּךְ, דֵּן, דָּךְ *this,* Arab. *dhû, dhî, dhâ;* Sanskr. *sa, sā, tat;* Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό; Goth. *sa, sô, thata;* Germ. *da, der, die, das;* Eng. *the, this, that;* Welsh *dyna; hyn, hyna; hwn, hon,* etc.

A secondary form זוּ is used only in poetry. It stands mostly for the relative (like Eng. *that* for *who*), and serves alike for the sing. and plur. and for both genders, like אֲשֶׁר (§ 36). Cf. § 122, 2.

Rem. 1. This pronoun receives the article (הַזֶּה, הַזֹּאת, הָאֵל, הָאֵלֶּה) according to the same rules as the adjectives, § 111, 2 and § 122, 1.

2. Rarer secondary forms, with stronger demonstrative force, are הַלָּזֶה Gen. **24**, 65, **37**, 19; הַלָּזוּ *fem.* Ez. **36**, 35, and shortened הָלָז *masc.* in Judg. **6**, 20, 1 Sam. **14**, 1, **17**, 26; but *fem.* in 2 K. **4**, 25. In Arabic there is a corresponding form *'ălădhî*, as relative pronoun.

3. Also the personal pronouns of the 3d person often have a demonstrative force, see § 122, 1. Some other pronominal stems occur among the particles, § 99—105.

§ 35.
THE ARTICLE.

By nature the article is a demonstrative pronoun, akin to the pronoun of the 3d person. It nowhere occurs in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connection with the word before which it stands; and it usually takes the form ·הַ, with a short sharp-spoken *ă* and a doubling of the following consonant (by *Dāghē'sh fortè*), e. g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיְאֹר *the river* for הַיְאוֹר (see § 20, 3, *b*).

When, however, the article (·הַ) stands before a word beginning with a guttural, which (according to § 22, 1) cannot be doubled, then the short and sharp *ă* (Pă'thăch) is mostly lengthened into *ā* (Qā'mĕṣ) or *ă* (Seghô'l).

But to be more particular:—

1) Before the weakest guttural א and before ר (§ 22, 1 and 5, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, *b*) the vowel of the article is always lengthened into *Qā'mĕṣ*, as הָאָב *the father*, הָאַחֵר *the other*, הָאֵם *the mother*, הָאִישׁ *the man*, הָאוֹר *the light*, הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός, הָרֶגֶל *the foot*, אֶרֶץ *earth* becomes הָאָרֶץ, הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, הָרָשָׁע *the evil-doer*.

2) For the other gutturals there occurs either a sharpened syllable (virtual doubling § 22, 1),—especially with ח and ה, less often with ע— or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the

first case the article retains ־, the syllable remaining virtually closed; in the second, the *Pă'thăch* is either slightly lengthened to ־ or fully to ־. The following cases are to be distinguished:—

A) When the guttural is followed by any other vowel than *ā* (־) or *ŏ* (־), then—1) before the stronger ח and ה, the article regularly remains הַ, as הַהוּא *that,* הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month,* הַחַיִל *the force,* but with some rare exception, as in הָחַי Gen. 6, 19, הָחַמָּנִים Is. 17, 8 and always in הָהֵם, הָהַמָּה, הָהֵנָּה *those;*—2) before ע Pă'thăch becomes generally Qā'mĕṣ, as הָעַיִן *the eye,* הָעִיר *the city,* הָעֶבֶד *the servant,* pl. הָעֲבָדִים. (Exceptions in Is. 24, 2; 42, 18, Jer. 12, 9, Prov. 2, 17.)

B) But when the guttural is followed by *ā* (־), then—1) before ה and ע the article is always הָ, provided it stands immediately before the tone-syllable, else it is הַ, e. g. הָעָם *the people,* הָהָר *the mountain,* הָעֵין (in *pause*), הָהָרָה *towards the mountain,* on the contrary הֶהָרִים *the mountains,* הֶעָוֹן *the guilt;*—2) before ח the article is always הָ, without regard to the place of the tone, as הֶחָכָם *the wise,* הֶחָזָק *the strong,* הֶחָג *the festival,* הֶחָי *the live* Lev. 16, 20; so also—3) before ח, as הֶחֳלִי *the sickness,* הֶחֳדָשִׁים *the months.* On the contrary הַחָכְמָה according to *A,* 1.)

Gender and number, as in English and Welsh, have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The form of the Hebrew (also the Phœnician) article הַ seems to have originated from הַל, the ל of which however has been constantly assimilated to the next letter (as in יִקַּח from יִלְקַח, § 19, 2). This assimilation is to be accounted for from the enclitic nature of the article. In the Arabic it sounds אַל (pronounced *hal* by the modern Bedâwîn[1]), the ל of which is likewise assimilated, at least before all letters like *s* and *t*, and before *l*, *n* and *r;* e. g. *'al-Qor'ân* but *'as-sana* (Bed. *has-sana*)=Heb. הַשָּׁנָה *the year.* The Arabic article itself occurs also in the Old Testament prob. in the Arabic name אַלְמוֹדָד Gen. 10, 26, in אַלְתְּגִרִים 1 K. 10, 11, 12 (also אֲלוּגִּים 2 Ch. 2, 7, 9, 10, 11) perhaps

[1] See *Wallin* in the Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges. Bd. VI, S. 195, 217.

sandal wood (acc. to Ges. fr. Sansk. *mocha*[1], but comp. Lex. 8th ed.), and perhaps also in אֶלְגָּבִישׁ *icê, hail*=גָּבִישׁ (Arab. *ǵibs*) Ez. 13, 11, 13, 38, 22, and perhaps also אַלְקוֹם[2] in Prov. 30, 31.

2. When the prepositions בְּ, לְ, and the כְּ of comparison (§ 102, 2, *b*) come before the article, the ה is dropped by contraction, and the preposition[3] takes its points (§ 19, 3, *b*, and § 23, 4), as בַּשָּׁמַיִם *in the heaven* for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם, לָעָם *to the people* for לְהָעָם, בֶּהָרִים *in the mountains.* Exceptions appear almost exclusively in the later books (Ezr. Eccl. Neh. Chr.; yet comp. 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6. Elsewhere e. g. 2 K. 7, 12 the Massora, in *Qᵉrî* requires the Syncope). But in 8 places with כְּ, the ה remains in כְּהַיּוֹם Gen. 39, 11, etc. but oftener without ה, as כַּיּוֹם Gen. 25, 31, 33. But see 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6.—With וְ (*and*), the ה always remains, as וְהָעָם *and the people.*

§ 36.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

The relative pronoun is the same for all *genders* and *numbers,* viz., אֲשֶׁר *who, which.* In the later books, (esp. Eccl. Lam. and the late Psalms) as well as in Canticles constantly and in Judges occasionally, instead of this full form we have שֶׁ· (with the א elided and the ר assimilated, § 19, 2, 3), more rarely שַׁ· Judg. 5, 7, Cant. 1, 7, once שָׁ before א Judg. 6, 17 (else שֶׁ before gutturals), and before ה even שְׁ[4] Eccl. 3, 18, and according to some (e. g. *Kimchi*) also 2, 22. On the mode of expressing the *cases* of the relative, see § 123, 1. On the signification see *Lex.* 8th ed.

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[1] So also ἐλέφας=*elephant* is most likely derived from the Sanskrit *ibhas* (elephant), with the Semitic article הַל or אַל prefixed.—*Tr.*

[2] Arab. *alqaum* with the signification of *militia* (*Heerbann*).

[3] The prep. מִן, if prefixed before the article (as rarely happens, § 102, 1), does not take its place, but becomes מֵ, as in מֵהַשָּׁמַיִם in 2 Ch. 7, 1, for the usual מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם *from the heavens.—Tr.*

[4] In Phœnician the full form אשר does not occur, but ש, esp. in the later Ph. (*Plaut.* Pœn.) pronounced *sa, su, si,* and אש (pron. *asse*=אֶשְּׁ, *esse* but also *as, es, is, us, ys*), *Schröder's* Phön. Sprache, p. 162—66. Comp. above in § 2, 7. Also in modern Hebrew the שֶׁ· has become quite predominant.

§ 37.

THE INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. The interrogative pronoun (about persons) is מִי *who?* and (about things) מָה *what?*

According to Olshausen מָה *what?* was originally מַהּ, which in close connection (v. below) was assimilated with the following consonant. The forms מַּה־, מַ־ etc. (with *Dāghē᷑sh fortè conj.*) can however be sufficiently explained from the close uttering of the words. It should be further remarked that *a*) in closest connection stands מִה־ *mă* with *Măqqē᷑ph* and *Dāghē᷑sh fortè conjunctive* (§ 20, 2) as מַה־לְּךָ *what to thee?* and even in one word, as מַלָּכֶם *what to you?* Is. 3, 15. מַזֶּה *what is this?* Ex. 4, 2;—*b*) before gutturals in close connection with *Măqqē᷑ph* or a conjunctive accent it either likewise receives *Pā᷑thăch* with the *Dāghē᷑sh* implied in the guttural (§ 22, 1)— so especially before ה, and (Gen. 31, 36, Job 21, 21) before ח,—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either *ă* is lengthened into *Qā᷑mĕs* comp. § 35, 1,—so always before א and ר,—or only slightly lengthened into *Se᷑ghô᷑l*, especially before עַ, חָ, הָ (before ה however also מָה). The omission of the implied doubling also occurs, as a rule, with the hard gutturals, when they have no *Qā᷑mĕs* and then it stands מָה or מִה the latter especially before ה, ע when *Măqqē᷑ph* follows. The longer forms מִה and מָה also remain before non-gutturals if the connection does not take place through *Măqqē᷑ph*, but by a simple conj. accent. As a rule then מָה stands, but, by a wider separation from the chief tone we have also מָה Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (upon מָה in the combination בַּמֶּה, כַּמֶּה and even לָּמֶּה 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102, 2, *d*). *c*) in great pause מָה stands without exception, also generally with smaller *distinctivi*, and almost always before gutturals (מָה in very rare cases only). On the other hand מִה stands also occasionally before letters that are not guttural, as מִה קוֹל וגו׳ *what voice, etc.*? 1 Sam. 4, 6, 2 K. 1, 7, but only when the tone of the clause is far removed from the word; moreover, in the form בַּמֶּה, כַּמֶּה (see under מָה in the Heb. Lexicon).

2. Both מִי and מָה occur also as indefinite pronouns, in the sense of *whoever, whatever;* see § 123, 3.

CHAPTER II.

THE VERB.

§ 38.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The verb is, in the Hebrew, the most elaborated part of speech as to inflection, and also the most important, inasmuch as it mostly contains the *word-stem* (§ 30), and its various modifications are, to a great extent, the basis for the forms of the other parts of speech.

2. Verbal stems are either original or derived. They may be divided, in respect to their origin, into three classes,—

a) *Primitives,* representing the simple stem, e. g. מָלַךְ *to reign.*

b) *Verbal derivatives,* those derived from *primitives,* e. g. צִדַּק *to justify,* הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify one's self,* from צָדַק *to be just;* usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).

c) *Denominatives,* those derived from nouns (both primitive and derivative), e. g. אָהַל and אֹהֵל *to pitch a tent,* from אֹהֶל *tent;* הִשְׁרִישׁ *to take root* and שֵׁרֵשׁ *to root out,* from שֹׁרֶשׁ *a root.*

The noun, from which the denominative verb comes, is in most cases itself derivative; though the meaning shows that the orig. stem is nominal and not verbal, e. g. לָבַן *to be white,* hence לְבֵנָה *a brick,* and hence again לָבַן *to make bricks;* from דָּגָה *to be prolific* comes דָּג *a fish,* and hence again הוּג *to fish.*

§ 39.

1. The 3d person singular of the *Perfect,* in the simple form of the primitive verbs (i. e. in Qăl, see No. 4) is generally regarded as the stem or ground-form of the verb, as קָטַל *he*

has killed, כָּבֵד *he was heavy,* קָטֹן *he was little.*[1] From this are derived the other persons of the Perfect, and also the *Participle.* Another stem-form, more simple still, is the *Infinitive,* as קְטֹל, also קָטַל, with which the *Imperative* and the *Imperfect* (see § 47) connect themselves.

Both groundforms contain the idea of a noun (§ 44, 1) and both have therefore this analogy in noun forms. More closely considered the second ground-form, which is generally monosyllabic (Arab. *qătl, qĭtl, qŭtl*) may be called the abstract, and the first, consisting of two syllables (Arab. *qătălă, qătĭlă, qătŭlă*), the concrete. The same analogy prevails in the division of nouns into abstract and concrete.

In verbs whose second radical is ו, the full stem appears only in the second form which is accordingly adopted to represent the verb; e. g. Inf. שׁוּב *to turn,* of which the 3d person Perf. is שָׁב *he turned;* also most stems with middle י, e. g. דִּין *to judge.*

2. From the simple form of the primitives, viz., *Qăl,* are formed, according to *an unvarying analogy* in all verbs, the *verbal derivatives,* each distinguished by a specific change in the form of the stem, with a corresponding definite change in its signification (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative; reflexive, reciprocal, partly with corresponding passive forms); e. g. לָמַד *to learn,* לִמֵּד *to cause to learn, to teach;* שָׁכַב *to lie,* הִשְׁכִּיב *to cause to lie, to lay;* שָׁפַט *to judge,* נִשְׁפַּט *to contend in judgment, to litigate.* In other languages such words are regarded as new, *derivative* verbs, e. g. G. *fallen, fällen* = E. *to fall, to fell,* G. *trinken, tränken* = E. *drink, drench,* L. *lactēre* (*to suck*), *lactāre* (*to give suck*); *jacĕre* (*to throw*), *jacēre* (*to lie down*); γίνομαι, γεννάω. But in Hebrew, where these formations are incomparably more regular than (e. g.) in the German, Latin and Greek, they are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations*[2] (the Heb. grammarians call them בִּנְיָנִים i. e. *formations,* more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and both in the grammar and lexicon are always treated of in connection, as parts of the same verb.

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[1] For brevity's sake the sense of the Heb. stem is expressed in the Infinitive, in most of our grammars and lexicons, thus לָמַד *to learn,* prop. *he has learned.*

[2] The term *conjugation* must therefore be taken here in a totally different sense from what it bears in Greek and Latin grammar.

3. The changes of the primitive form consist partly in varying its vowels, and doubling the middle consonant (קִטֵּל, קָטַל; קוֹטַל, קֻטַּל); comp. G. *liegen, legen; fallen, fällen.* E. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell;* partly in the repetition of one or two stem consonants קְטַלְטַל, קָטַלְטַל and finally in the addition of formative letters or syllables (נִקְטַל, comp. E. *to speak, to bespeak; to count, to recount; to bid, to forbid*), to which sometimes the first is united, as הִתְקַטֵּל. Comp. § 31, 2.

In the Aramæan this is effected less by the change of vowels than by the addition of formative syllables; so that, for instance, all the passives are formed as reflexives by the prefix syllable אֶת, אִת. The Arabic is rich in both methods, while the Hebrew holds also here the middle place (§ 1, 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these so-called conjugations. The common practice, however, of giving to them still the old technical designations, prevents any error. The simple form is called *Qăl* (קַל *light,* because it has no formative additions); the others (כְּבֵדִים *heavy,* because weighted as it were with formative additions) take their names from the Paradigm (or pattern) used by the old Jewish grammarians, viz. פָּעַל *he has done.*[1] Several of them have passives which distinguish themselves from their actives by more obscure vowels. The most common conjugations (including *Qăl* and the passives) are the *seven* following; but only a few verbs exhibit them all:—

	Active.	*Passive.*
1. Qăl,	קָטַל *to kill.*	(wanting)
2. Nĭph'ă'l,	נִקְטַל *to kill one's self;* also passive.[2]	

[1] This verb, on account of the guttural which it contains, is unsuitable for a Paradigm, and has been exchanged by some for פָּקַד, which has this advantage, that all its conjugations are actually in use in the Old Testament, but the disadvantage, that there is some indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, as in פְּקַדְתָּם, פְּקַדְתָּ. The Paradigm קָטַל, in common use since the time of Danz, obviates this inconvenience, and is especially adapted to the comparative treatment of the Semitic languages, inasmuch as it is found with a slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קתל) in them all. In Hebrew, it is true, it occurs only a few times in *Qăl,* and that only in poetry; yet it may be retained as a *type* or model sanctioned by usage.

[2] Comp. § 51, 2 *d.*

	Active.	*Passive.*
3. Pi'ēl,	קִטֵּל *to massacre.*	4. Pu'ăl, קֻטַּל.
5. Hiph'îl,	הִקְטִיל *to cause to kill.*	6. Hōph'ăl, הָקְטַל.
7. Hithpă'ēl,	הִתְקַטֵּל *to kill one's self.*	(Hōthpă'ăl, הָתְקַטַּל.)

There are *several other less frequent* conjugations, of which some, however, are more common than these in the kindred languages; and in the weak (see § 41) or irregular verb in Hebrew they sometimes take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of forms, and their arrangement is more appropriate. Arranged after the Arabic manner, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus:—1. *Qăl.* 2. *Pi'ēl* and *Pu'ăl.* 3. *Pō'ēl* and *Pō'al* (§ 55, 1). 4. *Hiph'îl* and *Hōph'ăl.* 5. *Hithpă'ēl.* and *Hōthpă'ăl.* 6. *Hithpō'ēl* (§ 55, 1). 7. *Niph'ăl.* 8. *Hithpă'ēl* (§ 54, Rem. 2). 9. *Pil'ēl* (§ 55, 2). The more appropriate division is into *three* classes:—1. The intensive *Pi'ēl*, with the analogous form *Hithpă'ēl;*—2. The causative *Hiph'îl*, and its analogous forms *Shăph'ēl, Tiph'ēl;*—3. The reflexive and passive *Niph'ăl.*

§ 40.

1. It is chiefly from these *conjugations* or derivative forms, that the Hebrew verb obtains a certain affluence and compass. In *moods* and *tenses* however it is poor, having only two tenses, the *Perfect* (or *Preterite*) and the *Imperfect* (or *Future*),[1] besides an *Imperative,* (active) an *Infinitive* (with two forms), and a *Participle.* All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms alone (hence the diversity in the senses of the same form, §§ 125—129), or by syntactical combination. The *Jussive* and the *Optative* are partly indicated by expressive modifications of the Imperfect (see § 48).

[1] See note on § 47. *Gesenius*, like other Hebraists, called the tenses the *Preterite* and the *Future;* but since *Ewald* adopted the names *Perf.* and *Imperf.* instead, *Rödiger* and most of the present Orientalists have followed the example, which therefore may now be accepted as the most approved style; though one may not be able to see clearly any decided advantage in the change of terminology, and hence the name Future is used in my Heb. Lexicon, as being more convenient. The truth is, that the well-known difficulty about the Hebrew tenses remains practically the same on either system.—*Tr.*

2. In the *inflection* of the Perf. and Impf. as to the persons, the Hebrew differs from the Western languages, since it has distinct forms for both *genders* (in most instances), *just as in the personal pronoun, by whose incorporation with the verb-stem the personal inflection of these tenses is formed.*

As a preliminary view for the beginner, we exhibit here in a Table the formative syllables (*afformatives* and *preformatives*) of both tenses. Fuller information concerning them will be found in §§ 44—47, in connection with the Paradigms.

Perfect.

Sing.		*Plur.*	
3 *m.*	. . .	3 *c.*	ה . . .
3 *f.*	ה— . . .		
2 *m.*	תָּ . . .	2 *m.*	תֶּם . . .
2 *f.*	תְּ . . .	2 *f.*	תֶּן . . .
1 *c.*	תִּי . . .	1 *c.*	נוּ . . .

Imperfect.

Sing.		*Plur.*	
3 *m.*	. . . י	3 *m.*	ה . . . ו
3 *f.*	. . . ת	3 *f.*	נָה . . . ת
2 *m.*	. . . ת	2 *m.*	ה . . . ת
2 *f.*	י— . . . ת	2 *f.*	נָה . . . ת
1 *c.*	. . . א	1 *c.*	. . . נ

§ 41.

The general analogy in the inflection of verbs, which is normally exhibited in the stems with strong and firm consonants, holds good for all verbs; and the deviations which occur from this model of the *strong* or *regular verb,* are only modifications owing to the peculiar nature and the feebleness of many consonants, viz.—

a) When one of the stem-letters or radicals is a guttural, which occasions various vowel (not consonant) changes, according to § 22 (*guttural verb,* §§ 62—65)

b) When a stem-letter disappears by assimilation (§ 19, 2) or contraction (*contracted verb*, §§ 66, 67), as in נָגַשׁ, סָבַב.

c) When one of the radicals is a feeble letter (§§ 23, 24), so that many changes appear through its commutation, omission or quiescence (*quiescent* or *feeble verb*, §§ 68—75), as in יָשַׁב, קוּם, מָצָא, גָּלָה.

NB. The letters of the old Paradigm פָּעַל are used in naming the letters of the stem, פ denoting the first radical, ע the second, and ל the third. Hence the expressions, *verb* פ"א for a verb whose first radical is א (*primæ radicalis* א); *verb* ל"ה for one whose third radical is ה (*tertiæ radicalis* ה); *verb* ע"ע (ע *doubled*) for one whose second and third radicals are the same (*mediæ radicalis geminatæ*).

I. THE STRONG VERB.

Paradigm B.

E. G. קָטַל *to kill*, כָּבֵד *to be heavy*, קָטֹן *to be small.*

§ 42.

As the rules for the inflection of the strong or regular verb apply, with only occasional modifications, to all the weak or irregular verbs, it will be most convenient, and at the same time set the subject in the clearest light to the learner, if while treating of the former, we present whatever belongs to the general analogy of the verb.

Paradigm B (together with the above Table of the formative syllables in § 40, 2) exhibits a complete view of the usual and normal forms. Full explanations are given in the following paragraphs (§§ 43—55), where every subject is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus, under *Qăl* the inflections of the *Perfect*, and of the *Imperfect* with its modifications, are minutely explained with reference also to the other conjugations; and under the strong verb are given the forms and significations of conjugations which apply also to the weak, etc.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QĂL.

§ 43.

ITS FORM AND SIGNIFICATION.

The common form of the 3d person *Perf.* in Qăl is קָטַל, with a short *ă* (*Păthăch*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive* verbs. There is also a form with *ē* (*Ṣē'rê*), and

another with ō (*Chō'lĕm*), in the second syllable; the two latter are usually found with *intransitive* meaning, and serve for expressing states and qualities, e. g. כָּבֵד *to be heavy,* קָטֹן *to be small.* Sometimes the transitive meaning is distinguished from the intransitive of the same stem by the aid of vocalization, as מָלְאָ *to fill* (Est. 7, 5), מָלֵא *to be full* (comp. § 47, Rem. 2); but also with the same (intrans.) sense for both forms, as קָרַב and קָרֵב *to approach.*

In Paradigm B a verb *middle A,* a verb *middle E* and a verb *middle O* are given side by side. The second example כָּבֵד shows, at the same time, the effect of inflection in the setting of *Dāghē'sh lenè.*

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal one, and hence the distinction between the transitive and intransitive[1] meaning depends on it. The *Qā'mĕṣ* of the first syllable is lengthened from original *ă* (comp. Arab. *qătălă*) but it can be maintained in Hebrew only before the tone,—or at most with the secondary tone or *Mèthĕgh*—; in other places, like all so-called pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*) it becomes vocal Sh^{e}wâ on the shifting of the tone, as קָטַלְתָּם. In Aramæan it wholly disappears in the root itself, as קָטַל=Heb. קָטַל.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qăl:—חָמַר *to cover with pitch,* from חֵמָר *pitch;* מָלַח *to salt,* from מֶלַח *salt,* v. § 38, 2, *c.*

§ 44.

PERFECT OF QĂL AND ITS INFLECTION.

1. The inflection of the Perfect, in respect to person, number and gender, is effected by the addition of fragments of the personal pronouns and signs of 3 fem. sing. and 3 pl. (*afformatives*) to the end of the ground-form, which expresses the predicate idea. In explaining this connection, we may treat the ground-form as a *participle*[2] or a *verbal adjective,* but ex-

[1] The intransitive forms are in Arabic *qătĭlă, qătŭlă;* consequently, in Hebrew (after rejecting the closing vowel) *ĭ* in the accented syllable is regularly lengthened to *ē, ŭ* to *ō.*

[2] On the intimate connection between the Perfect and the Participle or verbal adjective, see what has been already said in § 39, 1. In intransitive verbs they have the same form, as מָלֵא *he was full,* and *full;* קָטֹן *he was small,* and *small.* In transitive verbs the participle presents, indeed, a different form (קֹטֵל), but yet with קָטֵל may be compared the nominal form קָטָל, though generally it is expressive of quality, as חָכָם *wise,* זָהָב *gold* (§ 84, 1).

pressing by itself the 3d *pers. sing. masc. Perfect;* as קָטַל *he has killed,* קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were *killing-thou,* or *killer-thou,* a *killer* wast *thou,* (קטל אַתָּה), יָרֵא *he was fearing,* יְרֵאתֶם *fearing were ye* (for (ירא אַתֶּם). In the *second* pers. sing. and pl. this is readily seen as well as in קָטַלְנוּ *we have killed* for קטל אֲנוּ. In the *first* person sing. קָטַלְתִּי we have תִּי, which *probably* by virtue of an exchange of כ for ת (comp. § 33, 3) has come directly from אָנֹכִי.[1] In the *third* person, ה— (originally ת—, comp. Rem. 4) is a mark of the feminine (as in the noun § 80, 2), and וּ (orig. ון, as still in Deut. 8, 3, 16, Is. 26, 16; comp. *ûnă* as termination of the masc. pl. of nouns in written Arabic) is a sign of the plural.

In the Indo-Germanic tongues, the personal inflections originated in the same manner, by appending pronominal forms, as is shown in Sanscrit and Greek; e. g. from the stem, *as* (to be) Sans. *asmi,* εἰμί, Doric ἐμμί (for ἐσμί) I am, where the ending μί belongs to μοί and μέ; Sans. *asi,* Dor. ἐσσί thou art, where σι is identical with σύ; Sans. *asti,* ἐστί he is, where τί answers to the pronoun τό, etc. But the etymology in all these languages (except in Welsh) is more obliterated than in Hebrew. This is partly true also of inflection in the other Semitic languages; e. g. 1st pers. Arab. *qatal*tŭ, Syr. *qeṭleth,* where the characteristic *i* is lost.

2. The characteristic *Păthăch* of the second syllable becomes *Shᵉwâ* before an affromative beginning with a vowel, because it then would stand in an open syllable (thus קָטְלָה, קָטְלוּ; but in pause קָטַלָה, קָטַלוּ). Before an affromative beginning with a consonant, the *Păthăch* remains in the tone syllable (קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְנוּ; in *pause* קָטַלְתָּ *etc.*) as well as before it. In the latter case however the *Qămĕṣ* of the first syllable, standing no longer before the tone is reduced to *Shᵉwâ,* thus; קָטַלְתֶּם, קָטַלְתֶּן; comp. § 27, 3 and § 43, Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E,* falling back in their inflection to the type of verbs *middle A,* generally lose in Heb. as in Ethiopic (but not in Arabic and Aramæan), the *E sound,* which passes over into *Păthăch,* as the Paradigm shows. This tendency comes from the laws

[1] See Note to § 33, 3 by *Dr. Davies.*—Rödiger held that the demonstrative ת was inserted before the simple germ of the pronoun (ִי—) as if to form אַתִּי, אַתְּי after the analogy of אַתָּה; others (*Gesenius, Ewald*) maintained that אַתִּי, אַנְתִּי may have been ancient forms actually in use for אָנֹכִי. The explanation given above, as adopted by *Kautzsch* from *Olshausen,* is much simpler.—*Ed.*

of vocalisation of the accented closed penult, which does not easily take *Ṣē′rĕ*, and not at all the *Chî′rĕq* shortened from *Ṣē′rĕ*. The original *E* appears, however, in open syllable; regularly so in the feeble stems ל״א (§ 74, Rem. 1); in strong stems only in *pause*, e. g. דָּבֵקָה *she cleaves* (not דָּבְקָה), Job **29**, 10; comp. 2 Sam. **1**, 23, Job **41**, 15; even in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. שָׂכֵן Deut. **33**, 12 (but שָׂכַן without the pause Is. **32**, 16).

2. In some feeble stems *middle A*, the *ă* under the second radical sometimes passes over into (ַ), in one example also into (ָ), when the syllable is closed and toneless. Thus שְׁאַלְתִּיו *I have asked him* 1 Sam. **1**, 20, שְׁאַלְתֶּם *ye have asked* 1 Sam. **12**, 13; **25**, 5; Job **21**, 29; וִירִשְׁתֶּם *ye possess* Deut. **4**, 1, 22; וִירִשְׁתָּהּ Deut. **17**, 4; וִירִשְׁתֶּם Deut. **19**, 1; יְלַדְתִּיךָ *I have begotten thee* Ps. **2**, 7 (comp. Num. **11**, 12, Jer. **2**, 27, **15**, 10); וּפְשַׁטְתֶּם Mal. **3**, 20. The *ĭ* in these forms may be simply an attenuated *ă* (§ 27, Rem. 2, 3), which is also favored by the following sibilant or labial and esp. sustained by the consimilation of the vowels; but see § 64, Rem. 1, § 69, Rem. 4 and Davies' Heb. Lex. on a secondary form *Med. E.*

3. In verbs *middle O*, Chô′lĕm is retained in the inflection where it has the tone, as רָגַזְתָּ *thou hast trembled*, יָכְלוּ in *pause* for יָכְלוּ *they could*. But when the tone is thrown forward, Chô′lĕm becomes Qā′mĕṣ-chāṭû′ph, as יָכָלְתִּי *I have prevailed over him* Ps. **13**, 5, וְיָכָלְתָּ (see § 49, 3) *and thou wilt be able* Ex. **18**, 23.

4. Uncommon forms:[1] *Sing.* 3. *fem.* in ת— (as in Arab., Ethiop., Aram.), e. g. אָזְלַת *it has gone* Deut. **32**, 36. Before suffixes this is the prevailing form (§ 59, 1, *a*); so with stems ל״ה partly in the form ת ָ (as often w. verbs ל״א, § 74, Rem. 1) partly with disapp. of ָ bef. the pleon. ending ה ָ, e. g. גָּלְתָה § 75, Rem. 1.—In Ez. **31**, 5 גָּבְהָא acc. to Aram. orthog. for גָּבְהָה.—2. *masc.* תָּ (differing only orthographically) for תָ, as בָּגַדְתָּה *thou hast been unfaithful* Mal. **2**, 14; comp. Gen. **3**, 12.—2. *fem.* sometimes has still a *Yôdh* at the end, especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as הָלַכְתִּי Jer. **31**, 21 (which really means הָלַכְתִּי pointed as if without י, cf. אַתִּי in § 32, Rem. 4). Thus we have the form קָטַלְתִּי always before suffixes (§ 59, 1, *c*).—1. *com.* sometimes without *Yôdh*, as רָדַתְּ in Ps. **140**, 13, Job **42**, 2, 1 K. **8**, 48, Ezek. **16**, 59. This, however, is found only in the K^{e}thîbh and is probably only a curtailed form anal. w. 2. fem. קָטַלְתְּ (comp. Aram. 1st pers. קְטַלֵת); the Q^{e}rî has the full form.—*Plur.* 2. *fem.* תֶּנָּה (according to others תֶּנָּה) Amos **4**, 3 (as ה follows it may be merely *dittography;* but cf. אַתֶּנָּה § 32, Rem. 5).—3. *com.* 3 times with the old plural ending ן (but often in Aram. and Samar.), as יְדָעֻן *they know* Deut. **8**, 3, 16 (probably to avoid a hiatus) and Is. **26**, 16, or with a superfluous א (according to Arabic orthography

[1] Almost all these forms, which in Hebrew are infrequent, are the usual ones in the kindred dialects, and they may be called Aramaisms, Syriasms, and Arabisms. It should be understood however that they have not been taken from these dialects but merely indicate a return to more original forms.

§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), as חָלְכוּא Josh. 10, 24, Is. 28, 12. For the Impf. with וּן see § 47, Rem. 4.

5. With the afformatives תְּ (תָ), תִּי, נוּ, which are generally unaccented the word is *Mil'êl* (e. g. קָטַלְתָּ); with the others it is *Milra'* (§ 15, 2). The place of the tone is shifted,—*a*) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), where it is moved backwards, and at the same time the vowel of the second syllable, if it has become a *Sh'wâ* (—), is restored, as קָטְלָה for קָטְלָה (הָבְקָה f. הָבְקָה), קָטְלוּ for קָטְלוּ (מָלְאוּ f. מָלְאוּ;—*b*) in certain cases after *Waw consecutive of the Perfect* (see § 49, 3).

§ 45.

THE INFINITIVE OF QĂL.

1. The Infinitive, strictly a verbal substantive, has two forms, a shorter and a longer. The shorter form (*Infinitive construct*), in *Qăl* קְטֹל, is used in various ways, partly in connection with the pronominal suffixes, and as governing the genitive as well as the accusative of the object (§ 133), partly in connection with prepositions before it, as לִקְטֹל *for to kill* (§ 132, 2) and finally in dependence upon substantives (as genitive) or upon verbs (as accusative of the object). The longer form (*Infinitive absolute*), in Qăl קָטוֹל, is limited to the expression of the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently, when added to a finite verb of the same stem, as an adverbial accusative (see § 131).[1]

To the flexibility and variety in the uses of the Infin. constr. and the inflexibility of the Infin. absolute corresponds also their vocalisation. The latter has *Chô'lĕm* unchangeable, but the former has *Chô'lĕm* changeable (hence with suff. קָטְלִי *qŏṭli'*).

Besides קְטֹל, the Infin. Qăl has also the following unusual forms:—*a*) קָטֹל, e. g. שָׁכַב *to lie down* Gen. 34, 7, שָׁפַל *to sink* Ec. 12, 4 especially with verbs which have *ă* in the second syllable of the imperfect or with those whose second or third stem consonant is a guttural (frequently in addition to the usual form). Before suffixes the form קָטַל becomes קָטַל or by attenuating *ă* into *ĭ* קִטַל, e. g. בְּלָעִי Job 7, 19.

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[1] In the Paradigms, the *Inf. constr.*, as the predominant form, is put before the other, under the name of Infinitive κατ' ἐξοχήν.

b) קָטְלָה and, attenuated from it, קִטְלָה; קָטְלָה and קָטְלָה (feminine forms from קָטֹל and קִטֹּל mostly used with intransitive verbs and partly beside forms without feminine-endings); as אַשְׁמָה *to trespass,* שִׂנְאָה *to hate,* קָרְבָה *to approach* Ex. **36**, 2, חָמְלָה *to pity* Ez. **16**, 5. But see Gen. **19**, 16 חֶמְלָה (orig. *ă* inflected into *ĕ*); comp. also Is. **8**, 11. These rare forms are more in use as *verbal nouns* (§ 84, Nos. 10, 11, 14).

2. A sort of *Gerund* is formed in Hebrew by the *Infin. constr.* with the preposition לְ, as לִקְטֹל (*for to kill*) *interficiendo, ad interficiendum,* לִנְפֹּל (*for to fall*) *ad cadendum.*

The לְ is here so closely connected, that it constitutes part of the grammatical form, as appears from the syllable-division and the use of *Dāghē'sh lenè*, viz., לִנְפֹּל *lin-pōl* (§ 28, 1), so probably also *liq-ṭōl.* On the contrary, בִּנְפֹּל *bin^{e}phōl* Job **4**, 13, כִּנְפֹּל *kin^{e}phōl* 2 Sam. **3**, 34, where the prepositions בְּ and כְּ are conceived to be less closely connected with the Infinitive; and by way of exception it is so also with לְ, as לְנָתֹּשׁ וְלִנְתֹּוץ Jer. **1**, 10. לְשַׁדֹּד **47**, 4 and according to some לְסָבֵב Num. **21**, 4.

§ 46.

THE IMPERATIVE OF QĂL.

1. The groundform of the Imperative קְטֹל (קְטַל) is consonant with the infin. construct and lies also at the basis of the Imperfect (§ 47).[1] It expresses only the *second* person, but has forms for the feminine and the plural. For the *third* person it has no distinct form (see § 130, Rem. 2), but this is expressed by the Imperfect as the jussive form (§ 127, 3, *c*), and even the second person must be expressed by the jussive form, when a negative precedes, as אַל תִּקְטֹל (not אַל קְטֹל) *kill thou not,* Lat. *ne occidas,* see § 128, 2, *b*. The proper passive conjugations have no Imperative,[2] but the reflexive Niph'ăl and Hithpă'ēl have.

2. The inflection of the 2d Sing. fem. and the 2d pl. masc. is quite similar to that of the Imperfect, and it will be understood from the explanations given below in § 47, 2. Like the Imperfect, the Imperative Masc. Sing. also has a lengthened

[1] The *Inf. absol.* also is occasionally used, like the Greek Infinitive, for the Imperative (§ 131, 4, *b*). Upon the infinitive in general comp. *Koch, Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffh. 1874).

[2] An Imper. is found twice (Ez. **32**, 19, Jer. **49**, 8) in *Hoph'al,* but with a reflexive meaning rather than a passive.

and a shortened form, the first after the manner of the cohortative (ה— paragog.), the second after the analogy of the jussive (see § 48, 5).

Rem. 1. Besides the form קָטַל (also קָטוֹל; before *Māqqēph* קָטַל־), there is also one with *Pă'thăch*, for verbs middle *E* and also for a number of intransitive verbs which have *ă* in the perfect, as שָׁכַב *lie thou down* as in the *Inf.* and *Impf.* 2 Sam. **13**, 5; in *pause* שְׁכָב. See the Paradigm.

2. Now and then there is found in the first syllable of the feminine sing. and masc. plural (which have the *Shᵉwâ vocal*, as *qĭṭᵉlî'*, *qĭṭᵉlû'*; therefore שִׁפְכִי, without a *Dāghē'sh lenè;* comp. however אִסְפִי Jer. **10**, 17, and in the same combination חֶשְׁפִּי Is. **47**, 2) an *ŏ* (Qā'mĕṣ-chāṭûph) instead of the *ĭ*, as מָשְׁכוּ *draw ye* Ez. **32**, 20, מָלְכִי *reign thou* (*fem.*) Judg **9**, 10. This throwing back of original *ŭ* of the 2d syllable (for *ŏ* is inflected from *u*) would be really according to rule, and the forms with *ĭ* are merely an attenuation of the characteristic vowel. In *pause* we get גָּזְרוּ 1 K. **3**, 26; from שָׁמְעוּ=שָׁמַע etc., likewise from 2. sing. fem. in Pause עָבְרִי Is. **23**, 12 (even outside of pause קָסְמִי 1 Sam. **28**, 8 in *Kᵉthîbh*); from שָׁמְחִי=שָׂמַח Joel **2**, 21.

3. In the form קָטַלְנָה, the ה— is at times dropped, and then a helping vowel is introduced, as in שְׁמַעְנָה *hear ye* (*fem.*) for שְׁמַעְנָה Gen. **4**, 23. The anomalous קְרָאן *call ye* (*fem.*) for קְרָאנָה Ex. **2**, 20 ought perhaps to be read קְרָאן, as it is in Ruth **1**, 20.

§ 47.

THE IMPERFECT OF QÂL AND ITS INFLECTION.[1]

1. Fragments of the personal pronoun are employed in the inflection of the Imperfect as well as of the Perfect; but

[1] The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition to *Perfect;* and therefore in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Heb. (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes, in general, the *concluded, ended* and *past*, what is come to pass or is gone into effect; but at the same time, that which is *represented* as completed, whether extending still into the present, or in reality yet future. The *Imperfect*, on the contrary, denotes the *incoming, unfinished* and *continuing*, that which is being done, or coming to pass, and is future; but also that which is repeated or in connected sequence in past time (the Latin Imperfect). From the above it is manifest that the formerly used designation of the *Impf.* as *Future* expresses only a part of the idea. Altogether the transfer of the names of Indo-Germanic tenses to the Semitic tenses (carried out under the influence of Greek grammarians by the Syrian, Arabic and afterward the Hebrew scholars, following their example) has created a great many misconceptions. To the Semitic idea of time which knows only the complete and the incomplete, the indo-germanic division into three *tempora* (past,

in the Imperfect these fragments are *pre*-fixed (*preformatives*) to the stem in the abstract or Inf. form (קְטֹל), as however the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the stem form, or passes over (2 fem. sing. and 3 and 2 masc. pl.) to the afformatives, these preformatives of the Imperfect, are much more curtailed than the afformatives of the Perfect, so that in every case only one consonant remains (י, ת, א, נ). But as these are not always sufficient to mark, at the same time, the distinction of gender and of number, the defect is in some cases supplied by additions at the end. Comp. the Table in § 40, 2.

2. The derivation and signification of both the preformatives and the afformatives, are still in most cases clear.

In the 1*st pers.* אֶקְטֹל, *plur.* נִקְטֹל, א is an abbreviation of אֲנִי, נ of נַחְנוּ; and here no addition at the end was needed to mark the gender and number. As to vocalization, the Arab. points towards the groundforms *'ăqṭŭl* and *năqṭŭl;* the ĭ of the 1. *plur.* is therefore attenuated from *a* (as in the other preformatives). The *Seghôl* of the 1. *sing.* may be explained from the predilection which the א has for this sound.[1]

In the 2*d pers. sing.* the ת in תִּקְטֹל (orig. form *tăqṭŭ́l*) is from אַתָּה, the י— in תִּקְטְלִי is the sign of the feminine, as in אַתְּ *thou* (feminine, see § 32, Rem. 4). In the 2*d pers. plur.* the ו (more fully ון, see Rem. 4 below) in תִּקְטְלוּ is the sign of the plural as in the 3d person, and as already in the Perfect (§ 44, 1), but it is here appropriated to the *masculine;*[2]

present and future) is quite foreign.—This Semitic distinction of tenses shows itself in the mode of their formation. Thus, in the more objective Perfect, the verbal-stem precedes, and the designation of the person follows as some accessory idea; but in the Imperfect, the subject, from which the action proceeds or of which some state is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun. See more in the Syntax §§ 125—29.

[1] According to *Kimchi* the *Seghôl* of the 1st sing. may be explained from the endeavor to avoid the conformity of sound in אֶקְטֹל and יִקְטֹל, the latter being supposed to have been pronounced *iqtōl.*

[2] This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ûn, û.* It is true that in the Perf. the Hebrew employs it for both genders; but in the kindred tongues, it stands even in the Perf. for the masculine alone: as in Syriac, mas. *qetalûn,* fem. *qetalên;* in Arabic, mas. *qătălû,* fem. *qătálnă;* in Eth. *qătălû, qătălâ.*

while נָה (for which also נָ) in תִּקְטֹלְנָה is the sign of the 2d and 3d pers. plural *feminine* and either points towards an old fem. pl. ending (in Aramaic נָ—) or is borrowed from הֵנָּה *they* or *those* (*fem.*), and אַתֶּנָה *you* (*fem.*).

In the 3d person the preformatives (י in the masc. יִקְטֹל,[1] Grdf. *yăqtŭl, plur.* יִקְטְלוּ, Grdf. *yăqṭŭlû*; ת in *fem.* תִּקְטֹל, *plur.* תִּקְטֹלְנָה), have not yet found a satisfactory explanation. The ת is probably allied to the original feminine-ending ת— of nouns as well as of the 3 sing. fem. Perfect. For the afformative וּ (ין) and נוּ see above.

3. The characteristic vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Sh^{e}wâ* before an accented afformative beginning with a vowel, but is retained (in the tone-syllable) before the unaccented afformative נָה. Therefore תִּקְטְלִי, יִקְטְלוּ, תִּקְטְלוּ (*pause* תִּקְטֹלִי etc.), תִּקְטֹלְנָה.

Rem. 1. The final ō, leng. from ŭ, is only tone-long (§ 9, No. 10, 3), as in the *Infin. constr.* and *Imper.* Hence,—*a*) The examples in which it is written *fully*, though not rare, are to be regarded as exceptions;—*b*) Before *Măqqēph* it becomes *Qā'mĕṣ-chāṭûph*, e. g. וַיִּכְתֹב־שָׁם *and he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32;—*c*) It becomes vocal *Sh^{e}wâ* before the afformatives ִי— and וּ (v. above No. 3). Quite anomalous are the three examples which have long וּ instead of *Sh^{e}wâ*: יְשַׁפּוּטוּ הֵם Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the great pause, but according to *Qimchi* (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18 *b*), contrary to our editions, with the tone in the ultima; in the same way לְאֶחָיו מִמֶּנּוּ Ruth 2, 8; תְּשַׁמְּרוּם (in great pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the two first cases perhaps יְשַׁפּוּטוּ and תַּעֲבֹדוּ (for יִשְׁפְּטוּ etc.) were intended, by virtue of a retraction of the pause, whilst וּ Prov. 14, 3 could only be explained as a vocal equivalent for — (comp. e. g. Ez. 35, 6). In the few instances in which it remains before these afformatives, the pointing becomes וּ, because it stands close before the pause, e. g. יִשְׁפְּטוּ הֵם *yĭsh-pû'ṭû* (*they were judging*) Ex. 18, 26, Ruth 2, 8, comp. Prov. 14, 3.

2. This *Chō'lĕm* is confined almost exclusively to verbs *middle A*, like קָטַל. *Intransitive* verbs (*middle E* and *O*) take *ă* (*Pă'thăch*) in the Impf., as גָּדַל *to be great*, יִגְדַּל; קָטַן *to be small*, יִקְטַן. Sometimes

[1] The usual derivation of the י from the ו of the pronoun הוּא, analogous to יָשַׁב from וָשַׁב (§ 69) has little in its favor, nor does it explain the י preformative of the plural. *Rödiger* supposed that formerly a corresponding pronoun of the third person (*ya?*) may have existed, and compared with it the Amharic *yĕh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the supposition that this is old Semitic. The fact that in the Arabic and West. Aram. *Yôdh* stands also as preformative of the 3d pl. fem., at all events, deserves consideration (v. below, Rem. 3).

both forms exist together; the Impf. with *ō* is then transitive, and that with *ă* intransitive; e. g. יִקְצֹר *he will cut off, will reap;* יִקְצַר *he will be cut off;* i. e. will be short. So also יָחַשׁ, Impf. *ō, to subdue* Ex. **17**, 13, Impf. *ă, to be subdued* Job **14**, 10. More seldom both occur without any difference in signification; e. g. יִשֹּׁךְ and יִשַּׁךְ *he will bite,* יֶחְפֹּץ and יַחְפֹּץ *he is inclined* (but. cf. Job **40**, 17). In the irregular verbs פ״י and some פ״א, a changeable *ē* (*Ṣere*) is also found in the final syllable (§ 68, 1; § 69, 1), besides only in יִתֵּן for יִנְתֵּן *he will give* (נָתַן). These three forms of the Impf. are called Imperfect *O*, Impf. *A*, Impf. *E*.

3. For the 3*d plur. fem.* תִּקְטֹלְנָה there occurs in three instances, as if to distinguish it from the 2*d pers.*, the form תִּקְטֹלְנָה, as in West. Aram. Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian, e. g. תַּעֲמֹדְנָה *they shall arise* Dan. **8**, 22; comp. Gen. **30**, 38, 1 Sam. **6**, 12. In several instances תִּקְטֹלְנָה seems to have been used improperly for the 3*d pers. fem.* or 2*d masc. singular*, as תִּשְׁלַחְנָה (for which תִּשְׁלָחֶנָּה ought probably to be read) Judg. **5**, 26 and Obad. **13** (for 2 *masc. sing.*, acc. to *Olsh.* mutil. fr. יָד תִּשְׁלַח); comp. Job **17**, 16, Is. **28**, 3.[1]—In the Pentateuch (mostly) ן (*nā*) occurs in place of נָה, especially after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2); e. g. Ex. **1**, 18, 19, **15**, 20, in Arabic always *nă*. Acc. to Elias Levita תִּלְבַּשְׁךָ 2 Sam. **13**, 18 is the only ex. of this kind in strong verbs.—Once occurs (Ezek. **16**, 50) the anomalous form תִּגְבַּהֶרְנָה with ר— inserted, after the manner of verbs ע״ע and ע״ו (§ 67, 4, § 72, 5); which *Olshausen* regards as a blunder, caused by the following form.

4. The plural forms ending in ו appear also not unfrequently (but oftenest in the older books) with the fuller ending וּן, most commonly with obvious stress on the word at the end of a period or clause, where the vowel of the second syllable is then retained, as יִלְקְטוּן *they gather* Ps. **104**, 28, יִרְגְּזוּן *they tremble* Ex. **15**, 14, תִּשְׁמְעוּן *ye shall hear* Deut. **1**, 17. But it is not confined to this position; see e. g. Ps. **11**, 2 יִדְרְכוּן כֶּשֶׁת (comp. **4**, 3, Gen. **18**, 28, 29, 30—32, Is. **8**, 12, 1 Sam. **9**, 13). In the last example and perhaps in some others, euphonic reasons may have cooperated. But the preference for this form at the end of a clause or sentence is clearly seen in Is. **26**, 11 בַּל יֶחֱזוּן יֶחֱזוּ וְיֵבֹשׁוּ *they see not; may they see and be ashamed.* This holds also for the corresponding forms of the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.[2] This original ending וּן is the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (Old Arab. *ûnă*); yet in vulgar Arabic it is likewise shortened. Of the Impf. with א appended, (following the Arabic orthography § 44 Rem. 4) יִנָּשׂוּא Jer.

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[1] By this small number of examples we are hardly justified in taking them as remainders of an emphatic imperf. form (anal. to the *Modus energicus I* with the ending *ănnă* in Arabic).

[2] It is worthy of remark, that the Chronicles often omit the *Nûn* where it stands in the books of Kings; see 1 K. **8**, 38, 43; comp. 2 Chr. **6**, 29, 33.—1 K. **12**, 24, 2 K. **11**, 5; comp. 2 Ch. **9**, 4, **23**, 4.

10, 5 is the only example (but this may stand by erroneous metathesis for יִנָּשְׂאוּ caused by the preceding נָשׂוֹא).

5. In like manner תִּקְטְלִי has a longer form with final ן, viz., תִּקְטֹלְנָה, which is also the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (old Arab. *înă*); yet in Hebr. chiefly as a fuller form in great *pause*, and almost everywhere with the retention of the vowel in the penult as תִּדְבָּקְנָה Ruth **2**, 8, 21. See examples in 1 Sam. **1**, 14, Ruth **3**, 4, 18, Jer. **31**, 22, Is. **45**, 10.

6. On the restoration in *pause* of *ō* which had become *Sh*ᵉ*wâ* in the forms תִּקְטְלִי *etc.* v. above No. 3. In consonance with this also is the fact that the imperfects with *ă* restore this vowel in *pause* and, at the same time, lengthen it (as a tone vowel) into *ā* e. g. רִגְּלָה, תִּגְבָּלִי. This influence of the pausal tone extends itself even to the forms which have no afformative, e. g. יִגְבַּל in *pause* יִגְבָּל; but the fuller forms in ן and ן— keep the tone on the last syllable (the vowels *û* and *î* in the closed *ultima* never allow the removal of the tone).

§ 48.

SHORTENING AND LENGTHENING OF THE IMPERFECT AND IMPERATIVE.

Jussive and Cohortative Forms.

1. Against the lack of specific forms to express the *relative Tenses* and the *Moods,* which is felt in the Hebrew and its kindred dialects, a small set-off is made by *changes* in the *form* of the Imperfect, to which changes a certain signification is either exclusively or principally attached.[1]

2. We distinguish, accordingly, between the common form of the Imperfect and two others, viz., a *lengthened* form (with a *cohortative* force) and a *shortened* form (with a *jussive* force). The lengthened Imperfect, however, occurs only in the 1st person (with few exceptions), while its shortened form is mostly found only in the 2d and 3d persons, rarely also in the first (1 Sam. **14**, 36). In Hebrew, however, for reasons of accentuation and vowel formation the Jussive could not always be orthographically distinguished from the common (*Indicative*) form of the Imperfect.

In classic Arabic the distinction is almost always clear. Besides the common Indicative *yăqtŭlŭ*, it has—*a*) a Subjunctive, *yăqtŭlă;*—*b*) a

[1] In the Perfect, the corresponding relations or modal senses are expressed only by the one common form, that stands also for the Indicative (§ 126, 5).

Jussive, *yăqtŭl;* and—*c*) a doubled so-called *Modus energicus* of the Impf. *yăqtŭlănnă* and *yăqtŭlăn* (in pause *yăqtŭlâ*), which latter answers to the Heb. Cohortative.

3. The characteristic of the *cohortative* is a long *â* ה֫—, attached to the 1st person, as in אֶקְטְלָה from אֶקְטֹל; comp. the ה֫— *directive* of the noun § 69, 2, *a*. It is found in all the conjugations and in all classes of strong and weak verbs (except in the *passives*), and the ending ה֫— has the tone wherever it is taken by the afformatives וּ and ִי—; hence it affects the final vowel in precisely the same manner as these do; e. g. in *Qăl* אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe,* in *Pi'êl* נְנַתְּקָה *let us break asunder* Ps. 2, 3; but the unchangeable vowel of the final syllable is retained before ה֫—, as in *Hiph'îl* אַזְכִּירָה *I will praise.* Finally (as before *û* and *î*) the vowel is restored in pause, as tone vowel; thus the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה becomes in pause אֶשְׁמָרָה (Ps. 59, 10).

Twice ה֫— takes the place of ה֫—, e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 15, and, with the 3d pers. Ps. 20, 4 (here in a syllable sharpened by *dag. forte conjunc.*). The ה֫— is attached to the 3d person: Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20 (and afterward required v. 16 in *Qe'rî*), where, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3 it has no influence upon the signification. Probably Job 11, 17 also belongs here although תִּיצָּפָה may, with *Kimchi* be regarded as 2nd Masc. Quite anomalous is תָּבוֹאתָה Deut. 33, 16 (for תָּבֹא=תָּבוֹא). It is not impossible that in some of the above named cases the ה֫— may be a second (pleonastic) designation for the feminine.

The *Cohortative* expresses *effort* and the *direction of the will to an action;* and accordingly it especially denotes *excitement of one's self, determination, wish* (as *Optative*), in the 1st Pl. also an exhortation of others, etc. (see § 128).

4. The *Jussive* form of the Impf. essentially rests on quicker pronunciation, united with a tendency of the accent towards the beginning of the word (in order, as it were, to emphasize the command immediately in the first syllable), so that it very often causes a shortening at the end. Yet elsewhere the jussive must be satisfied with the shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable, without being able to withdraw from it the tone, and very frequently the nature of the form does not allow any change whatever, v. above No. 2. It is not impossible however that even in such a case the *Jussive* and *Indi-*

cative differed perceptibly in the tone of the living speech. So יִקְטֹל as Ind. means *he will kill,* but as Jussive *let him kill.* Where the shortening is orthographically indicated, will be shown in every case under the conjugations. In the strong verb it is confined, as a distinct form, to Hĭphʿîl, as in Juss. יַקְטֵל, Ind. יַקְטִיל. It is found in Qăl and Hĭphʿîl of verbs ע״ו, as Jussive יָמָת and יָמֵת, Ind. יָמוּת and יָמִית; and in all the conjugations of verbs ל״ה, where after the removal (*apocopè*) of the ending ה— in *Qăl* and *Hĭphʿîl* monosyllabic forms arise with or without a helping vowel under the 2d stem consonant (*Impf. apoc.*), e. g. *Qăl*, Ind. יִגְלֶה, Juss. יִגֶל; *Hiph.* Ind. יַגְלֶה, Juss. יַגֶל; but also in *Piʿēl* יְצַו from Indic. יְצַוֶּה. But in all cases the plural forms of the *Jussive* coincide with those of the Indicative, only that the ending ון cannot occur. Also the 2d pers. sing. fem. sounds the same in both, viz., תַּקְטִילִי, תָּמוּתִי, תִּגְלִי, etc., and so likewise all the singular and plural forms, when they have pronominal suffixes, e. g. תְּמִירֶנִּי as Indicative in Jer. 38, 15, as Jussive in Jer. 41, 8.

The force of this form is similar to that of the *Cohortative,* only that in Jussive the command or wish extends, with few exceptions, only to the 2d or 3d person. On particular uses of the Jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the first person), see § 128, 2.

5. The *Imperative,* as it is allied in form and meaning to the Imperfect, is also lengthened (by ה—) and shortened, in a manner perfectly analogous (compare the Arabic *Imperativus energicus,* with the ending *-ănnă* or *-an,* in pause *-â*). The lengthened *Imp.* occurs, e. g. in Qăl of the strong verb, as שָׁמְרָה (*shŏmᵉ-rā'* like קִטְלִי *qĭṭᵉlî,* § 46, Rem. 2) *keep thou;* שָׁכְבָה, שָׁכְבָה *lie thou down;* the shortened *Imp.* in verbs ל״ה, as in *Piʿēl* גַּל for גַּלֵּה. In Hĭphʿîl the *î* of the 2d syll. is reduced to *ē*, when the syll. is closed e. g. הַקְטֵל; but the *î* is retained in open syllables e. g. הַקְטִילִי (both cases exactly as in jussive). The force of these forms is not always so strongly marked as in the *Imperfect.* The longer form, however, is often emphatic, as קוּם *stand up,* קוּמָה *up!* תֵּן *give,* תְּנָה *give!*

§ 49.

THE PERFECT AND THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The use of the two tenses, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 126, 127; compare Note [1], § 47), is by no means confined to the expression of the past and the future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the consecution of the Hebrew[1] tenses, is this; that in continued narrations of the past, only the first verb stands in the Perfect, the following ones being in the Imperfect; and on the contrary, in continued descriptions of the future, the first verb is in the Imperfect (Future), while the subsequent ones are in the Perfect. Thus in 2 K. **20**, 1: *In those days Hezekia sickened* (Perf.) . . . .*and Isaiah* . . . . *came* (Impf. וַיָּבֹא) *to him, and said* (Impf. וַיֹּאמֶר) *to him,* etc. Just the reverse in Is. **7**, 17: *And the Lord will bring* (Impf. וַיָּבִיא) *upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days, such as have not come since,* etc. **18** v. *And it will happen* (Perf. וְהָיָה) *on that day* . . . . This progress in the succession of time is generally indicated by the so-called *consecutive Wāw,*[2] which in itself, it is true, is but a variety of the usual copulative *Wāw*, but partly (in the impf.) appears with an unusual vocalization. Moreover the tenses compounded with the *consecutive Wâw* undergo in part a variation of tone and hence at times also other variations.

2. The *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is—*a*) regularly prefixed with *Pă'thăch* and a *Dāghē'sh fortė* in the next letter,

[1] The other Semitic tongues have no trace of this construction, except that the Phœnician (the most closely related to the Hebrew), and of course the transjordanic Heb. (or Moabite) inscription of Mêsha' has it (see § 2, 2).

[2] This name expresses best the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *Wāw consec.* an action is always represented as a direct or at least temporal *sequence* of a preceding action. If whole books (Lev., Num., Josh., Judg., 1 and 2 Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with *impf. consec.*, others (Ex., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *Wāw copul.*, it is to establish a close connection with the historical books preceding them (now or originally). Compare on the other hand the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. Merely external is the formerly used designation as *Wāw conversive*, as changing the respective tenses into their opposites (acc. to the former conception, the *fut.* into *pret.* and *vice-versa*).

as וַיִּקְטֹל *and he killed,* but with *Qā'mĕṣ* before the א of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22, 1), as וָאֶקְטֹל *and I killed* (the preform. וְ with *Dāgh. f.* omitted occurs in such cases as וַיְדַבֵּר and וַיְהִי, see § 20, 3, *b*);—*b*) it takes a shortened form of the Imperfect, where possible (comp. § 48, 4), e. g. in *Hĭph'îl* וַיַּקְטֵל (§ 53, Rem. 4), and tends to remove the tone from the ultima even more than the jussive. With this removal is necessarily connected a decided shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable which being closed is now toneless, as in יָקוּם, Jussive יָקָם, with *Wāw consecutive* וַיָּקָם *and he arose* (§ 67, Rem. 2 and 7, § 68, 1, § 69, Rem. 3, § 71, § 72, Rem. 4 and 7, § 73, Rem. 2).[1] But in the 1st pers., especially in the singular, the shifting back of the tone and even the reduction of long vowels in the 2d syllable (*û* to *ō*, *î* to *ē*) is not usual, and the apocope in verbs ל"ה occurs much seldomer, e. g. always וָאָקֻם (def. וְאֶקְּמָה) *and I arose; Hiph.* וָאָקִם; וָאֵרֶא *and I saw* (rather oftener than וָאֶרְאֶה). But on the contrary we oftener find, specially in the later books, the *Cohortative* form in ה— used here, e. g. וָאֶשְׁלְחָה *and I sent* Gen. 32, 6, Judg. 6, 9, 10, Ps. 3, 6, Neh. 2, 13, 5, 7, 8, 13, 6, 11, 13, 7—11.—See more in § 129.

NB. This וַ is in sense a strengthened *Wāw copulative* and resembles in its pronunciation the usual Arab. *copul.* (*wă*). The close connection of this *wă* with the following consonant caused in Hebrew the doubling of the latter, especially as *ă* could not stand in an open syllable; comp. בַּמָּה, כַּמָּה, לָמָּה (for לַמָּה), where the prepositions בְּ, כְּ, לְ are connected with מָה in a similar way.

The encounter of numerous *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not lead to the supposition of a close relationship between the two moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (or the shifting of the tone) is occasioned by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, and is only accidentally similar to the form of the Jussive, where the shortening is based on the character of the form itself.[2]

3. The counterpart of *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is *Wāw consecutive of the Perfect,* by which the Perfects are

[1] Also the plural forms in ן, occur more seldom after *Wāw consecutive,* but comp. וַיְרִיבוּן Judg. 8, 1, 11, 18, Am. 6, 3, Ez. 44, 8, Deut. 4, 11, 5, 20. The 2d fem. sing. in ִין— never occurs after *Wāw consecutive.*

[2] The opinion of earlier grammarians, according to which וַיִּקְטֹל is an abbreviation and contraction from וַתְּהִי יִקְטֹל (=וַתְּהִי) *it was* (that) *he killed,* is in every respect erroneous, and now obsolete.—Equally unfounded is the opinion of some that it is a contraction of וַיְהִי יִקְטֹל.

placed as the future sequents of actions or events conceived of as incomplete (therefore in Imperf., Imperat. or even Partic.). In form it is the usual *Wāw copulative* and therefore also shares its various vocalization (וְ, וּ, וָ e. g. 2 K. **7**, **4**, וַ), e. g. וְהָיָה (after an Impf.) *and it happens=it will happen;* yet it has generally the effect of shifting the tone to the last syllable in those verbal forms which would otherwise have it on the penultima, e. g. הָלַכְתִּי *I went, consec.* form וְהָלַכְתִּי (coordinate with another *Perf. consec.*, which is a consecutive to an Imperat.) *and I will go* Judg. **1**, 3; הִבְדִּילָה, *consec.* וְהִבְדִּילָה *and it shall divide* Ex. **26**, 33 (but this loss of the tone by *î* in the 2d syll. is exceptional, comp. under letter *b*). See more on the usage in § 126.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qā'mĕṣ* of the 1st syl. is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now with the secondary tone (therefore necessarily provided with *Mēthĕ'gh*). On the other hand the *ō* of the 2nd syl. in verbs *med. ō*, upon losing the tone, becomes *ŏ* e. g. וַיָּבֹאּ Exod. **18**, 23. This shifting forward of the tone does not always take place, and the exceptions are sometimes strange. It is omitted—*a*) always in the 1*st pers. pl.* וַיָּשֻׁבוּ Gen. **34**, 16);—*b*) generally at least in *Qal* in verbs ל״א and ל״ה, e. g. וְעָשִׂיתָ Ex. **26**, 4, 6, 7, 10, etc.; but before a following א the vowel, long by contraction in the *Perf. Qăl* of these verbs, frequently loses its tone, for orthophonic reasons, e. g. וּבָאתָ אֶל Gen. **6**, 18;—*c*) always when such a Perfect stands in pause, e. g. וְשָׁבַעְתָּ Deut. **8**, 10, **11**, 15, and frequently also immediately *before* a tone-syllable (according to § 29, 3, *b*) as in וְיָשַׁבְתָּה בָּהּ Deut. **17**, 14, וְרָצַאתָ שָׁמָּה Deut. **23**, 13, Amos **1**, 4. 7. 10. 12 (yet also וְחָשַׁקְתָּ בָּהּ Deut. **21**, 11, **23**, 14, **24**, 19). Elsewhere the accent is shifted back even before the *Mēthĕ'gh*, e. g. Zeph. **1**, 17.

§ 50.

OF THE PARTICIPLE OF QĂL.

1. Qăl has two forms of the Participle, viz., an *active,* called also *Pô'ĕ'l* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a *passive,* called *Pā'û'l* (פָּעוּל).[1]

The *Pā'û'l* is doubtless a remnant of a lost passive form of *Qăl*, which still exists complete in Arabic. In the Aramæan the passives of *Pi'ēl* and *Hĭph'îl* are in like manner lost, except in the Participles.

2. The form of the Participle active of Qăl in the intransitive verbs *mid. E* and *mid. O,* coincides with the form

[1] The Jewish Grammarians call the Part. Act. also בֵּינוֹנִי (*middle word*); yet not in the sense of the Latin name, but as holding in sense (as present participle) the *middle* place between the past and the future; in this sense the בֵּינוֹנִי is opposed by them to the passive form פָּעוּל as part. *praeterit.*

of the 3d person sing. of the Perfect, as יָשָׁן, *sleeping* (from r. יָשַׁן), יָרֵא *fearing* (only orthographically different from the Perf. יָרֵא); comp. the formation of the Part. in Niph'ăl (§ 51, 1). But the Participle of verbs *mid. A,* takes the form קָטֵל, the *ô* of which has sprung from *â* and is therefore unchangeable (*qôtēl* from *qâtēl*, § 9, No. 10, 2). (The form קָטָל, which with two changeable *Qāměṣ* would correspond to the forms יָשָׁר and יָרֵא, is in use only as a *verbal noun,* § 84, 1.)—The inflection of the Participle in *Pi'ēl, Pu'ăl, Hiph'îl, Hŏph'ăl, Hithpă'ēl* follows a different method, taking a prefixed מְ.

3. Participles form their feminine (*act.* קֹטֶלֶת or קֹטְלֶת, *pass.* קְטוּלָה) and their plural (*act.* mas. קֹטְלִים, fem. קֹטְלוֹת; *pass.* m. קְטוּלִים, f. קְטוּלוֹת) like other nouns (§§ 87, 94).

Rem. 1. From the above it follows: 1) the *ā* of the form יָשָׁן is lengthened from *ă* and is consequently changeable (e. g. *fem.* יְשָׁנָה); 2) the *ô* of קֹטֵל on the contrary is inflected from unchangeable *â*. In Arabic the verbal adj. after the form *qătĭl* corresponds to the form *qātēl* and the part. *qâtĭl* to *qôtēl*. In both cases therefore the *ē* of the second syllable has been lengthened from *ĭ*, and is therefore changeable (e. g. קֹטֵל pl. קֹטְלִים; כָּבֵד const. pl. כִּבְדֵי).—An uncommon form perhaps is תּוֹמְכִיךָ *supporting* Ps. **16**, 5; it is possible, however, that תּוֹמְכִיךָ is intended with incorrect full writing of ־ִי— (comp. סֹבְבִים 2 K. **8**, 21), or perhaps it is the *impf. Hiph.* of יָמַךְ. Many reckon here also יוֹסִיף Is. **29**, 14, **38**, 5; but this is rather 3 *sing. Impf. Hĭph'îl* of יָסַף (compare a quite similar construction in Is. **28**, 16; the prop. n. אוֹבִיל 1 Ch. **27**, 30, being a foreign word, need not be considered here).—The form הֹוֹלֵם Is. **41**, 7 (for הוֹלֵם) is explained in § 29, 3, *b*.

2. The Participle in the passive form at times belongs to an intransitive verb and cannot properly take a passive meaning, but expresses a passive state. Thus בָּטוּחַ is *trusting* (not *trusted*) in Ps. **112**, 7, שָׁכוּן *inhabiting* (not *inhabited*) Judg. **8**, 11 (like the Lat. *deponent* forms *confisus, commoratus*) and even in the transitive verb אָחוּז *holding* (not *held*) Cant. **3**, 8.

B. DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51.

NĬPH'ĂL.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in a נ prefixed to the stem. This is either vowelless with prefixed הִ (in all verbs whose 1st stem letter has a firm vowel) or joined to the stem by a short vowel (orig. *ă* but in strong verbs attenuated to *ĭ*), so that, by assimilation of the נ, we have the *Impf. and Inf.* הִקָּטֵל (for הִנְקָטֵל), the *Inf. absol.* הִקָּטֹל, and also

the *Impf.* יִקָּטֵל (with the ה elided) for יִהְקָּטֵל. But when the latter is vowelless the נ joins itself to the stem by means of a short vowel, as in the *Perf.* נִקְטַל, *Part.* נִקְטָל, and at times in the *Inf. absol.* נִקְטֹל. The inflection of Niph'ăl is perfectly analogous to that of Qăl. (The VIIth conjug. of the Arab. *'inqătălă* corresponds to the *Niph'ăl.*)

Niph'ăl may be known in the Perf. and Part. by the *Nûn* prefixed; in the Imp. Inf., and Impf., by the *Dāgh. f.* in the first stem-letter. The same marks are found in the irregular verbs, except that, where the first stem-letter is a guttural, the Dāghē'sh must be omitted (§ 63, 4), and consequently the preceding vowel made long (§ 22, 1).

2. The *significations of Niph'ăl.* It is similar to the Greek *middle voice,* and hence—*a*) It is primarily *reflexive* of Qăl, e. g. נִשְׁמַר *to watch one's self, to beware,* φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר *to hide one's self;* often in verbs which express an emotion that re-acts on the mind, as נִחַם *to trouble one's self, to grieve,* נֶאֱנַח *to bemoan one's self, to bewail;* comp. ὀδύρεσθαι, *lamentari, contristari;*—*b*) Then it frequently expresses *reciprocal* action, as from נִשְׁפַּט *to judge,* Niph. נִשְׁפַּט *to go to law with one another,* יָעַץ *to counsel,* Niph. *to consult together;* comp. *the middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεύεσθαι (נוֹעַץ), μάχεσθαι (נִלְחַם), *altercari, prœliari, luctari,* ἐρίζεσθαι (נִצָּה);—*c*) It has also like Hĭthpă'ēl (§ 54, 3, *c*) and the Greek *middle,* the signification of the active, with addition of *self,* Lat. *sibi, for one's self,* e. g. נִשְׁאַל *to ask for one's self* (1 Sam. 20, 6, 28, Neh. 13, 6), precisely like αἰτοῦμαί σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα *to put on* (*one's self*) *a tunic*;—*d*) It is often also *passive* of Qăl, e. g. יָלַד *to bear,* Niph. *to be born,* קָבַר *to bury,* Niph. *to be buried;* likewise of Pi'ēl and Hĭph'îl, when Qăl is intransitive or not in use, e. g. כָּבֵד *to be in honour,* Pi'ēl *to honour,* Niph. *to be honoured,* כָּחַד, in Pi'ēl *to conceal,* Hiph. *to make disappear, to destroy,* Niph. passive of both: and in this case its meaning may again coincide with Qăl (חָלָה Qăl and Niph. *to be ill*), and even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).

Examples of *denominatives* are נִזְכַּר *to be born a male* (from זָכָר *a male*) Ex. 34, 19, נִלְבַּב *cordatum fieri* (from לֵבָב *heart*) Job 11, 22.

NB. The older Hebrew grammarians have represented Niph'ăl as strictly the *passive* of Qăl. This representation is decidedly incorrect; for Niph'ăl has not the characteristics of the other passives. There

are still found in Qăl traces of an early passive form (§ 50, 1), and the Arabic has a distinct conjugation, corresponding with Nĭphʿăl (*'inqătălă*), which has its own passive; nay, in Hebrew itself, there is probably a trace of the passive of Nĭphʿăl in the form נְגֹאַל Is. **59**, 3, Lam. **4**, 14. According to the *usage* of the language, the *passive* signification is certainly predominant; but it was first derived from the reflexive.—The הִ prefixed has the force of a reflexive pronoun, like הִתְ in Hĭthpăʿēl,[1] the ה probably serving to make the characteristic נ utterable (comp. Arab. *'inqătălă*).

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* נָקְטֹל connects itself, in form, with the Perf., to which it bears the same relation as קָטוֹל to קָטַל; it also occurs in connection with the Perfect, as in נָשֹׂאתִי *rogando* 1 Sam. **20**, 6, נָכֹסֹף *desiderando* Gen. **31**, 30. An example of the other form, connecting with the Impf., is הָנָתֹן Jer. **32**, 4; once אָדָרֹשׁ Ezek. **14**, 3. The *ô* in the final syllable (which is originally *â*) is also exhibited in this Infinitive form in Pĭʿēl and Pŭʿăl, and it resembles, in this respect, several Arabic Infinitives, in which there is a corresponding *â*. Moreover, the form הִקָּטֵל is not infrequently used for the Inf. absol., e. g. Num. **15**, 31, Deut. **4**, 26, 1 K. **20**, 39.

2. In *Pause*, a *Păthăch* often takes the place of *Ṣērê* in the final syllable of the Impf. e. g. וַיִּגְמָל *and he was weaned* Gen. **21**, 8, as also in other cases, comp. 2 Sam. **12**, 15 (with final שׁ): **17**, 23 (with ק); Jonah **1**, 5 (with מ); (§ 29, 4 at the end). In the 2d and 3d pers. plural feminine, the *Păthăch* is common, e. g. תִּזָּכַרְנָה *they shall be remembered* Is. **65**, 17; *Ṣērê* is found only in תֶּחֱנֶנָּה Ruth **1**, 13 (from עגן for תֶּחֱנַנָּה with *Dâghēsh* omitted; comp. תֶּאֱמַנָּה Is. **60**, 4.).

3. When the Impf., Inf., or Imp. is immediately followed by a word of one syllable, the tone is commonly shifted back upon the penultima, and consequently the final syllable, losing the tone, takes *Seghôl* instead of *Ṣērê;* e. g. יִכָּשֶׁל בָּהּ *he stumbles at it* Ez. **33**, 12; וַיִּשְׁמַע לוֹ *and he heard him* Gen. **25**, 21; also *Păthăch* תַּעֲזַב אָרֶץ Job **18**, 4, but comp. וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים *and God heard* 2 Sam. **21**, 14. While in some isolated cases e. g. Ezra **8**, 23, the shifting back of the tone is omitted, in spite of an accented syllable following, it has however become general with certain forms, even when the following word begins with an unaccented syllable; especially after ו cons. e. g. וַיִּלָּחֶם *and he fought* Num. **21**, 1 etc. For the *imperative* הִקָּבְצוּ there is found (with the rejection of initial ה): נִקְבְּצוּ Is. **43**, 9 (in *pause* נִקָּבְצוּ Joel, **4**, 11; comp. נִלְוֹוּ Jer. **50**, 5).

[1] Also in other languages, specially in the Slavonian, the change of the reflexive into the passive is observed. It is still clear in Sanscrit and in Greek how the middle goes before the passive voice; the *r* at the end of the Latin passive is the reflexive pronoun=*se;* in the ancient Slavic and Bohemian, *amat-se* stands for *amatur,* in Dacoroman *io me laudu* (I am praised). See *Pott's* Etymologische Forschungen, Th. 1, S. 133 ff., Th. 2, S. 92; *Bopp's* Vergleichende Grammatik, § 476 ff.

4. For the 1st pers. sing. of the Impf. אֶקְטַל the form אִקָּטֵל is equally frequent, as אִדָּרֵשׁ *I will let myself be sought* Ez. 14, 3; אִשָּׁבֵעַ *I swear* Gen. 21, 24; in the *Cohortative* always with *i*, e. g. אִנָּקְמָה *I will avenge me* Is. 1, 24. Comp. § 69, Rem. 5.

§ 52.

PIĒ'L AND PŬĂ'L.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation *is the doubling of the middle stem-letter*. In the *active* (Pi'ēl), the *Perf.* would naturally have קַטַּל from the simple stem קָטַל (comp. § 43, Rem. 1, and Arab. Conj. II *qă'ttălă*); the *ă* of the first syllable is however with one exception (v. Rem. 1) always changed to *ĭ* in the *Perf.* In the 2nd syllable *ă* has usually been retained (therefore the conjugation should properly be called *Pi'al*); often here however occurs an attenuation to *ĭ* which the tone regularly lengthens to *ē* (comp. Aram. קְטֵל, Biblical Aram. קִטֵּל). Thus arise for the 2*d sing. masc. perf.* forms like אִבַּד, לִמַּד, קִדַּשׁ; גִּדַּף, כִּבֵּד etc.[1]—Before afformatives however *ă* is always retained, thus קִטַּלְתָּ, קִטַּלְתֶּם, קִטַּלְנוּ etc. The *Infinitive absol.* has קַטֵּל (inflected from *qattâl*). The Inf. const. and *Imp.* have קַטֵּל with *ă* in the first syllable, and so the *Impf.* makes יְקַטֵּל and the *Part.* מְקַטֵּל, the preformatives here having a vocal *Sh'wâ*, which seems to be the relic of a short vowel.—The *passive* (Pŭ'ăl קֻטַּל) has an obscure vowel of the third class (*ŭ* or rarely *ŏ*) after the first stem-letter, and *ă* (in pause *ā*) after the second. On the use of obscure vowels to express intransitives, comp. § 43. Also in Arabic passives are formed throughout with *ŭ* in the 1st syllable. In regard to inflection these two conjugations are analogous to that of Qăl.

The מְ, which occurs also in the succeeding conjugations, as the characteristic of the Part., seems to be connected with מִי *who?* (fem. מָה comp. § 37) in the sense of *some one*.

Pi'ēl and *Pŭ'ăl* are throughout distinguished by the *Dāghē'sh* in the middle stem-letter. It is omitted only in the following cases:—*a*) Always when this letter is a guttural (§ 64, 3);—*b*) Sometimes, though rarely, when this letter has *Sh'wâ* (§ 20, 3, *b*), as שִׁלְּחָה *she stretches*

[1] On three cases which take ֶ instead of ַ before final ר or ס see below Rem. 1.

forth (for שִׁלְּחָה) Ez. 17, 7; בִּקְּשָׁהוּ for בִּקְּ *they sought him* 2 Ch. 15, 15; also at times the omission is indicated (§ 10, 2 Rem.) by a *Chāṭ'ēph*, under the *litera dagessanda*, e. g. לֻקְּחָה for לֻקָּחָה *she was taken* Gen. 2, (23, ֻ though influence of preceding ֻ) comp. 9, 14. In the Impf. and Part. the *Sh^{e}wâ* under the preformatives may always serve as a mark of these conjugations.

2. *The primary idea of Pi'ēl* is *urgency,* especially that which is *self impelled* (a busy doing) hence.—*a*) It denotes *intensity* and *repetition* (comp. the *intensive* and *iterative nouns,* which are likewise formed by doubling the middle stem-letter, § 84, 6—9);[1] e. g. צָחַק *to laugh,* Pi'ēl *to sport, to jest* (to laugh repeatedly), שָׁאַל *to ask,* Pi'ēl *to beg;* hence it denotes that the action has to do with *many,* as קָבַר *to bury* (*one*) Gen. 23, 4, Pi'ēl *to bury* (*many*) 1 K. 11, 15. (So in Syriac and Arabic frequently). This signification of Pi'ēl is found with various shades of secondary meaning, as פָּתַח *to open,* Pi'ēl *to loose,* סָפַר *to count,* Pi'ēl *to relate.*—The eager performance of an action makes the agent *influence* others also in the same direction. Hence—*b*) Pi'ēl has a *causative* signification (like Hĭph'îl), e. g. לָמַד *to learn,* Pi'ēl *to teach.* It often takes the modifications expressed by *to permit, to declare* or *to hold as, to help,* as חִיָּה *to let live,* צִדֵּק *to declare innocent,* יִלֵּד *to help in child-bearing.*—*c*) *Denominatives* are frequently found in this conjugation, which in general mean *to make a thing* (viz. that which the noun expresses), or *to be in any way occupied with it;* as קִנֵּן *to make a nest* (from קֵן *nest*), עִפֵּר *to throw dust, to dust* (from עָפָר *dust*). It also expresses the *taking away* or *injuring* the thing expressed by the noun (as in English *to behead, to skin, to bone*), e. g. שִׁרֵּשׁ (from שֹׁרֶשׁ *a root*) *to root out, extirpate,* זִנֵּב (from זָנָב *tail*) properly *to injure the tail,*

[1] Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has an *intensive* force, are found in the German words, *reichen, recken* (E. *reach, rack*); *streichen* (*stringo,* Anglo-Saxon *strecan*), *strecken* (E. *stretch, streak*); comp. *Strich, Strecke; wacker,* from *wachen:* others in which it has the *causative* signification, are *stechen, stecken* (E. *stitch, stick*); *wachen, wecken* (E. *watch, wake*); τέλλω *to bring to an end,* from the stem τέλω *to end,* γεννάω *to beget,* from γένω *to come into being.* The above examples in German show also that *ch,* when doubled, takes the form of *kk, ck,* in accordance with the laws relating to the Dāghē'sh in Hebrew (§ 13, 3).

hence *to rout the rear* of an army, דָּשֵׁן *to remove the ashes,* עָצַם *to break the bones.* So also in verbs the origin of which may not now be traceable to a noun; e. g. סָקַל *to stone,* and also *to remove the stones* (i. e. from a field);[1] comp. Eng. *to stone* in both senses.

The significations of the *passive* (Pŭʿăl) will occur readily from the above, e. g. גָּנַב *to steal,* Piʿēl *to steal,* Pŭʿăl *to be stolen.*

In Piʿēl, the proper and literal signification of a word is often retained, when Qăl has adopted a figurative one, the former being the stronger and more palpable sense; e. g. רָפָא in Piʿēl *to stitch up,* in Qăl *to heal;* בָּרָא, Piʿēl *to cut* or *hew out,* Qăl *to form* or *make;* גָּלָה, Piʿēl *to uncover,* Qăl *to reveal.*

In intransitive verbs, also, Piʿēl occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic diction, as חִתַּת *to be broken in pieces* Jer. **51**, 56, פִּחֲדָ *to tremble* Deut. **51**, 13, Prov. **28**, 14, פִּתַּח *to be open* Is. **48**, 8, **60**, 11, רִוָּה *to be drunken* Is. **34**, 5, 7.

Rem. 1. The Perf. Piʿēl has (—) in the final syllable quite as often as (—), e. g. אִבַּד *to destroy,* שִׁבַּר *to break in pieces,* לִמַּד *to teach.* This occurs especially before *Măqqēph* (Eccles. **9**, 15, **12**, 9), and in the middle of a period in continuous discourse; but at the end of a period (in *pause*), *Ṣērê* is the more common vowel. Comp. גִּדַּל Is. **49**, 21 with גִּדַּל Josh. **4**, 14; Est. **3**, 1. Some verbs have *Seghôl*, namely דִּבֶּר *to speak,* כִּפֶּר *to atone,* and כִּבֶּס *to wash clothes,* but דִּבֵּר in *pause.*

A single instance of (—) in the *first* syllable (after the manner of the Arab. and Aram.) is found in Gen. **41**, 51 נַשֶּׁה *to cause to forget,* a change occasioned by the play upon the name מְנַשֶּׁה. Compare the quadriliteral פַּרְשֵׁז, which is analogous in form to Piʿēl (§ 56).

2. The *Impf.*, *Inf.*, and *Imp.*, when followed by *Măqqēph*, generally take *Seghôl* in the final syllable, e. g. יְבַקֶּשׁ־לוֹ *he seeks for himself* Is. **40**, 20, קַדֶּשׁ־לִי *sanctify to me* Ex. **13**, 2. So too in Hĭthpăʿēl.—In the 1st pers. sing. *Impf.* besides אֲקַטֵּל, there occurs also in a few cases the form with (—) under the א, as אֲזַרֵּהּ Lev. **26**, 33; and even with (—), as אֲסַפֵּר Zech. **7**, 14 (according to § 23, 3, Rem. 2). With *Wāw cons.* we have also וַאֲגָרֵשׁ for וָאֲגָרֵשׁ Judg. **6**, 9. Instead of תְּקַטַּלְנָה are found forms like תְּקַטַּלְנָה, as in Is. **3**, 16, **13**, 18 (before a sibilant in *pause*).

3. The *Inf. absol.* in Pi. has the special form קַטֵּל, as רַסֵּר *castigando* Ps. **118**, 18; but much more frequently the form of the *Inf.*

[1] In Arabic, *denominatives* of Conj. II. often express injury done to a member, the removal of vermin and noxious things. This force is not wholly foreign, also, to the simplest Conj. I. Comp. Hebrew Qăl שָׁבַר (from שֶׁבֶר) *to buy* or *sell grain;* Lat. *causari, prædari,* etc.

constr. קְטַל is used instead, as in Jer. **12**, 17, **32**, 33. For the latter the form קִטֶּל also occurs exceptionally, namely in Lev. **14**, 43 חִבֵּץ, and (for the sake of assonance) even for *Inf. absol.* in 2 Sam. **12**, 14 נִאֵץ נִאַצְתָּ.

4. In *Pŭʿăl*, instead of *Qĭbbûʿṣ*, *Qāʿmĕṣ-chāṭûʿph* is found less frequently, e. g. מְאָדָם *dyed red* Nah. **2**, 4, comp. **3**, 7; Ps. **72**, 20, **80**, 11. It is merely an orthographic variation when *Shûʿrĕq* takes the place of *Qĭbbûʿṣ*, as רוּבַּד in Judg. **18**, 29.

5. As the *Inf. absol.* of Pu. there is found גֻּנֹּב in Gen. **40**, 15.— The *Inf. constr.* does not occur in a regular verb in Pŭʿăl.

6. The *Part. Pŭʿăl* sometimes occurs without the prefixed מְ[1]; and is then distinguished from the 3. pers. Perf. (like the Part. Niph.) only by the *Qāʿmĕṣ* in the final syllable, e. g. לָקֹחַ *taken* 2 K. **2**, 10, comp. יוּלָּד for מְיֻלָּד Judg. **13**, 8; also Ec. **9**, 12, Ez. **26**, 17, Prov. **25**, 19, Is. **18**, 2; the last two examples on account of the presence of an initial מ.

§ 53.

HĬPHʿÎL AND HŎPHʿĂL.

1. The characteristic of the *active* (Hĭphʿîl) is הַ, in the Perf. הִ (the *ă* being attenuated into *ĭ* as in Piʿēl) and forming with the 1st stem consonant a closed syllable. The 2d syllable had in the Perf. originally likewise *ă*; comp. Arab. conj. IV. *ʾáqtălă* and in Hebrew the return of *Păthăch* in the 2d and 1st person הִקְטַלְתָּ *etc.* The *ă* having been attenuated into *ĭ*, the latter when having the tone, should, according to rule have been lengthened into *ē* (as in Aram. אַקְטֵל, in Biblical Aram. הַקְטַל). Instead of this however the strong verb has received *î*. Thus in the Inf. constr. הַקְטִיל with which are connected the Impf. and the Part. יַקְטִיל, מַקְטִיל,[2] contracted from יְהַקְטִיל, מְהַקְטִיל. In the *passive* (Hŏphʿăl) the הָ is sounded with an obscure vowel, and the second syllable has *ă* instead of *î*, as הָקְטַל or הֻקְטַל, Impf. יָקְטַל (syncopated from יְהָקְטַל)

[1] This omission of the מְ seems to occur also at times in *Part. Piʿel*, as in שָׁבַח for מְשַׁבֵּחַ *praising* Ecc. **4**, 2, מָאֵן for מְמָאֵן *refusing* Ex. **7**, 27, perh. also חֹלְלִים in Ps. **87**, 7 may be for מְחֹלְלִים *dancing* or *dancers*.—*Tr.*

[2] Here the corresponding Arab. forms (*yaqtil* and *maqtil*) indicate an original *ĭ* in the second syllable. In Hebrew this *ĭ* is lengthened into *ē* (after the general rule) at least in the *Jussive* and the *Imperf. consec.* (see below 3 Rem. 4) as well as in the *Imperative* of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. (see 3, Rem. 3).

or יְקַטֵּל, Inf. absol. הָקְטֵל, Participle מְקַטֵּל and מְקֻטָּל; and in its other forms it follows the general analogy. Upon the origin of the preformative ה compare § 55, No. 6.

The *marks* of this conjugation are, therefore, in the Perf., Imp. and Inf., the prefixed ה; in the Impf. and Part., the vowel under the preformatives, which in Hĭph'îl is *Păthăch*, in Hŏph'ăl, *Qĭbbûṣ* (ֻ) or *Qāmĕṣ-chāṭûph* (ָ).

2. *Significations of Hĭph'îl.* — It is properly *causative of Qăl*, and in this sense is more frequently employed than Pi'ēl (§ 52, 2, *b*), e. g. יָצָא *to go forth*, Hiph. *to bring out, to lead forth;* קָדַשׁ *to be holy*, Hiph. *to sanctify*. To the category of the *causative* belongs also the *declarative* signification, e. g. הִצְדִּיק *to declare just;* הִרְשִׁיעַ *to declare guilty* (render criminal). When Qăl is transitive, Hiph. takes two accusatives (see § 139, 1). Frequently Pi'ēl and Hĭph'îl are both in use in the same signification, as אָבַד *to perish*, Pi. and Hiph. *to destroy;* but generally only one of them is found, or they have some difference of signification, as כָּבַד *to be heavy*, Pi. *to honour*, Hiph. *to make heavy*. Intransitive verbs merely become transitive, e. g. נָטָה *to bow* (intrans.), Hiph. *to bow, to bend*.

Rem. 1. The Semitic conception of the causative and transitive signification of Hĭph'îl embraces also other forms of thought which can only be translated by periphrase. Thus *a*) the Hiph. is used to express some assumption of a corporal or spiritual condition, e. g. אָהַל, הָהַל, זָהַר, Hiph. *to emit a lustre*, חָשַׁךְ, Hiph. *to create gloom*, צָלַח, Hiph. *to be prosperous*, שָׁפַל, Hiph. *to be needy*, שָׁמַן, Hiph. *to become fat* (properly *to produce fat*);[1] חָזַק and אָמַץ, Hiph. *to become strong* (properly *to develope strength*); so too עָשַׁם, Hiph. *to become feeble;* הֶאְדִּים *to be red* (prop. *to show redness*), הִלְבִּין *to be white*, הֶחֱרִישׁ *to be silent*, but properly *to keep silence* (*silentium facere*, Plin.); *b*) the Hiph. express entrance into and continuance in a given state or condition, e. g. אָמַן *to be firm*, Hiph. *to trust in*, חָלָה *to become sick*, בָּשׁ *to become ashamed*, הֶרְגִּיעַ *to keep quiet;* *c*) the Hiph. expresses a qualified action,

[1] The verb עָשָׂה *to make* is employed in the expression of the same ideas, e. g. *to make fat* (*fatness*), i. e. to produce fat upon the body Job **15**, 27; *to make fruits, to make branches*, i. e. to produce, to put forth Job **14**, 9, Hos. **8**, 7. Compare in Latin, *corpus facere* Justin. **11**, 8, *robur facere* Hirtius, Bell. Afr. 85; *sobolem, divitias, facere* (Plin.) and in Italian *far corpo, far forze, far frutto*.

as הֵיטִיב *to deal well*, הֶשְׁחִית *to do wickedly*, properly *to make good*, or *bad* one's way (sc. דַּרְכּוֹ, דְּרָכָיו which are also often expressed); חָטָא *to make sinful*, עָרַם *to act craftily*.

2. Causatives also are certain *denominatives*, in Hiph. expressing the idea of *producing* or *putting forth* that of which the original noun is the name, e. g. הֶשְׁרִישׁ *to put forth roots*, הֶקְרִין *to put forth horns*. It also expresses the active use of a member, as הֶאֱזִין *to listen* (properly *to make ears*); הִלְשִׁין *to chatter, to slander* (after the same analogy, properly *to make tongue, to use the tongue freely*).

3. The signification of *Hŏph'ăl* is *passive*—*a*) chiefly of *Hĭph'îl*, as in הִשְׁלִיךְ *to cast out*, הָשְׁלַךְ or הֻשְׁלַךְ *to be cast out*;—*b*) at times also of *Qăl*, as in נָקַם *to avenge*, הֻקַּם *to be avenged*.

Rem. 1. The î of 3d sing. masc. Perf. Hiph. remains unchanged also in the 3d fem. (in the tone-syllable). But that it has arisen from a short vowel and is therefore changeable is shown from the Imperf. and Imper., where ē (through the influence of a guttural also ă) takes its place. In an open syllable the î is retained; only in rare cases does it become *Sh^{e}wâ* (v. Rem. 4 and 5).

2. The Inf. absol. has *generally Ṣ'ērê*, usually without *Yôdh*, as הַשְׁמֵד Judg. **17**, 3; rarely (and incorrectly) with *Yôdh*, as הַשְׁמִיד Amos **9**, 8. After the manner of the Aram., we have א instead of the ה in אַשְׁכֵּם *to rise early* Jer. **25**, 3. Rare exceptions, in which the form with *Ṣē'rê* stands for the *Inf. constr.*, are found in Deut. **32**, 8. Is. **57**, 20. For the usual *Inf. constr.* הַקְטִיל we find a few times הַקְטִיל, as הַשְׁמִיד *to destroy* Deut. **7**, 24, **28**, 48, Josh. **11**, 14, Jer. **50**, 34; so also הַקְצוֹת for הַקְצוֹת from קָצָה Lev. **14**, 43. Upon elision of ה v. Rem. 7.

3. The Imperative retains the î (יִ—) according to Rem. 1 in the open syllable and therefore before suffixes (v. § 61, 2) and before הָ— paragogic e. g. הַקְשִׁיבָה. On the other hand in the 2nd masc. sing. the original ĭ (comp. Arab. *'ăqtĭl*) is lengthened into ē, e. g. הַשְׁמֵן *to become fat* and before *Măqqē'ph* it becomes *S^{e}ghôl*, e. g. הַסְכֵּת־נָא Job **22**, 21.—In a few instances the form הַקְטִיל is anomalously substituted for הַקְטֵל: Ps. **94**, 1 (**77**, 2?) Is. **43**, 8. Jer. **17**, 8; in other places the Massora has preferred the incorrect fully written form הַקְטִיל, e. g. 2 K. **8**, 6.—In Lament. **5**, 1 for הביט the *Q^{e}rî* requires הַבִּיטָה.

4. In the Impf. of Hiph. the apocopated form with *Ṣē'rê* is the usual one for the *Jussive* in the 2. m. and the 3. m. singular, as אַל־תַּגְהֵל *make not great* Obad. 12, יַכְרֵת *let him cut off* Ps. **12**, 4, also with ו *consec.*, as וַיַּבְהֵל *and he divided* Gen. **1**, 4 (yet the 1. per. sing. is usually î, as וַאַשְׁמִיד Am. **2**, 9). Before *Măqqē'ph* the *Ṣē'rê* becomes *S^{e}ghôl*, as וַיַּחֲזֶק־בּוֹ *and he held him* Judg. **19**, 4. In the plural the forms הַקְטִילוּ,

תַּקְטִילוּ stand also in the Jussive and with ו *cons.*, e. g. וַיִּדְבַּק־וּ *and they pursued* Judg. **18**, 22; but the *î* (after the Aramæan) sometimes becomes *Sheʷâ*, as וַתַּחְלְטוּ 1 K. **20**, 23, וַיִּדְרְכוּ *and they bent* Jer. **9**, 2, וַיִּדְבְּקוּ *and they pursued* 1 Sam. **14**, 22, **31**, 2. This shortening is found also in the imperf. and in 2d and 3d masc. sing. before suffixes (1 Sam. **17**, 25. Ps. **65**, 10. Job **9**, 20). It is however doubtful whether we really find in these isolated examples a trace of the groundform (*yaqtîl*) and not rather a misconception from defective writing (וַיִּדְרְכוּ etc.) which often occurs elsewhere as a pure orthographical license (even in the 3d sing. Is. **44**, 28 וַיַּשְׁלֵם).

5. The Part. מַסְתֵּר (Is. **53**, 3) might be traced to the Grdf. *maqtîl* unless with *Delitzsch* one regards the word as a substantive (comp. also מוֹצֵא Ps. **135**, 7, where, however, *Śeʾrê* could be explained from the shifting of the tone). In the following plurals the vowel has become *Sheʷâ:* מַחְלְמִים *dreamers* Jer. **29**, 8, מַעְזְרִים *helpers* 2 Ch. **28**, 23 and in *Qeʳî* מַחְצְרִים 1 Chron. **15**, 24.—The *fem.* is usually like מַקְטֶלֶת, e. g. מַשֶּׂגֶת Lev. **14**, 21, מַזֶּבֶרֶת Num. **5**, 15.

6. In the Perf. are sometimes found such forms as חֲכַלַּמְנוּ *we have reproached* 1 Sam. **25**, 7, comp. Job **16**, 7, also אֲנָאַלְתִּי *I have soiled* (with א for ה, as in Aramæan) Is. **63**, 3; comp. אַשְׁבֵּרִים, Rem. 2.

7. In the Impf. and Part. the characteristic ה regularly gives place to the preformatives, as יַקְטִיל, מַקְטִיל, but not to prepositions in the Inf., לְהַקְטִיל, because their connection with the stem is less close than that of the preformatives. In both cases, however, there are some few exceptions, as יְהוֹשִׁיעַ *he will save* for יוֹשִׁיעַ Ps. **116**, 6 (in pause), יְהוֹדֶה *he will praise* for יוֹדֶה (only in verbs פ״ו) Neh. **11**, 17; on the contrary לַעֲשָׂמֵעַ for לְהַשְׁמִיעַ *to sing* Ps. **26**, 7, לַאֲדִיב for לְהַאֲדִיב *to cause to faint* 1 Sam. **2**, 33, לַעֲשָׂמִד for לְהַשְׁמִיד *to destroy* Is. **23**, 11, לַעֲשָׂבִית Am. **8**, 4, בָּעִיר for בְּהָעִיר Ps. **73**, 20, לַמְרוֹת for לְהַמְ׳ Ps. **78**, 17.[1]

8. The *tone*, in Hĭphʿîl, does *not* fall on the afformatives וּ, ה—ָ and י—ִ, not even in the Perf. with *Wāw consec.* except in Ex. **26**, 33, Lev. **15**, 29; (to avoid a hiatus because ה or א follows in an unaccented syllable) but the plur. ending ן takes the tone, as in תַּקְרִיבֻן Deut. **1**, 17.

9. In the passive (*Hŏphʿăl*) Perf., Impf. and Part. *ŭ* (—ֻ) is found in the first syllable as well as *ŏ* (—ָ), הָקְטַל, but not so often in the regular verb, e. g. הָשְׁכַּב *he is laid* Ez. **32**, 32 (but הָשְׁכְּבָה in **32**, 19), הָשְׁלַךְ, Part. מָשְׁלָךְ 2 Sam. **20**, 21 (but הָשְׁלַכְתָּ in Is. **14**, 19). Verbs פ״ן have *ŭ* constantly, as הֻגַּד, רֻגַּד (according to § 9, 9, 2).

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[1] So also לַנְחֹתָם for לְהַנְ׳ Ex. **13**, 21, לַצְבֹּאת for לְהַצְ׳ Num. **5**, 22, לַלְבֵּן for לְהַלְבִּין *to purify* Dan. **11**, 35; but part. *Hoph.* מְהֻקְצָעָה in Ez. **46**, 22 for מְהֻקְ׳.—*Tr.*

10. The Inf. absol. has (—) in the final syllable (in *Hoph.* as in *Hiph.*); e. g. הָחְתֵּל *fasciando* Ez. 16, 4, הָגֵּד *nuntiando* Josh. 9, 24. The Inf. constr. is not found in any regular or strong verb.

11. About the Imperative of Hŏph'ăl, see above on p. 118, note 1.

§ 54.

HĬTHPĂ'ĒL.

1. This conjugation connects itself with Pi'ēl, inasmuch as it prefixes to the form קַטֵּל the syllable הִתְ (West. Aram. אִתְ, but Biblical Aram. הִתְ; Syr. אֶתְ[1]), which, like הִנְ in Nĭph'ăl (§ 51, 2, Rem.), has undoubtedly the force of a reflexive pronoun.

2. The ת of the syllable הִתְ in this conj., as also in Hĭthpô'ēl and Hĭthpă'lēl (§ 55), suffers the following changes:—

a) When one of the sibilants (ס, ץ, ש) is the first radical of the verb, it changes places with the ת (§ 19, 5), as הִשְׁתַּמֵּר *to take heed,* for הִתְשַׁמֵּר; הִסְתַּבֵּל *to be burdened,* for הִתְסַבֵּל. (A solitary exception is found in הִתְשׁוֹטֵט to avoid cacophony which would result from the succession of three T sounds Jer. 49, 3). With צ, moreover, the transposed ת is changed into ט, as being more akin to the צ (see § 19, 1), as הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify one's self,* for הִצְתַּדֵּק.

b) Before ד, ט and ת, the ת is assimilated (§ 19, 2), e. g. in הִדַּכֵּא *to be crushed* (but מִתְדַּפְּקִים in Judg. 19, 22). הִטַּהֵר *to cleanse one's self,* יִטְמָא *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. הִתַּמֵּם *to behave uprightly;* sometimes also before נ and כ, as הִנַּבֵּא *to prophesy* Jer. 23, 13, else הִתְנַבֵּא; הִכּוֹנֵן for הִתְכּוֹנֵן *to make one's self ready,* תִּכַּסֶּה for תִּתְ Prov. 26, 26. Also before שׁ Ec. 7, 16, before ר Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis should likewise take place when ת and ז meet, and the ת should be changed into ד. Instead of this the ת has been assimilated with the ז in the only instance of this kind. הִזַּכּוּ Is. 1, 16.

3. *The significations of Hĭthpă'ēl.*—*a*) Most frequently it is *reflexive,* but chiefly of *Pi'ēl,* as הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *to sanctify one's self,* הִתְנַקֵּם *to avenge one's self,* הִתְאַזַּר *to gird one's self.* Then

[1] See also in the Hebrew אֶתְחַבַּר 2 Ch. 20, 35, cf. Ps. 76, 6.

further it means, *to make one's self* that which is expressed by the first conjugation; hence, *to conduct one's self* as such, *to show one's self, to imagine one's self, to affect* to be such; properly *to make one's self* so and so, *to act* so and so; e. g. הִתְגַּדֵּל *to make one's self great, to act proudly;* הִתְחַכֵּם *to show one's self cunning, crafty,* also (Ec. 7, 16) *to fancy one's self wise;* הִתְעַשֵּׁר *to make* (i. e. *to feign*) *one's self rich.* Its signification sometimes coincides with that of Qăl, and both forms are in use with the same meaning, e. g. אָבַל *to mourn,* found in Qăl only in poetry, in Hithp. in prose, and it can then even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).—*b*) It expresses *reciprocal action* (like Niph. § 51, 2, *b*), as הִתְרָאָה *to look upon one another* Gen. 42, 1.—*c*) More frequently it expresses what one does more directly *to* or *for himself* (comp. Niph. § 51, 2, *c*). It has then an active signification, and governs an accusative, e. g. הִתְפַּשֵּׁט *exuit sibi* (*vestem*), הִתְפַּתֵּחַ *solvit sibi* (*vincula*). So without the accusative הִתְהַלֵּךְ *to walk about for one's self* (*ambulare*).—*d*) Only seldom it is *passive,* e. g. הִשְׁתַּכַּח *to be forgotten* Ec. 8, 10. Comp. Niph'ăl, § 51, 2, *d.*

Rem. 1. The passive *Hŏthpă'ăl* is found only in the few following examples: הִטַּמָּא *to be made unclean* Deut. 24, 4, הִכַּבַּס *to be washed* Lev. 13, 55, 56, הִהַשְּׁנָה (for הִתְהַשְּׁנָה, see § 20, 3, *b*) *it is glutted with fat* Is. 34, 6. Comp. also הָתְפְּקְדוּ; see Rem. 4.

2. *Denominatives* with the reflexive signification are הִתְיַהֵד *to embrace Judaism* (i. e. *to make one's self a Jew*), from יְהוּד, יְהוּדָה *Jew;* הִצְטַיֵּד *to provision one's self for a journey,* from צֵידָה.

3. The Perf. has often, as in Pi'ēl, *Păthăch* (or *Qā'mĕṣ* in verbs ל״א) in the final syllable, as הִתְחַזַּק *to strengthen one's self* 2 Ch. 13, 7, 15, 8, יִטַּמָּא *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. Final *Păthăch* occurs also in the Impf. and Imp., as תִּתְחַכַּם *he deems himself wise* Ec. 7, 16. In *pause* these forms always take *Qā'mĕṣ,* as הִתְאַזָּר *he has girded himself* Ps. 93, 1, יִתְאַבָּל Ez. 7, 27, יִתְלַבָּרוּ Job 38, 30, יִתְהַלָּךְ Job 18, 8; הִתְקַדָּשׁוּ *sanctify thyself* Josh. 3, 5. But in the Part. always *Ṣĕ'rê,* e. g. מִתְנַקֵּם Ps. 8, 3, Is. 45, 15.—As in Pi'ēl תְּקַשַּׁלְנָה (§ 52, Rem. 2), so in Hithp. תִּתְחַצַּבְנָה Zech. 6, 7.

4. To this Reflexive הִתְקַטֵּל (apparently from Pi'ēl) are commonly reckoned also some reflexive forms of the verb פָּקַד (*to muster*), which do *not* double the middle radical and have under the first a long *ā* (*Qā'mĕṣ*), namely הִתְפָּקְדוּ Judg. 20, 15, Impf. יִתְפָּקֵד Judg. 21, 9, together with the passive form הָתְפָּקְדוּ Num. 1, 47, 2, 33, 26, 62, 1 K. 20, 27. But these forms appear rather to be a reflexive of *Qal,* with the

sense *to present oneself at the muster, to be mustered,* after the manner of the Aram. *Ithpe'ēl* (West. Aram. אִתְקְטַל, Syr. ܐܶܬܩܰܛܰܠ) and of the Ethiopic *taqate'la*, also Arab. *'iqta'tala* (which has *always* the *t* transposed behind the first radical (see above in No. 2, p. 138).—Such a reflexive of *Qal* (also with the *t* transposed) is to be recognised in חלחחם (i. e. חִלְּחַחֶם after the analogy of the O. Test. Hebrew) in the Moabite inscription of king Mêsha' (§ 2, 2), in the sense of the O. Test. *Niphal* נִלְחַם *to fight* or *wage war* (see lines 11, 15, 19 and 32 of the Inscription, the two former lines showing וְאֶלְחַחֶם in the *Impf.* with the *Wāw consecutive;* on line 19 *infin.* with *suff.* בְּהִלָּחֲמֹה בִי *by his fighting with me*).

§ 55.

RARER CONJUGATIONS.

Of the unusual conjugations (§ 39, 4) some are connected, in form, with Pi'ēl, and are made by the doubling or repetition of one or more stem-letters, or by the lengthening of a vowel, i. e. by changes *within* the stem itself; others are analogous to Hîph'îl, and are formed by the addition of prefix letters or syllables. To the former class besides a *passive,* distinguished by the vowels, belongs also a *reflexive* form with the prefix הת, after the analogy of Hĭthpă'ēl.

Those which are analogous to *Pi'ēl,* and which follow it in their inflection, are—

1. *Pô'ēl;* as קוֹטַל, pass. *Pô'ăl* קוֹטַל, reflex. *Hĭthpô'ēl* הִתְקוֹטֵל (corresp. to Conj. III. and VI. in the Ar. *qâtălă,* pass. *qûtĭlă,* reflex. *tăqâtălă*) *Impf.* יְקוֹטֵל, *Part.* מְקוֹטֵל, *Impf. pass.* יְקוֹטַל, etc. Accordingly in Heb. the *ô* of the first syllable is everywhere inflected from the *â* whilst the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a* sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations occur but very seldom. Examples are:—Part. מְשׂוֹטְטִי *my opponent at law* Job 9, 15, רוֹדַעְתִּי *I have appointed* 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless we ought to read הוֹדַעְתִּי), שׂוֹרֵשׁ *to take root,* pass. שׂוֹרַשׁ, denom. from שֹׂרֶשׁ *root;* of Hithpô'el Jer. 25, 16, 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (part. מִתְנָאֵץ for מִתְנָאֵץ). In verbs ע"ע (§ 67) it is more frequent, e. g. הוֹלֵל, סוֹבֵב, חוֹנֵן.

The *signification* of Pô'ēl is, like that of Pi'ēl, often causative of Qăl. Sometimes both Pô. and Pi. are in use in the same signification, as רוֹצֵץ and רִצֵּץ *to oppress;* sometimes each has its peculiar shade of meaning, as סִבֵּב *to turn about, to change,* סוֹבֵב *to go about, to sur-*

round; הִלֵּל *to exult,* הוֹלֵל *to make foolish* (from הלל *to be brilliant,* but also *to be vainglorious, foolish*); חִנֵּן *to make pleasant,* חוֹנֵן *to commiserate;* שִׁרֵּשׁ *to root out,* שֹׁרֵשׁ *to take root.*

With קוֹטֵל may be connected the formation of quadriliterals that insert a liquid at the end of the first syllable, as קִרְטֵל (§ 30, 3, § 56).

2. *Pi'lē'l, Pi'la'l, Pŭ'lă'l, Hĭthpă'lē'l;* as קִטֵּל and קִטַּל (*i* atten. from original *ă*; so final *ē*=*ĭ*=*ă*), pass. קֻטַּל, reflex. הִתְקַטֵּל, like the Arabic Conj. IX. *'iqtăllă,* and XI. *'iqtâllă,* used especially of permanent states or of colours, as שַׁאֲנַן *to be at rest,* רַעֲנַן *to be green;* pass. אֻמְלַל *to be withered;* but of all these verbs there is no example in Qăl. It is more frequent in verbs ע״ו, where it takes the place of Pi. and Hithp. (§ 72, 7).—See also § 75, Rem. 18.

3. *Pe'ăl'ăl;* as קִטְלַטַּל with repetition of the last two stem-letters, used especially of slight motions in quick succession, e. g. סְחַרְחַר *to go about with quick motion,* hence (of the heart) *to palpitate* Ps. **38**, 11, from סָחַר *to go about; pass.* דֻּמְרְמַר *to ferment with violence, to make a rumbling sound* Lam. **1**, 20, **2**, 11, Job **16**, 6. Nouns of this form are *diminutives* (§ 84, 23). Nearly related to this is—

4. *Pilpē'l,* formed from verbs ע״ע and ע״ו, by doubling both of the essential stem-letters; as גִּלְגֵּל *to roll,* from גל=גָּלַל, *reflex.* הִתְגַּלְגֵּל *to roll one's self;* כִּלְכֵּל, from כָּל (כּוּל).[1] This also is used of motion quickly repeated, which all languages are prone to express by repetition[2] of the same sound, צִפְצֵף *to chirp,* צִלְצֵל *to tinkle,* גִּרְגֵּר *to gurgle,* צִפְצֵף *to flit* or *flutter* (from עוף *to fly*).

With *Hiph'i'l* are connected the following—

5. *Tiph'ē'l;* as תִּקְטֵל, with ת prefixed, as תִּרְגֵּל[3] *to teach to walk,*

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[1] Hence the passive *Polpal* כָּלְכַּל 1 K. **20**, 27; so too from שָׁעַע we get *Pilpē'l* שִׁעֲשַׁע *to caress* Ps. **94**, 19, *Polpal* שְׁעֻשַׁע *to be fondled* Is. **66**, 12, and from רָפָה prob. comes in *Polp.* רָפְרַף Ps. **45**, 3.—*Tr.*

[2] Compare Lat. *tinnio, tintinnus* (=our *ding-dong*) and in German *Ticktack* (=our *tick-tack*), *Wirrwarr, Klingklang* (=our *clink-clank*) The repetition of the same letter in verbs ע״ע produces also the same effect; as in לָקַק *to lick,* דָּקַק *to beat,* טָפַף *to trip along.* The same thing is expressed also by *diminutive* forms; comp. in Lat. the termination *-illo,* as in *cantillo,* in Germ. *-eln, ern,* in *flimmern, trillern, tröpfeln* (comp. our *drip, dribble*). Hence we may discern the relation, mentioned under No. 3, between these forms and the *diminutives.* Comp. *F. A. Pott,* Doppelung, Lemgo, 1862, 8vo.

[3] Both תִּרְגֵּם and תַּרְגֵּם are probably kindred forms of the stem רָגַל=רָגַם=רָגַע=רָגַז=רָגַשׁ=Aram. רְגַג: all traceable to the monosyllabic or ultimate root רַג = Ar. ج = Sans. *rag* = G. *regen* = E. *wrig* = *wriggle* = W. *rhiglo,* and all meaning to *stir* or *move,* and used especially of the *feet, tongue,* etc., and hence *to walk, talk, translate,* etc. Hence come תַּרְגּוּם (Targûm) *interpretation* or *version,* and תּוּרְגְּמָן (*interpreter*) = E. *dragoman* = Fr. *trucheman.*—*Tr.*

to lead (*denom.* from רֶגֶל *a foot*); in a ל"ה stem, תִּחַרֶּה, *Impf.* יְתַחֵרֶּה *to vie with* Jer. 12, 5, 22, 15 (from חָרָה *to be hot, eager*). The Aram. has a similar form, תַּרְגֵּם *to interpret*, whence also the Heb. has the *Part. pass.* מְתֻרְגָּם Ezra 4, 7.

6. *Shăph'ēl;* as שַׁקְטֵל, frequent in Syr., as Aram. שַׁלְהֵב, Syr. ܫܠܗܒ, *to flame*, from להב. In Hebrew it is found only in the noun שַׁלְהֶבֶת *flame*, § 84, No. 34; but this conjugation may underlie the Hĭph'îl, with ה for שׁ; see *Davies'* Heb. Lex. p. 608. Compare § 39, 4, Rem.

* * * *

Forms of which single examples occur:—7. קְטַלְטֵל, *pass.* קְטָלְטַל; as מְחַסְפָּס=חָסַף *scaled off, having the form of scales* Ex. 16, 14, from חָסַס *to peel, to shell.*—8. קַטְקֵל, as זַרְזִיף *a violent rain*, from זָרַף.—9. נִתְקַטֵּל (frequent in the Rabbinic), a form compounded of Niph. and Hithp., found in the examples נִנַּסְּרוּ for נִתְוַסְּרוּ *they let themselves be warned* Ez. 23, 48; נְכַפֵּר for נִתְכַּפֵּר *to be expiated* Deut. 21, 8.

We may mention also, as worthy of notice,—10. the form חֲצוֹצֵר *to sound the trumpet*, commonly derived from the stem חצר. But it is probably a *denom.* from חֲצוֹצְרָה *a trumpet*, an *onomatopoetic* (or *mimetic*) form like the old Latin *taratantara* for the sound of the *tuba*, Ennius ap. Servium ad Æn. 9, 503.

§ 56.

QUADRILITERALS.

Of the formation of quadriliterals we have already spoken (§ 30, 3). The few verbs of this kind (of nouns there are more) are formed after the analogy of Pi'ēl, once after Hĭph'îl. The following are all the examples that occur:—

Perf. פָּרְשׂוּ *he spread out* Job 26, 9 (with *Păthăch* in the first syllable, as in Aram.).[1] *Impf.* יְכַרְסְמֶנָּה *he will devour it* Ps. 80, 14, r. כָּסַם cf. גָּזַם. *Pass.* רְטֻפַּשׁ *to become green again* Job 33, 25. *Part.* מְכֻרְבָּל *girded* 1 Ch. 15, 27. Like Hĭph'îl is הִשְׁמְאִיל (contracted הִשְׁמִיל, הֵשְׁמִיל) *to turn to the left* (denominative from שְׂמֹאל) Gen. 13, 9, Is. 30, 21.

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[1] But *Delitzsch* more properly regards this as the *inf. absol.* of a Pilel form of פָּרַשׂ with an euphonic change of the first שׂ into שׂ and the second into ז. Besides this, there are also many evidences in favor of the reading פָּרְשׂוּ and this has therefore been accepted by *Baer* in his text of Job.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.[1]

Paradigm C.

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal Pronoun which follows a verb active may be expressed—*a*) by a distinct word, אֵת the accusative-sign with the *suffix-pronoun* (§ 117, 2), as קָטַל אֹתוֹ (*he has killed him*); or—*b*) by the mere *suffix,* as קְטָלָהוּ or קְטָלוֹ (*he has killed him*). The second method is the usual one (§ 33), and it is only of it we now treat.[2] Neither of these forms is employed when the accusative of the Pronoun is reflexive, in which case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Nĭphʿăl and Hĭthpăʿēl (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself* not קִדֵּשׁוֹ, which would only signify *he sanctified him.*

Two points are here concerned, viz., the form of the suffix, and the changes in the verbal form in consequence of appending it. The former is exhibited in § 58 and the latter in § 59—61.

§ 58.

THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES OF THE VERB.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal Pronoun;* and they are the following:—

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[1] We treat of this subject here in connection with the strong or regular verb, in order to show in it the general analogy. As to the weak or irregular verbs, the mode of shortening their forms before the suffixes will be noticed under each class.

[2] On the cases where the former must be employed, see § 121, 4, Rem.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
1.	*com.* ־נִי; ־נִ (in *pause* ־נִי); ־נִי	*me.*	1. *com.* ־נוּ	*us.*
2.	*m.* ־ךָ, ־ךָ (*ᵉkhā*), in *pause* ־ךָ, also ־ךָ *f.* ־ךְ; ־ךְ, ־ךְ; rarely ־ךָ	*thee.*	2. *m.* ־כֶם, ־כֶם *f.* ־כֶן, ־כֶן	*you.*
3.	*m.* ־הוּ, ־וֹ; ־הוּ, (ה), ־וֹ; ־הוּ *f.* ־הָ, ־ה, ־הָ; ־הָ	*him.* *her.*	3. *m.* ־הֶם,[1] ־ם; ־ם (contr. from ־הֶם), ־ם; ־ם (contr. from ־הֶם), ־ם; poet. ־מוֹ, ־מוֹ, ־מוֹ *f.* ־ן, ־ן, ־ן, ־ן; ־הֶן,[1] ־ן	*them.*

2. That these suffixes are *shortened forms of the personal Pronoun* is for the most part quite clear; and only some of them require explanation.

The suffixes ־נִי, ־נוּ, ־הוּ and ־הָ never have the tone, but the syllable preceding them always takes it.

In the suffix of the 2d person (־ךָ, ־ךְ, ־כֶם, ־כֶן) the basis appears to be a lost form of the pronoun אַתָּה with כ[2] instead of ת (אַנְכָה, אַכָּה; אַכֶּם), which was employed here perhaps in order to distinguish the suffixes from the afformatives of the Perfect (§ 44, 1).

In the 3d person *masc.*, out of ־הוּ, by rejecting the feeble *h*, there arose *ā-u*, and thence often by contraction *ô* (§ 23, 4) usually written ־וֹ, much more seldom ־ה. In the *fem.*, the suffixes from הִיא ought, according to analogy, to sound ־הָ, ־הָ, ־הָ; but instead of ־הָ, we have, for the sake of euphony, simply ־ה, where the ה is regularly a consonant,

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1 ־הֶם occurs very seldom as *verbal* suffix (Deut 32, 26); ־הֶן not at all. Yet they are given in the list as ground-forms, which frequently *occur* with nouns and prepositions.

2 Traces of this lost form appear still in the afformatives of the Ethiopic verb, as *qatalka* (thou hast killed), and also in the Samaritan (see *Gesenii* Carmina Samaritana, Anecdota Orientalia, p. 43; *Petermann*, Brevis linguae Samarit. grammatica etc. Berol. 1873 p. 21). Comp. what was said on קָטַלְתִּי in § 44, 1. The *t* and *k* are not infrequently interchanged in languages generally (see § 33, 3, Note 1).

and therefore with *Mappîq;* however there is also found הָ— (see No. 3, Rem. 1).

Once (Ez. 41, 15) אָה— stands for הָ—, as in West. Aram. and Arabic.

3. The *variety* in the forms of the suffixes was occasioned by the form and tense of the verb, which received and modified them. Thus, *three forms* of almost every suffix may be distinguished:

a) One beginning with the consonant itself, as נִי, הוּ, נוּ, (הֶם) ם, etc. This is appended to verbal forms which end with a vowel, as קְטָלוֹנִי, קְטָלְתִּיהוּ.

b) A second and a third, with the so-called *union-vowels*[1] (ַ—, ִ—) for the verbal forms which end with a consonant (for the exception, see § 59, Rem. 3): with *a* as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Perfect, as קְטָלַנִי, קְטָלָנוּ, קְטָלָם; with *e* (rarely *a*) as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Imperfect and Imperative, as יִקְטְלֵהוּ, קְטְלֵם. To the Perfect belongs also the suffix וֹ, as having originated from הוּ— (§ 33, 1). With הָ, כֶם, כֶן, the uniting sound is only a half-vowel (*vocal Sh^ewâ*), as הָ—, כֶם—, כֶן—, e. g. קְטָלָהּ (*q^eṭā-l^ekhā*); or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, הָ—, as in שְׁלָחָהּ. In *pause,* the Sh^ewâ of הָ—, הֶ— becomes *S^eghôl* with the tone, as הֶ— in קְטָלָהּ, שְׁלָחָהּ. Comp. however also הָ— Deut. 28, 24 et al.

Rem. 1. As *rare* forms, may be mentioned: *sing.* 2d pers. *m.* כָה— 1 K. 18, 44, in *pause* כָה— Prov. 2, 11; *fem.* כִי, כִי— Ps. 137, 6, and often in the later Psalms. (הָ—, contrary to the rule, joined to the Perf. in Judg. 4, 20).—In the 3d pers. *mas.* ה Num. 23, 8; *fem.* ה— without *Mappîq* Ex. 2, 3, Amos 1, 11, Jer. 44, 19.—The forms מוֹ—, מוֹ—, מוֹ—, are strictly poetic (except Ex. 23, 31); instead of מוֹ— we find מוּ— once in Ex. 15, 5. On the origin of these forms, see § 32, Rem. 7.

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[1] We retain the common name *union-vowel*, although it rests on a rather superficial view, and is somewhat vague. These union-sounds seem, for the most part, to be traces of ancient terminations of the verb, like *i* of the 2d pers. sing. fem. in קְטַלְתִּיהוּ. Take, for example, the Hebrew form *qeṭal-ani,* when compared with the Arabic *qatala-ni;* and, on the other hand, the Hebrew *qeṭalatni* and the Arab. *qatalatni.*

2. By comparing these suffixes of verbs with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91), we find that—*a*) there is here a greater variety of forms than there (because the forms and relations of the verb are themselves more various);—*b*) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer, as נִי, נִי־, ־נִי (*me*), ־ִי (*my*). The reason is, that the object of the verb is less closely connected with it than the possessive pronoun is with the noun; on which account, also, the former may even be expressed by a separate word (§ 117, 2).

4. The suffix gains still more strength, when instead of the union-vowels there is inserted between it and the verb a union-syllable, נ־, which, when the syllable has the tone, becomes נָ־ (commonly called *Nûn epenthetic* or *Nûn demonstrative*), which, however, occurs only in the Imperfect and chiefly in *pause*, e. g. יְבָרְכֶנְהוּ *he will bless him* (Ps. 72, 15), יְכַבְּדֶנְנִי *he will honour me* (Ps. 50, 23). This *Nûn* is, however, for the most part incorporated with the suffixes, and hence we get a new series of forms, viz.—

1*st pers.* נִי־, נִי, for נְנִי־, נְנִי;

2*d pers.* ךָ־, once ךְ־ (Jer. 22, 24) and *Pause* כָּה־ (Prov. 2, 11);

3*d pers.* נּוּ־ for נְהוּ־, also נוֹ (Num. 23, 13); *fem.* נָּה־ for נְהָ־;

1*st pers. plur.* נוּ־ for נְנוּ־.

In the other persons this *Nûn* does not occur.

Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* written distinctly are rare and only poetic (Ex. 15, 2, Deut. 32, 10, Jer. 5, 22, 22, 24), and do not occur at all in 3 *fem.* sing. and 1 *plur.* The contracted forms (with the *Nûn* assimilated) are rather frequent also in prose, especially in *pause*, (very seldom נוּ־ as first pers. pl. Hosea 12, 5; comp. חָנֻּנוּ Gen. 44, 16, 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for חָנְנוּ).

This *Nûn* is of a demonstrative nature, and gives more emphasis to the word, and is therefore chiefly found in *pause*. But it occurs also in the union of the suffixes with certain particles (§ 100, 5).

It is frequent in West. Aram.; in Samaritan it is appended also to the Perfect, and in similar cases even a ת is inserted (*Petermann*, gramm. Samar. p. 12 ff.). In the Syriac we find *î* and *ai* inserted in the same way. The Arabic too has a corresponding emphatic form of the Imperfect with the pronominal suffixes, as *yaktulan-ka* or *yaqtullanna-ka*, which is however used also without suffixes. Comp. § 48, 2.

§ 59.

THE PERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The personal endings (*afformatives*) of the Perfect have in part a different form, when connected with the suffixes; viz.—

a) In the 3 *sing. fem.* ת—, ת֫—, the original feminine-ending, for ה֫—;

b) 2 *sing. mas.* תָּ, also תְּ, to which the union-vowel is attached, but the only clear instance of this is with נִי—[1];

c) 2 *sing. fem.* תִּי, likewise an older form for תְּ (comp. אַתִּי, קָטַלְתִּי, § 32, Rem. 4; § 44, Rem. 4). This form is to be distinguished from the 1st pers. sing. only by the context.

d) 2 *plur. mas.* תּוּ for תֶּם, which is explained by the Arabic *'antum, qataltum*, West. Aram. אַתּוּן, קְטַלְתּוּן for Heb. אַתֶּם, קְטַלְתֶּם (§ 32, Rem. 5). Examples are found only in Num. **20**, 5, **21**, 5, Zech. **7**, 5. The *fem.* קְטַלְתֶּן with suffixes does not occur, but probably it took the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit, first, the forms of the Perfect in *Hĭph'îl* as they appear in connection with suffixes, because here no further change takes place in the stem itself, except as to the tone (see No. 2):

Sing.		*Plur.*	
3 *m.*	הִקְטִיל	3 *c.*	הִקְטִילוּ
3 *f.*	הִקְטִילַת		
2 *m.*	הִקְטַלְתָּ, הִקְטַלְתְּ	2 *m.*	הִקְטַלְתּוּ
2 *f.*	הִקְטַלְתִּי, הִקְטַלְתְּ		
1 *c.*	הִקְטַלְתִּי	1 *c.*	הִקְטַלְנוּ

The beginner is recommended to practise first the manner of connecting the suffixes with this Hĭph'îl-form, and then to take up that with the Perf. of Qăl (see No. 2).

2. The tone inclines towards the appended suffix, so that it does not readily remain on the stem itself. And this

[1] The short *a* here also belongs properly to the form of the verb itself. See Note [1], under § 58, 3, *b*.

occasions, particularly in the Perfect of *Qăl,* certain vowel changes, *a*) the *Qā'mĕṣ* of the 1st syllable no longer standing before the tone, becomes vocal *Sh^{e}wâ; b*) the original *Păthăch* of the 2d syllable, which had disappeared in the third person sing. and plur. appears anew lengthened into *Qā'mĕṣ;* likewise original *ĭ* becomes *ē* e. g. אֲהֵבוּךָ 1 Sam. **18**, 22; in consequence of which we have the following forms in that tense:—

Sing.		*Plur.*	
3 *m.*	קָטַל	3 *c.*	קָטְלוּ
3 *f.*	קָטְלַת		
2 *m.*	קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, Rem. 4)	2 *m.*	קְטַלְתֶּם
2 *f.*	קָטַלְתְּ (קָטַלְתְּ, Rem. 4)		
1 *c.*	קָטַלְתִּי	1 *c.*	קָטַלְנוּ

The connection of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in Paradigm C. There it will be seen, too, how the *Ṣĕ'rĕ* in the Perfect *Pī'ēl* changes sometimes into *S^{e}ghôl,* and sometimes into *vocal Sh^{e}wâ.*

Rem. 1. The *suffixes* for the 2d pers. pl., כֶּם and כֶן, are (together with הֶם and הֶן) rather more weighty (i. e. more strongly accented) forms than the others, and hence are called *grave suffixes,* and always have the tone. Compare their connection with *nouns* in § 91. With a verb in the Perfect we find only כֶּם occurring (Ps. **118**, 26). The form קָטַל which is generally represented as a form of combination before כֶּם and כֶן in the 3d sing. masc. (also by Kimchi and in Parad. C. in this grammar) is only formed from analogy and, according to *Abraham de Balmis* it is without any example in the Old Testament.

2. In the 3 *sing. mas.* קָטָלָהּ is very often contracted into קָטְלוֹ, according to § 23, 5, and so likewise in the 2 *sing. mas.* קָטַלְתָּהּ into קָטַלְתּוֹ.

3. The 3 *sing. fem.* קָטְלַת (=קָטָלָה) has the twofold peculiarity— *a*) that the ending *ath* constantly draws the tone to itself,[1] and then takes the suffixes that make a syllable of themselves (נִי, ךָ, הוּ, הָ, נוּ, מוֹ) without a union-vowel, contrary to the general rule (§ 58, 3, *a*);— *b*) with the other suffixes the union-vowel is indeed adopted, but the tone is drawn back to the penultima, so that they appear with shortened vowels (ךָ—, ם— e. g. אֲהֵבָתְךָ *she loves thee* Ruth **4**, 15, in many MSS. אֲהֵבַתְךָ), שְׂרָפָתַם *it burned them* Is. **47**, 14, גְּנָבָתַם *she has stolen them* Gen. **31**, 32. For תְּנִי—, תְּךָ—, תְּנוּ— etc., we find in *pause* תִּי—, תֶּךָ— Ps. **69**, 10, תֶּךָ— Cant. **8**, 5, and also without *pause,* for the sake of correspondence

[1] חִבְּלָתְךָ in Cant. **8**, 5 is an exception. כֶּם and כֶן would probably have the tone even here (Rem. 1), but no examples occur.

in sound, חִבְּלָתְךָ (*she has born thee*) in the same verse (Cant. **8**, 5). The forms קָטָלָתּוּ and קְטָלָתְהוּ[1] are *contr.* from קְטָלַתְהוּ (in *pause* קָטָלָתְהוּ Is. **59**, 16) and קָטָלַתְהָ, after the analogy of נוּ—, for נְהוּ— (§ 58, 4).

4. In the 2 *sing. masc.* קְטָלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have therefore no union-vowel, e. g. זְנַחְתָּנוּ פְּרַצְתָּנוּ *thou hast rejected us, hast scattered us* Ps. **60**, 3; only with 1 p. *sing.* we have קְטָלְתַנִּי (from קָטָלְתָּ and נִי—) e. g. חְקַרְתַּנִי *thou searchest me* Ps. **139**, 1, but also in *pause* עֲזַבְתָּנִי *thou hast forsaken me* Ps. **22**, 2.—In the 2 *sing. fem.* תְּ is written also defectively, as in רִמִּיתִנִי *thou* (fem.) *hast deceived me* 1 Sam. **19**, 17, יְלִדְתָּנוּ Jer. **15**, 10, Cant. **5**, 9, Ex. **2**, 10; a few times the suff. is attached to the shorter form (תִּ—), as in הִשְׁבִּיעָתָּנוּ *thou* (fem.) *adjurest us* Cant. **5**, 9, Josh. **2**, 17, comp. Jer. **2**, 27; and with *Ṣērê* הוֹרַדְתִּנוּ *thou* (fem.) *hast let us down* Josh. **2**, 18.

5. In verbs *middle E*, the *E* remains before the suffixes, e. g. לְבֵשָׁם *he puts them on* Lev. **16**, 4, אֲהֵבָךְ *he loves thee* Deut. **15**, 16, אֲהֵבַתְהוּ *she loved him* 1 Sam. **18**, 28. From a verb *middle O*, we have כְּלַלְתִּיו *I have subdued him* Ps. **13**, 5, with a shortened *o* in a syllable that has lost the tone (§ 44, Rem. 3).

§ 60.

IMPERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In the forms of the Imperfect *Qăl*, which end with the last stem-letter, the vowel *ō* of the final syllable is shortened generally to ᵉ, *simple Shᵉwâ vocal* (—), at times to ᵒ, *Chātē'ph-qā'mĕṣ* (—) Jer. **31**, 33; but to *ŏ*, *Qāmĕṣ-chāṭū'ph* (—), before הַ—, כֶם—, כֶן—. Instead of תִּקְטֹלְנָה the form תִּקְטֹלוּ[2] is used as 2nd and 3rd person, Cant. **1**, 6, Jer. **2**, 19, Job **19**, 15. The forms with *Nûn demonstrative* (§ 58, 4) are very apt to stand at the end of the clause or sentence.

Rem. 1. Verbs with *Impf. A* (to which belong specially all that have a *guttural* for the 2d or the 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65) retain the full *A* in the *Impf.* (and also the *Imp.* § 61, 2), and the *Păthăch*, when it comes to stand in an open syllable, is lengthened into *Qā'mĕṣ*, e. g. וַיִּלְבַּשֵׁנִי *and it put me on* Job **29**, 14, יִגְאָלוּהוּ *let them demand it back* Job **3**, 5, וַיִּשְׁלָחֵם *and he sent them* Josh. **8**, 3, יִקְרָאֻהוּ *they call upon him* Ps. **145**, 18.

2. Occasionally, as exceptions, *suffixes* with the union-vowel *a*,

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[1] Comp. 1 Sam. **1**, 6, Is. **34**, 17, Jer. **49**, 24, Ruth **3**, 6; in *pause* Ez. **14**, 15, everywhere, according to *Kimchi* without *Mappiq* in the closing ה. The form אֲהֵבְתְהוּ is found 1 Sam. **18**, 28 in *pause*.

[2] This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix in Jer. **49**, 11, Ez. **37**, 7.

occur also in the Imperfect, as in יִלְבָּשֵׁם Ex. 29, 30; comp. 2, 17, Gen. 19, 19, 29, 32; even יִרְפוֹ (ô from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3: Comp. Ps. 35, 8, etc.

3. The *suffixes* are at times appended also to the plural forms in וֹן, e. g. תְּדַכְּאוֹנֵנִי *ye crush me* Job 19, 2; elsewhere always without a union-vowel, as in יִמְצָאוּנְנִי *they shall find me* Prov. 1, 28, Is. 60, 7, 10, Jer. 5, 22.

4. In *Pi.* the *Ṣē'rê* of the final syllable, like the *Chō'lĕm* in *Qăl*, becomes *Sheʷâ;* but before the suffixes ־ָהּ, ־ָם, ־ָן it is only shortened into *Seghô'l*, e. g. יְקַבְּצָהּ *he will gather thee* Deut. 30, 4 (with final guttural אֲאַמְּצֶכֶם Gen. 32, 27), more rarely into *Chî'rĕq*, as אֲאַמְּצֵכֶם *I will strengthen you* Job 16, 5; comp. Ex. 31, 13, Is. 25, 1.

5. In *Hiph.*, the long *î* remains, as in תַּלְבִּישֵׁנִי *thou clothest me* Job 10, 11; after ו consecutive frequently written defectively e. g. וַיַּלְבֵּשֵׁם Gen. 3, 21; and only rarely we meet with forms like תַּעֲשִׁרֶנָּה *thou enrichest it* Ps. 65, 10, 1 Sam. 17, 25. Comp. § 53, Rem. 4.

§ 61.

INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND PARTICIPLE WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The *Infinitive* of a *verb active* can be construed with an accusative, and then it takes the *verbal suffix* (i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronouns), as קָטְלֵנִי *to kill me;* but as a *noun* it can take also the *nominal suffix* (i. e. the *genitive* of the personal pronoun) as קִטְלִי *my killing* (see § 133, 1, 2). In either case it usually assumes in *Qăl* the form קָטֶל, with the *ŏ* drawn backward. The syllable which is created thus is a slightly closed one, e. g. בְּכָתְבוֹ *by his writing* Jer. 45, 1 (not כָּתְבוֹ *kŏth-bô* § 21, 2, *a*); only before ־ָהּ, ־ָם there is a complete closing e. g. בְּאָסְפָהּ Exod. 23, 16, Lev. 23, 39, if the throwing back of the vowel is not omitted altogether (v. Rem. 2). Comp. the *segholate nouns* of the form קֹטֶל, with which קָטֶל is closely related, § 84, Nos. 10, 11, and § 93, Parad. I.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* of the form שְׁכַב becomes with suffixes שִׁכְבָהּ Gen. 19, 33, like nouns of the form דֶּבֶשׁ.

2. Before ־ָהּ, ־ָם, ־ָן, forms are found which depart from the analogy of *segholate nouns*, e. g. אֲכָלְכֶם *your eating* Gen. 3, 5 עֲמָדְךָ *thy standing* Obad. 11; but this analogy is followed in קְצָרְכֶם *your harvesting* Lev. 19, 9 (restoring orig. *ŭ*), and מָאֳסְכֶם (*mŏ-ŏsᵉ-khĕ'm*) *your contemning* Is. 30, 12. In the *infinitive* of the *Piel* the *ē* of the Suff. ־ָהּ, ־ָם, ־ָן is changed into *Seghôl* e. g. דַּבְּרָהּ Ex. 4, 10, or attenuated into *ĭ* e. g. פָּרְשָׂם Is. 1, 15 (v. § 60, 4).

2. The leading form of the *Imperative* in *Qăl* (קָטֵל) takes the *suffixes* in the same form as the *Infinitive*. In קָטְלֵנִי (pronounced *qŏṭ^{e}lē'nî*) the *Sh^{e}wâ* is very slightly heard, hence we have e. g. רָדְפֵנִי *rŏdh^{e}phē'nî*, without Dāghēsh in the פ (§ 21, 2, *a*). The forms קִטְלִי, קִטְלוּ, which are not presented in the Paradigm, suffer no change. For the *fem.* קִטֹּלְנָה the masculine form קִטְלוּ is used, as in the Imperfect.—In the verbs that form the *Imperative* with *A* (to which belong especially those that have a *guttural* in the 2d or 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65), as in שְׁלַח, the *A* remains before the suffixes but is lengthened into *Qā'mĕṣ*, because it comes to stand in an open syllable (just as in the *Impf. A*, § 60, Rem. 1), e. g. שְׁלָחֵנִי *send thou me* Is. 6, 8, בְּחָנֵנִי *prove thou me* Ps. 26, 2. קָרְאֵנִי *call thou me* Ps. 50, 15, שָׁמְעֵנִי Gen. 23, 8. בְּצַעַם Amos 9, 1 is abnormal (for בְּצָעָם) with toneless *ăm* as in the *perf.* after 3d *sing. fem.* § 59, Rem. 3. In the *Imp.* of *Hĭph'il*, not the form הַקְטֵל, but הַקְטִיל is used (*î* on account of the open syllable); e. g. הַקְרִיבֵהוּ *offer it* Mal. 1, 8.

3. The *Participles* shorten their vowels in the same way as *nouns* of the like form do, e. g. קֹטֵל, רֹדְפִי, רֹדְפוֹ etc. On the contrary before the *Sh^{e}wâ mobile* יִצְרְךָ etc., or by sharpening אֹיְבָה Exod. 23, 4, אֹסְפָהּ 2 K. 22, 20; from מְקַטֵּל is formed מְקַטְּלִי, מְקַטְּלָהּ etc. (by sharpening *ĕ* into *ĭ*, Is. 52, 12).

On the difference between קִטְלִי (*my killing one*) and קִטְּלֵנִי (*killing me*) see § 135, 2.

II. THE WEAK VERB.[1]

A. VERBS WITH GUTTURALS.

§ 62.

Paradigms D. E. F.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three stem-letters deviate from the strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These deviations do not change the stem consonants and therefore can only in part be taken for actual

[1] See the general view of the classes of verbs, in § 41.

weakness, as in the omission of the doubling (by *Dāghēsh forte*, § 63, 4 and § 64, 3), on the other hand, a few original elements have been preserved in guttural stems whilst they have degenerated in the regular strong verb. For instance in forms like יַחְמֹד (§ 63, 2), the original *ă* of the preformative is kept (§ 47, 2), which is weakened into *ĭ* in the so-called strong verb, as in יִקְטֹל. Of course the א and ה come into account here only when they retain their power as consonants, and are not substitutes for vowels as the א in a part of the verbs פ״א, § 68, as well as in some ע״א § 73, Rem. 4 and in all ל״א § 74. In all these cases the א is originally a full consonant, while ה in verbs ל״ה was never anything else but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The real consonant ה at the end of the word is known by the *Mappîq;* but the ר shares only partially in these anomalies (§ 22, 5). For more convenient representation, we distinguish the three cases in which the guttural stands first, second, or third in the stem. The three Paradigms, D, E and F, where only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular, exhibit the inflections, which are more fully explained in the following sections (63–65).

§ 63.

VERBS PĒ (פ) GUTTURAL.

E. g. עָמַד *to stand. Paradigm* D.

The deviations here from the regular verb may be reduced to the following particulars:—

1. When the first stem-letter, at the beginning of the word, would regularly have a *simple Shᵉwâ* (קְטַלְתֶּם, קְטַלְתֶּן), it takes here always a *composite Shᵉwa* (*Chāṭēph* § 10, 2, § 22, 3); e. g. *Inf.* עֲמֹד *to stand,* אֲכֹל *to eat, Perf.* עֲמַדְתֶּם, חֲפַצְתֶּם from חָפֵץ *to be inclined.*

2. When a preformative is placed before a guttural, they either form together a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative appears again as *Chātēph* under the guttural. In both cases a double formation may again be distinguished

according as the original *ă* remains or is attenuated into *ĭ*. Examples *a*) for closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative: יַחְמֹד, יַחְמֹל, יַחְשֹׁב etc. (and thus mostly with initial ח in *Impf. Qal,* sometimes with forms repeating *ă* as *Châtēph* under the guttural e. g. יַחֲשֹׁב etc.); the same in the *impf. Hĭphʿîl* יַחְסִיר etc. Very rarely the original *ă* is found in a closed syllable under the *preform.* נ of the *Perf. Niphʿăl:* נֶחְבָּאתָ Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2, Jos. 2, 16; on the other hand *ă* occurs very frequently under the preformative followed by *Châtēph Pătĥăch* e. g. נַעֲשֶׂה etc. likewise in the *Particip.* נַעֲרָץ Ps. 89, 8 etc. *b*) slightly closed, with *Châtēph* after the original vowel: יֶחֱלַם, יֶעֱמֹד, יֶחֱרַס (and so almost always with ע and ח in *Impf. Qăl* and *Hĭphʿîl;* יֶעֱמַד, יֶעֱמַד in *Hŏphʿăl*).— The *ĭ* attenuated from *ă* is almost always changed before gutturals into *Seghôl* (comp. however Rem. 5); this *Seghôl* appears partly *c*) in closed syllables e. g. יֶחְבַּשׁ, יֶחְסַר, יֶעְתַּר, יֶהְפַּךְ, יֶאְשַׁם and so almost always in the *Impf. Qal* with *ă* in the 2d syllable (comp. however Rem. 2); in *Niph.* e. g. נֶהְפַּךְ etc., in *Hiph.* הֶחְסִיר etc., and partly *d*) slightly closed, followed by *Châtēph Seghôl* e. g. יֶאֱסֹף, יֶחֱשֹׁף in *Impf. Qăl* (however never with ע); הֶעֱמִיד *Hiph.* נֶעֱמַד *Niphal.*

Rem. In connection with the above examples the following remarks may be made: 1) The forms with the closed syllable (the so-called "hard combination" a) and e)) occur frequently in the verb by the side of forms with slightly closed syllables (the so-called "soft combinations" b) and d)). 2) In the 1. *sing. Impf. Qal* the preformative Aleph receives continually —, whether in the slightly or firmly closed syllables. 3) The removal of the tone towards the end causes frequently a change of the *Păthăch* of the preformative into *Seghôl* and *vice versa*, e. g. נַעֲשָׂה, but 3. *sing. fem.* נֶעֱשָׂתָה; יֶאֱסֹף, but תֶּאֱסֹפִי; תֶּעֱמִיד, but תֶּעֱמֹדְנָה etc., and thus almost always with the change of the *Châteph Seghôl* group into the lighter *Châteph Păthăch* group, whenever the tone is removed one place farther back (comp. § 27. Rem. 5). 4) In all these examples cited above *Seghôl* may also be considered as a modulation of the original short *Păthăch.* In this case all the formations of the *verba primae gutturalis* (Pē guttural verbs) would be based on a restoration of the original vowel of the preformatives. Compare however the same change from *ĭ* to *ĕ* in the Imper. (Rem. 1).

3. When in forms like יַעֲמֹד, נַעֲמַד, the vowel of the final syllable is changed into *simple Shʿwâ* vocal, on account of the

accession of one of the afformatives (וּ, ִי, ָה), then the *composite Sh^{e}wâ* of the guttural changes to the corresponding short vowel, as יַעֲמֹד, *plur.* יַעַמְדוּ (sound *yă-ăm^{e}-dhû'*), נֶעֱזָבָה *she is forsaken.* But here also there exists a harder form besides, as יַחְבְּלוּ *they take a pledge* (also יַחְבֹּל), יֶחֱזְקוּ as well as יֶחֶזְקוּ *they are strong.* Compare in general § 22, 4, § 28, 3.

4. In the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* of *Niph.*, where the first stem-letter would regularly be doubled (הִקָּטֵל, יִקָּטֵל), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative is lengthened into *Ṣē'rê*, as יֵעָמֵד for יִעָמֵד (§ 22, 1).

REMARKS.

I. *On Qăl.*

1. In verbs פ"א the *Inf. constr.* and *Imp.* take (ֵ) under the first letter (according to § 22, 4, Rem. 2); hence אֱזֹר *gird thou* Job **38**, 3, אֱהַב *love thou* Hos. **3**, 1, אֱכֹל *to eat*, with a prefix לֶאֱכֹל, לֶאֱהֹב. The (ֶ) is found also at times, as in *Inf.* אֶחֹז 1 K. **6**, 6; e. g. בַּאֲכֹל חָאֵשׁ Num. **26**, 10.

Also in the other forms of the *Imp.*, the guttural often exerts its influence upon the vowel, which it changes to *S^{e}ghôl*, as חֶשְׂפִּי *strip thyself* Is. **47**, 2, עֶרְכָה (for עֶרֹךְ, w. ה cohort.) *set thyself* Job **33**, 5; especially when the second radical also is a guttural, as אֶהֱבוּ Ps. **31**, 24. *Păthăch* occurs in חַבְלֵהוּ *pledge him* Prov. **20**, 16, and perhaps Ps. **9**, 14 (חַנֵּנִי).

2. The *Impf. A*, as the Parad. shows, has regularly under the first two letters ַ—ַ; and with the hard combination ַ—ָ as יֶחְדַּל *he ceases*, יֶחְכַּם *he is wise.* This is true likewise of some verbs *Pē Guttural*, which are also verbs ל"ה, as יֶחֱזֶה *he sees*, יֶחֱצֶה *he divides*, but some are like יַעֲשֶׂה, יַעֲלֶה, יַחֲנֶה. The pointing ַ—ֶ is found even in verbs *Impf. O*, but less frequently, as יֶאֱסֹף *he collects*, יֶחֱשֹׂף *he lays bare.* The form וַתַּעֲגַב *and she loves* Ez. **23**, 5, stands quite by itself.—In these forms the pointing ַ—ֶ is frequently shortened to ַ—ֵ (according to § 27, Rem, 5), as יֶאֱסֹר *he binds*, *plur.* with suffix יַאַסְרוּהוּ, also יֶחֱסַר, יַחְסְרוּ. The form יַרְהֵם, Ps. **7**, 6, which according to *Kimchi* is a mixed form derived from the *Qăl* (יִרְהַם) and Pi. (יְרַהֵם), can be considered only as a further change from יִרְדֹּם (comp. § 64. Rem. 3 תֶּחֱנַק); תַּחֲנֵהָ Ex. **9**, 23 is similar.

II. *On Hĭph'îl and Hŏphăl.*

3. The above-named (Rem. 2) shortening of ַ—ֶ to ַ—ֵ occurs here also in the *Perf. Hiph.* after *Wāw consec.*; i. e. after the throwing

forward of the tone, as הֶעֱמַדְתָּ *thou didst set*, but with the *Wāw* וְהַעֲמַדְתָּ *and thou shalt set* Num. 3, 6, 8, 13, 27, 19; הֶעֱבַרְתִּי, but וְהַעֲבַרְתִּי Jer. 15, 14, Ez. 20, 37.

4. In the *Perf.* of *Hiph.*, ־ֶ־ is sometimes changed into ־ֵ־, and ־ֶ־ into ־ֵ־ in *Hoph.*, by lengthening the short vowel, under the influence of the *Mèthĕg*, e. g. הֻעֲבַרְתָּ *thou leddest over* Josh. 7, 7, הֻעֲלָה *he brings up* Hab. 1, 15; הָעֳלָה Judg. 6, 28, Nah. 2, 8. On an other case of this kind (הֻעֲמָה) see § 64. 2. Something similar occurs with nouns of the so-called Segholate forms after *qŏṭl* comp. § 93.

III. *In General.*

5. In the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live* the guttural is almost wholly without influence in combination with the preformative; thus the *Impf. Qăl* יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה *Niph.* יִהָיֶה; only in *Perf. Hiph.* הֶחֱיָה (2. *plur.* הֲחֱיִתֶם Jos. 2, 13). Where initial ה and ח should have *vocal Sheʷâ* this is always replaced by *Chateph Seghôl* e. g. הֱיֵה, חֱיֵה, חֱיוֹת, חֱיִיתֶם, (except in 2. *sing. fem.* of the *Impf. Qăl:* חֲיִי Gen. 24, 60 חֲיִי Ez. 16, 6 and in *Inf.* חֲיוֹתָם Jos. 5, 8); after the prefixes ו, ב, כ, ל, however, the *Chat. Seghôl* becomes *Sheʷâ* and the prefix takes *ĭ*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Sheʷâ;* therefore in *Perf. Qăl* וְחָיִיתֶם, *Imper.* וְהִי, *Inf.* לִהְיוֹת, בִּהְיוֹת etc. The only exception is the 2. *masc.* of the *Imper.* after *Wāw:* וְחֲיֵה Gen. 12, 2, וְחֲיֵה Gen. 20, 7.

6. On verbs פ״א in which the א loses its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, see § 68.

§ 64.

VERBS ʿĂYĬN (ע) GUTTURAL.

E. g. שָׁחַט *to slaughter. Paradigm* E.

The deviations from the strong verb are less important in this class,[1] and are mainly as follows:—

1. Where a *simple Sheʷâ* is required, the guttural takes, nearly without exception, a *composite Sheʷâ,* viz. the *Chāṭĕph-Păthăch* (־ֲ־); e. g. *Perf.* שָׁחֲטוּ, *Impf.* יִשְׁחֲטוּ, *Imp. Niph.* הִשָּׁחֲטוּ. In the *Imp. Qăl* before the affomatives י and ו the original *Păthăch* occurs in the 1st syllable and is followed by *Chātĕph-*

[1] *Hŏphʿăl,* which is not exhibited in the Paradigm, is inflected like *Qăl: Hiphʿîl* is regular.

Păthāch, the syllable being only slightly closed; but in אָהֲבוּ the preference of the א for *Seghol* has caused the change from *ă* to *ĕ* and in שָׁחֲרוּ Job 6, 22 the *ĭ* remains before a hard guttural.

So in the *Inf. Qăl* w. suf. as in Is. 9, 6 סָעֲדָהּ *to support it* (but צַעֲדֵךְ *thy marching* Judg. 5, 4) and in the fem. form (§ 45, 2, *b*) אַהֲבָה *to love,* הַאֲבָה *to languish.*—

2. As the preference of the gutturals for the *A* sound has generally less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel (§ 22, 2), so not only is the *Chō'lĕm* in *Inf. Qăl* שְׁחוֹט, שְׁחֹט retained, but also, for the most part, the *Ṣĕ'rê* in *Impf. Niph.* and *Pi.* יִלָּחֵם *he fights,* יְנַחֵם *he comforts,* and even the more feeble *Seghō'l* (after *Wāw consecutive*) וַיִּלָּחֶם. But in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qăl,* the last syllable generally takes (—), through the influence of the guttural even in *transitive* verbs, e. g. יִשְׁחַט, שְׁחַט; יִזְעַק, זְעַק; יִבְחַר, בְּחַר (seldom like יִנָּחֵם, רְאֵה), with *suff.* in the *Imp.* שְׁאָלֵנִי, בְּחָנֵנִי, in the *Impf.* יִגְאָלֵהוּ; with the *ō* in *Imper. Qăl* is found only נָעֹל 2 Sam. 13, 17; אָחֹז Ex. 4, 4, 2 Sam. 2, 21 *fem.* אֶחֱזִי Ruth. 3, 15 (so according to *Kimchi* in the *Wurzelwörterb.* with the unusual echo of the expelled *ō* as *Chātēph-Qā'mĕṣ;* on the other hand in pl. regularly אֶחֱזוּ); סְעָד־ Judges 19, 8 (according to *Kimchi* סְעָד 19, 5 can only be read *se'ād* with the abnormal lengthening for סְעַד); finally, here also belongs זֶעְמָה instead of זְעֹם Num. 23, 7 v. § 63, 4. Just as rare are the *Imp. med. gut.* with *ō* as יְנַחֵם, יְאַחֵז comp. Is. 27, 4, Ez. 16, 33 and also in the *Perf. Pi., Păthăch* occurs more frequently than in the strong verb, as נִחַם *to comfort.*

3. In *Pi., Pu.* and *Hithp.,* the *Dāghĕ'sh fortė* is inadmissible in the middle stem-letter; but, in the greater number of examples, particularly before ה, ח, and ע, the preceding vowel remains short, the guttural having *Dāghĕ'sh fortė implicitum* (see § 22, 1); e. g. *Pi.* שִׂחֵק, *Inf.* שַׂחֵק *to sport, Pu.* רֻחַץ *to be washed, Hithp. Imper.* הִטַּהֲרוּ *cleanse yourselves.* The complete omission of the doubling and therefore the lengthening of the preceding vowel occurs continually only with ר e. g. בֵּרֵךְ *to bless, Impf.* יְבָרֵךְ, *Pŭ'ăl* בֹּרַךְ; before א it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאַר, גָּאַל, מָאַן, זָאַר and in the *Hithpă'ĕ'ls*

of בּאשׁ, רעה and שׁאה; on the other hand א is virtually doubled in the *Perfects* נָאַף (once in *Impf.* Jer. 29, 23) *to commit adultery,* נָאַץ *to despise* (twice besides in the participle Is. 60, 14, Jer. 23, 17) נָאַר *to abhor* Lam. 2, 7 (also נֵאַרְתָּה Ps. 89, 40) and שָׂאַל Ps. 109, 10; furthermore in the *infinitive* רַאשׁ Eccl. 2, 20 according to the best reading; in the *Pŭ'ăl* רֹאוּ Job 33, 21 the א should be written *with Dāghē'sh fortė,* according to the correct Massora.

Rem. 1. In the verb שָׁאַל *to ask, beg* some forms of the *Perfect Qăl* seem to have been based upon a secondary form *Med. E.* (acc. to *Kimchi*, see also Davies' Heb. Lex.), comp. שְׁאֵלוּנִי Gen. 32, 18, Judg. 4, 20, שְׁאֵלוּנוּ Ps. 137, 3, שְׁאֵלְתֶּם 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29, שְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ Judg. 13, 6, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also Hiph. הִשְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ 1 Sam. 1, 28). Compare however similar cases (attenuation of an original *ă*) § 69, Rem. 4 and especially § 44, Rem. 2. In the three first cases the *ĭ* (attenuated from *ă*) would be lengthened into *ē* (before the tone); in the three following cases *ĭ* would be changed into *ĕ*.

2. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.*, the tone is sometimes drawn back upon the penultima, and the *Ṣērê* of the final syllable shortened to *Seghôl*, viz.— *a*) Before a word of one syllable (according to § 29, 3. *b*) as לְשָׁרֶת שָׁם *in order to serve there* Deut. 17, 12; even with virtual doubling of the gutt. Gen. 39, 14, Job 8, 18.—*b*) After *Wāw consecutive,* as וַיְבָרֶךְ *and he blessed* Gen. 1, 22, וַיְגָרֶשׁ *and he drove out* Ex. 10, 11.

3. The following are rare anomalies: in the *Impf. Qăl* יְצַחַק Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere תִּצְחַק etc., in *pause* יִצְחָק, comp. § 63, Rem. 2); וְאַחַר Gen. 32, 5 (for וְאֶאֱחַר); in the *Perf.* of *Pi.*: אֶחֳרוּ *they delay* Jud. 5, 28, for אִחֲרוּ; and the similar form יְחֳמַתְנִי *she conceived me* Ps. 51, 7, for יְחַמַּתְנִי; finally in the *Imper. Hiph.* הַרְחַק Job 13, 21 and הַמְעַר Ps. 69, 24, in both cases not without the influence of the closing consonant, and at the same time with the preference of *Păthăch* in pause (as a clearer and sharper sound).

4. A few examples where the א, as a middle guttural, loses entirely its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, will be found in § 73, Rem. 4.

§ 65.

VERBS LĀMĔDH (ל) GUTTURAL.

E. g. שָׁלַח *to send. Paradigm* F.

1. According to § 22, 2, *a* and *b*, when the last syllable has a vowel which is heterogeneous to the guttural (i. e. not an A sound) we distinguish two cases, viz., either the regular

vowel of the final syllable *remains,* and the guttural takes *Pă'thăch furtive,* or the full vowel *Pă'thăch* takes its place. The particulars are as follows:—

a) The strong unchangeable vowels ִ—, ֹ, ֻ (§ 25, 1), are always retained; hence *Inf. absol. Qăl* שְׁלֹחַ, *Part. pass.* שָׁלוּחַ; *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *Impf.* יַשְׁלִיחַ, *Part.* מַשְׁלִיחַ. So also the *ō,* though less firm, is retained in the *Inf. constr.* שְׁלֹחַ, (comp. however in close connection with the substantive שִׁלַּח Is. **58**, 9 and גֹּרַע Num. **20**, 3).

b) Instead of the *ō* in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qăl* we have *ă,* either through the influence of the guttural (comp. the remainder of the *o* sound in אֶפְשָׁעָה Is. **27**, 4) or because the *Pă'thăch* was the original vowel, thus: יִשְׁלַח, שְׁלַח. With *suff.* יִשְׁלָחֵנִי, שָׁלְחֵנִי, see § 60, Rem. 1.

c) Where *Ṣē'rê* is the regular vowel of the last syllable, the forms with *ē*[a] and *ă* are both employed, but usage generally makes a distinction. Thus—

In the *Part. Qăl* and *Pi.* the only predominant form is שֹׁלֵחַ, מְשֻׁלַּחַ, and the full Pă'thăch appears only in the *constr. state* שֹׁלַח, מְשֻׁלַּח.

In the *Impf.* and *Inf. Niph.*, and in the *Perf. Inf.* and *Impf. Pi.*, the shorter form with (—) usually stands at the beginning and in the middle of a sentence, the one with (—ַ—) at the end, and in *pause;* e. g. יִגְרַע *it is diminished* Num. **27**, 4, comp. יִגְרֵעַ **36**, 3; יְבַקַּע *he cleaves* Hab. **3**, 9, comp. יְבַקֵּעַ Ez. **13**, 11, בַּלַּע *to swallow* Hab. **1**, 13, Num. **4**, 20 with בַּלַּע Lam. **2**, 8. It may further be observed, that the *Inf. absol.* retains *Ṣē'rê,* but the *Inf. constr.* loses it, e. g. שַׁלַּח Deut. **22**, 7, 1 K. **11**, 22, else שַׁלַּח *to send.* Outside of the *pause* there is found יְזַבַּח Hab. **1**, 16 and even וַיְזַבַּח 2 K. **16**, 4; furthermore in the *Imper. Pi.* שַׁמַּח Ps. **86**,4 (with *Dᵉchî*): on the other hand in *pause* חַאֲנֵךְ Ez. **21**, 11 as *Imper. Niphal.* An example of *ă* in *Imper. Pi'el* through the influence of a closing ר is כַּתַּר־ Job **36**, 2.

In *Hiph.* the shortened forms of the *Imp.* and *Impf.* admit only (—), e. g. הַצְלַח *prosper thou,* יִבְטַח *and he caused to trust,* יַצְמַח *and he caused to sprout.* The *Inf. absol.* takes (—ַ—), as הַגְבַּהַּ *to make high;* but as *Inf. constr.* also הוֹכַח occurs in Job **6**, 26.

2. The guttural here has *simple Shᵉwâ* whenever the third radical regularly takes it (because it is *Shᵉwâ quiescent,* which generally remains even under gutturals, § 22, 4), as שָׁלַחְתָּ, שָׁלַחְתִּי. But in the 2 *fem. Perf.* a helping-*Pă'thăch* takes its place, as שָׁלַחַתְּ (§ 28, 4), yet comp. לָקַחְתְּ 1 K. **14**, 3.

The softer combination with (—ֶ) for (—ַ) occurs only in some examples of the 1. *plur. Perf.* when the tone is thrown forward, as יְדַעְנֻךָ *we know thee* Hos. 8, 2, comp. Gen. 26, 29, Ps. 44, 18, 2 Sam. 21, 13; and also before the suffixes הָ, כֶם, כֶן, as אֶשְׁלָחֲךָ *I will send thee* 1 Sam. 16, 1, אַשְׁבִּיעֲךָ Gen. 31, 27, אַשְׁמִיעֲךָ Jer. 18, 2.

On the weak verbs ל״א, see especially in § 74.

B. CONTRACTED VERBS.

§ 66.

VERBS פ״נ.

E. g. נָגַשׁ *to approach. Paradigm* H.

The weakness of initial נ consists principally in its submitting to *Aphæresis* in the *Inf. constr.* and *Imper.* in a part of these verbs (comp. 19, 3, *a*). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נ (v. above) cannot really be considered as weakness, as the stem still retains three consonants (by the doubling of the 2d cons.). More particularly we remark:—

1. The *Aphæresis* of the *Nûn* *a*) in the *inf. constr.* This occurs only (though not necessarily) with such verbs as have *a* in the 2d syllable of the *Imperf.*, thus: נָגַשׁ, *Imperf.* יִגַּשׁ, *Inf.* really גַּשׁ, but always enlarged with ת to the Segholate form גֶּשֶׁת; with *Suff.* גִּשְׁתּוֹ Gen. 33, 3 (attenuated from גִּשְׁתֹּו); with the concurrence of a guttural נָגַע *to touch, Imperf.* יִגַּע, *Inf.* גַּעַת (also נָגֹעַ); נָטַע *to plant, Inf.* טַעַת (also נָטֹעַ). The feminine ending in this case serves as a means of artificially reestablishing the semblance of a triliterality. (On the verb נָתַן *to give* v. especially Rem. 3). On the other hand, *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָפַל *to fall, Imperf.* יִפֹּל, *Inf.* נְפֹל, with *Suff.* נָפְלוֹ also נִפְלוֹ (which originated from נָפַל, נְפָלוֹ).—*b*) In the *Imper.* Here the dropping of the *Nûn* takes place everywhere in verbs with *a* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָגַשׁ, *Imper.* גַּשׁ (frequently with *paragog. āh* גְּשָׁה, before *Mâqqēph* also גְּשׁ־ Gen. 19, 9), גְּשִׁי etc., however also with *ō* גְּשִׁי Ruth 2, 14, and גְּשׁוּ 2 Chron. 29, 31; in both cases outside of the *pause*. With *Nûn* preserved is found only נְהַג 2 Kings 4, 24 (*Impf.* יִנְהַג *without* the assimi-

lation of the *Nûn;* comp. also of verbs ל"ה which are at the same time פ"ן: נָהָה Ez. **32**, 18, נָחָה Gen. **32**, 34). Here also *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָתַן, נָצַר etc.

2. Whenever *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable after a preformative, it assimilates itself to the following stem-letter (§ 19, 2, *a*); viz., *a*) in the *Impf. Qăl,* e. g. יִפֹּל for יִנְפֹּל *he will fall,* יִגַּשׁ for יִנְגַּשׁ, יִתֵּן for יִנְתֵּן *he will give* (the *Impf. O,* as in the strong verb, being usual, the *Impf. E* only in this example);[1]—*b*) in the *Perf. Niph.,* e. g. נִגַּשׁ for נִנְגַּשׁ;—*c*) in the whole of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.* (which here has always *Qibbû'ş,* according to § 9, 9, 2), e. g. הִגִּישׁ, הֻגַּשׁ, for הִנְגִּישׁ, הֻנְגַּשׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e. g. *Perf., Inf. absol., Part. Qăl,* all *Pi'ēl, Pu'ăl,* etc. Only the irregular conjugations are given in the Paradigm H.

The *characteristic* of these verbs in all forms which begin with a formative letter, is the *Dāghē'sh fortè* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, appear also in some verbs פ"י (§ 71) and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67, 5). The *Inf.* גֶּשֶׁת and the *Imp.* גַּשׁ, also גֹּשׁ־ (Gen. **19**, 9) and תֵּן, coincide with those of verbs פ"ו (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, קַח, קַחַת (from לָקַח *to take*), see below in Rem. 2.—יְקוֹם is *Impf. Niph.* of קוּם, and so in all weak verbs ע"ו (§ 72, 4).—Also אֶסָּק (Ps. **139**, 8) is not from נָסַק, but contracted from אֶסְלַק from סָלַק *to ascend* (see § 19, 2, Rem.).

Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn,* before a firm consonant, e. g. *Impf.* יִנְצֹר *he keeps* Jer. **3**, 5 (elsewhere יִצֹּר), of נָצַר the pausal form is always יִנָּצֵרוּ (outside of the *pause* יִצְּרוּ Prov. **20**, 28); in the same way the *Nûn* is retained with the *pause* in Ps. **61**, 8, **140**, 2, 5, Prov. **2**, 11. In *Niph.* this never occurs and very seldom in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, as הַנְתִּיךְ *to melt* Ez. **22**, 20, הָנְתְּקוּ *they are cut off* Judg. **20**, 31. It regularly occurs, however, in all verbs which have a guttural for their second stem-letter, as יִנְחַל *he will possess.* In these verbs the *Nûn* only rarely falls away, as רַחַת for יִנְחַת *he will descend; Niph.* נָחַם for נִנְחַם *he has comforted himself.*

2. Like the *Nûn* of these verbs (§ 19, 2), the ל of the verb לָקַח (*to take*) is also treated. Hence *Impf. Qăl* יִקַּח, *Imp.* קַח in *pause* and be-

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[1] The *Impf. A* (יִגָּשׁ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in נָגַשׁ.

fore *suff.* קָחַ, *paragog.* קָחָה; קְחִי etc. (comp. however also לְקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ez. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16. לְקָחִי 1 K. 17, 11); *Inf. constr.* קָחַת (w. suff. קָחְתִּי), *Hoph. Impf.* יָקַח, but *Nĭphʿăl* is always נִלְכַּד.

3. The above mentioned verb נָתַן *to give* furnishes the only example of an *Imperf.* with *ē* (יִתֵּן for יִנְתֵּן); corresponding to which also we have the *Imper.* תֵּן or (very frequently) תְּנָה, before *Maqqēph* תֶּן־, *fem.* תְּנִי etc. This much used verb has this farther peculiarity that the third radical (the *final Nûn*) is assimilated, as נָתַתִּי for נָתַנְתִּי, נָתָתָּ for נָתַנְתָּ (very frequently נָתַתָּה as a kind of orthographical compensation for the assimilated נ); *Nĭphʿăl Perf.* נִתַּתֶּם Lev. 26, 25.—Also in the *Inf. constr. Qăl* the groundform תִּנְתְּ has not been enlarged into תִּנֶּת (comp. גֶּשֶׁת from נָגַשׁ) but contracted into תֵּת, and this was afterward lengthened into תֵּת when the *Dāghēʾsh fortè* was dropped v. § 20, 3, *a*; therefore with the suffixes לָתֵתִי, תִּתּוֹ etc. (before *Māqqēph* with the prefix לְ=לָ֫תֵת־ e. g. Exod. 5, 21, but also elsewhere in close connection e. g. Gen. 15, 7; also the strong formation of the *Infin. constr.* in נְתָן Num. 20, 21 and נָתָן־ Gen. 38, 9.) In other stems, the נ as third radical is retained, שָׁכְנָתָּ, זְקַנְתִּי. Upon the entirely anomalous *Aphaeresis* of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in תָּתָה for נָתַתָּ 2 Sam. 22, 41 comp. § 19, 3, *a*.

§ 67.

VERBS ʿĂYĬN DOUBLED (ע״ע).

E. g. סָבַב *to surround. Paradigm* G.

1. The principal irregularity of these verbs consists in the utterance of the second and third radicals often as one doubled letter, as סַבּוּ (contracted from the original form *săbhăbhû*) for סָבְבוּ (Rem. 10 below), even when a full vowel should regularly stand between them, as סַב for סָבֵב, סָב (from the orig. *săbhăbhă,* contr. *săbbă*) for סָבַב. Those forms are *not* contracted which contain unchangeable vowels, or a *Dāghēʾsh fortè,* as סָבוֹב, סוֹבֵב, סִבֵּב.

2. The monosyllabic stem thus obtained takes, throughout, the vowel which the full form would have had in its *second* syllable, because that serves to characterise the form (§ 43, Rem. 1), e. g. *Perf.* סַב for סָבַב; סַבָּה for סָבְבָה (both from the original *săbhăbhăth*), *Inf.* סֹב for סָבֹב; *Hiph.* הֵסֵב for הִסְבִּיב (comp. No. 6).

3. The Dāghēʾsh fortè, which, after this contraction, properly belongs throughout to the final stem-letter, is ex-

cluded from it (§ 20, 3, *a*), except when formative additions are made at the end, as סַבּוּ, סֹבִּי, *Impf.* יְסֹבּוּ, but not סַב, סֹב.

4. When the afformative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), a vowel is inserted before it, in order to render audible the Dāghē'sh of the final stem-letter[1] (§ 20, 3, *c*, Rem.), which vowel in the Perf. is וּ, in the Imp. and Impf. ִי—, e. g. סַבּוֹתָ, סַבּוֹנוּ, *Impf.* תְּסֻבֶּינָה (for *sabb-ta, sabb-nu, t'sobb-na*).

5. The preformatives of *Impf. Qăl, Perf.* of *Niph., Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which in consequence of the contraction stand in a simple syllable (יסוֹבֵב instead of יְסוֹבֵב), take, instead of the *short* vowel of the regular form, the corresponding *long* one (according to § 27, 2, *a*), e. g. *Impf. Hiph.* יָסֵב for יְסַבֵּב, *Imper.* הָסֵב for הַסְבֵּב etc. Where the preformatives now have *ĭ*, either the original *ă* (which was attenuated into *ĭ*) is restored and lengthened e. g. יָסֹב in *Impf. Qăl* from original יְסָבֵּב, or the *ĭ* itself is lengthened into *ē* e. g. הֵסֵב *Perf. Hiph.* for הִסְבֵּב (see further details in No. 6). This lengthened vowel can be retained however only before the tone (except the *û* of the Hophal lengthened from *ŭ* הוּסַב for הָסְבַּב); by the removal of the tone, the vowel, according to § 27, 2, becomes necessarily *Sh'wâ* (under א and ה *composite Sh'wâ*) e. g. תָּסֹב but תְּסֻבֶּינָה; תֵּסֵב but תְּסֻבֶּינָה; *Hiph. Perf.* הֵסִבּוֹתִי etc.

NB. There is still another mode (the common one in *Aramaic*) of constructing these forms, which supplies a Dāghēsh in the first radical in place of doubling the third (comp. § 19, 2, Rem.); e. g. *Impf. Qăl* יְסַבֵּב for יְסָבֵּב, *Impf. Hiph.* יַחֲמֵם for יְחַמֵּם, *Hoph.* יְרֻצַּח for יְרֻצַּח. These forms do not usually take Dāghēsh in the final letter on receiving an accession, as יִקְדּוּ *they bow themselves* (from קָדַד), וַיַּכֻּתוּ *and they smote* (from כָּתַת), perhaps because the doubling makes the stem triliteral;

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[1] No satisfactory explanation for these separating vowels has been given as yet. As in none of these forms it could be said that the original vowel had returned, there remains simply the supposition that a really new vowel has been inserted as an expedient for pronunciation. *Rödiger* refers to the analogy of the verbs ל״ה in forms like גָּלִית, תְּנַלֶּינָה, but this is not satisfactory because there the tone vowel has not arisen anew but existed already. But *Rödiger* was right in reminding us of the analogy of the vulgar Arabic which for the written Arabic *madadta, madadti, madadtu* uses the forms *maddêt, maddêti, maddît* and even *maddât*. The latter form also indicate that the *ô* in the *Perf.* of ע״ע verbs has also been derived from an original *â*.

but see also וַיִּסַּבּוּ Judg. 18, 23, וַיָּתֻּחוּ Job. 4, 20. To the same category apparently belongs the stronger form תְּצַלַּלְנָה *they will tinkle* (from צָלַל) Jer. 19, 3. On the other hand תַּמְנוּ (for תַּמֹּונוּ *we perished*) Jer. 44, 18 follows the analogy of verbs ע"ו (comp. קָמְנוּ from קוּם). On *Niph.* see Rem. 5.

6. The restoration of original vowels mentioned in No. 5 occurs *a*) in the Preformatives of the *Imperf. Qăl.* יִסַּב from יִסְבַּב (comp. § 47, 2; 63, 2 and for verbs ע"ו § 72); *b*) in the *Perf. Niph.* נָסַב from נִסְבַּב (§ 51, 1) as well as in *Impf.* יִסַּב from יִסַּבֵּב (comp. on *ă* in the final syllable of strong imperfects Niphal § 51, Rem. 2); *c*) in the *Hoph.* הוּסַב from הָסְבַּב, *Impf.* יוּסַב from יָסְבַּב etc.—On the contrary the attenuated vowel *ĭ* underlies the intransitive *Impf. Qăl* with *ă* in the second syllable e. g. יִמַּר for יִמַּר (see Rem. 3). The lengthening of the original *ă* (יָמַר) would lead to mistaking it for the 3d sing. perf.; also in the preformative of the *Hiph'il* הֵסַב from הִסְבַּב (groundform הַסְבֵּב § 53, 1). In the same way we have the underlying *ĭ* in the 2d syllable, which, attenuated from original *ă*, is in strong verbs abnormally lengthened into *î* (§ 53, 1). The *ē*, lengthened from *ĭ* is of course only tonelong, therefore הָסְבּוֹת outside of the tone before *Dāghē'sh fortė.* (On the return of the original *ă* in the 2d syllable comp. Rem. 6.)

7. The *tone* has this peculiarity, that usually it is not thrown forward upon the afformatives beginning with a vowel (ה—, וּ, י—, § 40, 2), but remains *before* them on the stem-syllable, e. g. 3d *sing. fem. Impf.* תַּחַת, *pause* תָּחַת; with ר and gutturals מָרָה (for מַרָּה) שָׁחָה Ps. 44, 26; with וּ *consec.* however וְרַבָּה Is. 6, 12. In the 3d *pl. perf.* the accent varies; besides דַּלּוּ, קַלּוּ is found also דָּלּוּ, קָלּוּ, שָׁחוּ (Hab. 3, 6) etc., but in *pause* חָתּוּ, תָּמּוּ etc. and, vice versa in *perf. consec.* וְרַבּוּ etc. (comp. however וְתַמּוּ Jer. 44, 12 before the tone syllable). The tone remains likewise on the stem syllable in *Imperf. Qal* in יָסַבּוּ, תָּסַבִּי *Hiph.* יָסֵבּוּ, תָּסֵבִּי (*Perf. Hiph.* הֵסַבָּה, הֵסַבּוּ) etc. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is removed to these vowels e. g. תְּסַבֵּרְנָה, סַבּוֹת etc. (excepting before the always accented ending תֶּם and תֶּן in the Perfect). This removal

of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* into *ĭ* and *ŭ* (*ŏ* v. Rem. 2), therefore הֲסִבּוֹתָ from הֵסֵב, תְּסִבֶּינָה from יָסֹב (on the dropping of the vowel of the preformative v. above No. 5).[1]

8. In numerous verbs of this class, instead of *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.* there is found with the same sense the less usual conjugation *Pô ĕ'l* (§ 55, 1), with its passive (*Pô ă'l*) and reflexive (*Hithpô ĕ'l*), e. g. עוֹלֵל *to treat ill*, *pass.* עוֹלַל, *reflex.* הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל); in some is found also *Pilpē'l* (§ 55, 4), as גִּלְגֵּל *to roll*, הִתְגַּלְגֵּל *to roll one's self* (from גָּלַל), *Pilp.* שַׁעְשֵׁעַ *to caress*, with its *pass.* (Pŏlpă'l) שֻׁעְשַׁע *to be caressed*, and *reflex.* (Hithpălpă'l) הִשְׁתַּעְשַׁע *to delight oneself* Ps. 119, 16 (from שָׁעַע). These forms do not suffer contraction any more than *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hĭthpă ēl.*

REMARKS.

I. *On Qăl.*

1. In the Perf. are found some examples with *Chōlĕm*, orig. *u* (comp. יָכֹל, § 43, 1), as רֻמּוּ *they are high* (from רָמַם) Job 24, 24, רֻבּוּ (from רָבַב) Gen. 49, 23; really, also זֻרּוּ Is. 1, 6 from זָרַר.

2. The *Chōlĕm* of the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (סֹב, יָסֹב) is a changeable vowel and written defectively, with a few exceptions, which are found especially in the later orthography; e. g. לָבוֹז for לָבֹז *to plunder* Est. 3, 13, 8, 11. It is shortened into *Qāmĕṣ-chātûph* or *Qĭbbûṣ*, whenever it loses the tone, as *Inf.* רֹן- (*rŏn*) *to rejoice* Job 38, 7; with *suff.* *Imp.* 2*d sing. fem.* רֹנִּי, גֹּדִּי (comp. Rem. 12); חָנֵּנִי *pity me*, *Impf.* with *Wāw consec.* וַיָּסָב Judg. 9, 18, with *suff.* יְשָׁהֵם *he lays them waste* Prov. 11, 3 in Q^{e}ri. In יָחֳנָהּ Gen. 43, 29. Is. 30, 19 (for יָחְנָהּ) this *ŏ* is put back under the preformative. In קָבְהַ־לִּי Num. 22, 11, 17 and אָרְהַ־לִּי 22, 6. 23, 7 the suffix of the ה— *paragogic* takes place without any other change of the form; one would expect קָבָה־, אָרָה־. Still more striking is קָבְנוֹ *curse him* Num. 23, 13 (for קָבְנֵהוּ or קָבְהוּ). We have also קֹב for קָבוֹב Num. 23, 25 and שֹׁל as *inf. abs.* instead of שָׁלוֹל in Ruth 2, 16.

3. Examples with final *Păthăch* in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (קָטַל, יִקְטַל), are the following: *Inf.* שַׁךְ *to stoop* Jer. 5, 26, *Imp.* גַּל *roll thou* Ps. 119, 22, *Impf.* יֵמַר *he is bitter* Is. 24, 9, יֵרַךְ *he is soft* Is. 7, 4; וַתֵּקַל

[1] The terminations for gender and number in the *Participles* take the tone, as these are not a part of the verbal inflection, as מְסֻבָּה, נְקֻבָּה.

she was despised Gen. **16**, 4 (but also with the accent on the preceding syllable, e. g. וַיֵּרַע Gen. **21**, 11). In regard to these intransitive imperfects comp. No. 6 above. Of imperfects with original *u* in the 2d syllable there are also found examples of lengthening the *ŭ* into *û* (instead of *ō*) e. g. יָרוּן Prov. **29**, 6; יָשׁוּד Ps. **91**, 6; יָרוּץ (from רצץ) Is. **42**, 4 (even defectively וְיָרֻץ Eccl. **12**, 6). An analogy with the verbs ע"ו is also seen in the infinitive לָבוּר (for בֹּר) Eccl. **9**, 1; בְּחֻקוֹ Prov. **8**, 27 (comp. בְּחוּקוֹ **8**, 29) for בְּחָקוֹ. Examples of the *Aramaicising Impf.* are יְסֻב (though יָסֹב is also in use), יְשֻׁם *he is astonished* 1 K. **9**, 8, יְהֻמוּ *they are silent* Job **29**, 21; with *ă* e. g. יְרַהַל, יְשַׁח, etc.

4. In the Participle occurs the Aramæan form שָׁאֵם (for שֹׁסֵם) Jer. **30**, 16 in K^{e}thîbh (the Q^{e}rî regards it as a *Part.* from שָׁסָה).

II. *On Nĭph'ăl.*

5. Besides the usual form of the Perf. (נָסַב) with *Păthăch* and of the *Part.* (m. נָסָב, f. נְסָבָה) with *Qāmeṣ* in 2d syllable, there is still another with *Ṣērĕ*, and another with *Chōlĕm* (analogous to קָטַל, בָּבַד, רָכַל, § 43, 1), extending through the whole conjugation; e. g. *Perf.* נָקֵל (also נָקַל) *it is a light thing* Is. **49**, 6, נְסֵבָה (for נְסָבָה) Ez. **26**, 2; *Part.* נָמֵס *wasted away* Nah. **2**, 11: with *Chōlĕm*, נָגֹלּוּ *they are rolled together* Is. **34**, 4, comp. **63**, 19, **64**, 2, Am. **3**, 11, Nah. **1**, 12; in *Impf.* יִמּוֹל *he is circumcised* Gen. **17**, 12; תִּהֹמִי *thou shalt be laid waste* Jer. **48**, 2. *Inf.* forms with the Păthăch do not even exist, but those with *Ṣērê* and *Chōlĕm*, as *Inf.* הִמֵּס *to melt* Ps. **68**, 3, *Inf. absol.* הִבּוֹז *to be plundered* Is. **24**, 3; in the *Imp.* only הִבָּרוּ *cleanse yourselves* Is. **52**, 11 and חֵרֹמוּ *raise yourselves up* Num. **17**, 10, הִמֹּלוּ Jer. **4**, 4 follows the analogy of ע"ו verbs (as the *imperf.* וַיִּמֹּלוּ Gen. **34**, 24).—Peculiar forms of Nĭph'ăl (with a sharpening of the 1st syllable) occur in נְחַל *it was profaned* Ez. **25**, 3 (from חָלַל), נְחַר (from חָרַר) Ps. **69**, 4, **102**, 4 (also נָחַר Jer. **6**, 29), נְחַת *fractus est* (from חָתַת) Mal. **2**, 5.—In Micah **2**, 4 the Perf. נָשַׁדְנוּ, *û* instead of *ô* as the separating vowel appears to be abnormal.

III. *On Hĭph'îl and Hŏph'ăl.*

6. Besides *Ṣērê* the final syllable has also *Păthăch*, especially with ר and the gutturals, as הֵמַר *he made bitter;* הֵשַׁח *to depress; Inf.* הָבַר *to cleanse* Jer. **4**, 11. But also without a guttural, as הֵדַק *he pounded small* 2 K. **23**, 15; plur. הַסַּבּוּ 1 Sam. **5**, 10; *Part.* מֵצַל *shadowing* Ez. **31**, 3. The *ē* of the 2d syllable may become *ĕ* outside the tone e. g. הֶחֱל בִּי Gen. **31**, 7. Instead of *Châṭēph Păthăch* there appears before ח also *Păthăch* (with the virtual doubling of the ח) in forms like הַחֲתָ Is. **9**, 3.

7. In the *imperf.* the retraction of the tone and the consequent shortening of *ē* into *ĕ* occurs not only in the *jussive* and with *Waw consecutive* (e. g. וַיָּגֶל Gen. **29**, 10; with final guttural וַיָּרַע 1 K. **6**, 11) but also elsewhere e. g. יָסֶךְ *he protects* Ps. **91**, 4. Quite peculiar is וַיָּתֶר Judges **9**, 53 with *ĭ* for *ĕ*.

8. *Aramaicising* forms of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*: וַיַּסֵּב Ex. 13, 18, וַיִּכְּתוּ *and they smote* Deut. 1, 44, אַחֵל *I will profane* Ez. 39, 7, in *Perf.* הִזִּילֻהָ *they despised her* Lam. 1, 8.—In *Hoph.* הָמְכוּ *they perish* Job 24, 24, נָכֵת *it is smitten* Is. 24, 12 (plur. נֻכַּתּוּ Jer. 46, 5), נֶחֱקוּ in pause (Job 19, 23) for נֶחֱקוּ, also נֻכֶּחוּ Job 4, 20.

IV. *In General.*

9. Verbs ע״ע are very nearly related to verbs ע״ו (§ 72), as the great similarity in their inflection throughout has already shown. In form the verbs ע״ע are generally the shorter (comp. נָסֹב and נָקוּם, הֻסַּב and הֻקַּם). In some cases they have precisely the same form, e. g. in the *Impf. consec.* of *Qăl* and *Hiph.*, in *Hoph.*, and in the rare conjugations. On account of this relation, they have sometimes borrowed forms from each other, e. g. יָרֹן for יָרֹן *he rejoices* Prov. 29, 6.

10. Along with the contracted forms there are found especially in certain conjugations and tenses, others which are wholly regular; e. g. *Perf. Qăl* סָבַב 1 Sam. 7, 16, סֹבְבוּנִי Josh. 6, 15, סְבָבוּנִי Ps. 18, 6, שָׁחֲחוּ and שָׁחוּ *they bow down*, בָּזַז *to plunder* Ez. 29, 19, *plur.* בָּזְזוּ Josh. 8, 27, בָּזַזְנוּ Deut. 2, 35 (also בַּזּוֹנוּ in 3, 7); *Inf.* סָבֵב and סֹב; *Infin.* after לְ: לְשַׁדּוֹד Jer. 47, 4, לְגָזּוֹז Gen. 31, 19 (also לָגֹז 38, 13); with suffix לְחַנֹּתְכֶם Is. 30, 18 and of the same form חֲנַן with the vowel shifted back and at the same time inflected לְחֲנָנָהּ Ps. 102, 14; *Imper.* שָׁדְדוּ Jer. 49, 28; *Imperf.* יְהוֹר Nahum. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13, Gen. 31, 40) from נדד: the strong form was after the assimilation of the *Nûn* quite necessary. On the other hand יְשָׁדְדֵם Jer. 5, 6 for יְשָׁדֵם is anomalous; the contracted consonants have been afterwards dissevered by the insertion of a vocal *Sheʷâ*. Compare also יְחֻנֵּן *he is gracious* Amos 5, 15, else יָחֹן, In *Niph.* יִרָּנֵּב Job 11, 12. *Hiph.* הִרְנִין, *Impf.* יָרִנִּין *he will rejoice* (which in *Hiph.* is never contracted); *Part.* מַשְׁמִים *astonished* Ez. 3, 15. That the full form has a certain emphasis is seen from its frequent use in pause, as in סַבּוּנִי גַּם־סְבָבוּנִי in Ps. 118, 11) (compare לַחֲמָם Is. 47, 14 (perh. for לְחָמָם) *for their warming.*)

11. We have seen above (No. 5 Rem.), that in the *Impf.* of forms resembling the Aramaic form, the Dāghĕsh of the third radical, together with the preceding vowel, is omitted before afforatives, which however take the tone, as יְרַמּוּ. The same omission occurs also in other forms at times, as in *Perf. Qăl* תַּמְנוּ for תַּמּוֹנוּ Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18); *Imperf.* נָבְזָה 1 Sam. 14, 36 (ה— *paragog.* without influence on the form, comp. Rem. 2); sometimes even the strong vowel becomes *Sheʷâ*: נָבְלָה Gen. 11, 7 for נָבֹלָה *we will confound* (Cohortative from בָּלַל); יִזְמוּ for יְזַמּוּ Gen. 11, 6 *they will devise*; *Perf. Niph.* נִסְבָּה for נִסַּבָּה Ez. 41, 7, נְמַלְתֶּם for נְמַלֹּתֶם Gen. 17, 11 (from מָלַל=מוּל *to circumcise*); comp. Is. 19, 3, Jer. 8, 14. Without Dāghĕsh, but with the accented full vowel: חֲתַלְתָּ for חֲתַלֹּתָ Judg. 16, 10, חֲעָזָה for חֲעַזָּה Prov. 7, 13, נָבְזָה 1 Sam. 14, 36, comp. נָחְמִים Is. 57, 5 for נֶחָמִים.

12. Though the tone is here less attracted to the endings (comp. No. 7 above, p. 163), yet this exceptionally happens at times—*a*) in the *Perf.*, specially if it stands in the sense of a present tense (§ 126, 3), as in רַבּוּ (*they are many*) Ps. **3**, 2, **104**, 24, Jer. **5**, 6, 1 Sam. **25**, 10 (with הַיּוֹם *to-day*), רַכּוּ (*they are soft*) Ps. **55**, 22, קַלּוּ (*they are swift*) Jer. **4**, 13, Hab. **1**, 8, זַכּוּ (*they are pure*) Job **15**, 15, **25**, 5;—*b*) in the *Imper.* (demanding in excited tone), as in רָנִּי (*rejoice aloud!*) Is. **54**, 1, Zeph. **3**, 14, Zech. **2**, 14, רָנּוּ Is. **44**, 23, **49**, 13, Jer. **31**, 7 (but רֹנִּי *wail!* Lam. **2**, 19), חָגִּי *celebrate* (thy festivals) Nah. **2**, 1, Jer. **7**, 29;—*c*) in forms with pronominal suffix (this accords with the general law about the *tone*, § 29, 1, 2), as in סַבּוּנִי Ps. **118**, 11, and here the vowels before the *Dāghē'sh* suffer the changes pointed out in § 27, 1, viz., *Chōlĕm* in the *Impf.* becomes *Qibbûṣ*, more seldom *Qāmĕṣ-chāṭûph* (so too רָנִּי above under letter *b*), *Ṣē'rê* in *Hiph.* becomes *Chîrĕq* (after the analogy of תְּסִבֵּנָה, תְּחַבֵּנוּ); the preformatives then, in place of the full vowel, take Sh^{e}wâ, e. g. יְסַבֵּנִי Ps. **49**, 6, יְסַבֵּהוּ Job **40**, 22, יְחַנֵּנוּ Ps. **67**, 2; *Hiph.* יְחַבֵּנִי Ez. **47**, 2.

C. WEAKEST VERBS (VERBA QUIESCENTIA).

§ 68.

VERBS פ״א.

E. g. אָכַל *to eat.* *Paradigm* I.

So far as the א is treated as a consonant and a guttural, these verbs have all the properties of verbs *Pê Guttural,* exhibited in § 63. But here we regard them only in so far as the א *quiesces,* i. e. loses its consonant sound, and is blended with the foregoing originally short vowel, into a long one, which chiefly happens in the *Impf. Qăl* of only a few very common verbs and forms, much modified by constant use. The following are the particulars:—

1. In the *Impf. Qăl* of five verbs (viz. אָבַד *to perish,* אָבָה *to be willing,* אָכַל *to eat,* אָמַר *to say,* אָפָה *to bake*) the א always quiesces in a long *ô* (*Chôlĕm*), as יֹאבַד. In some others, the other form in which it retains its power as a consonant is also in use, as יֹאחַז and יֶאֱחַז *he takes hold;* יֹסַף (v. Rem. 2), also יֹאסִף. (So now in the vulgar Arabic of Palestine *ya'kul* (he eats) becomes *yôkul.*) The *ô* in this case is but a corruption of the vowel *â* (§ 9, 10, 2), which is itself derived

by contraction from ——. The last syllable of these verbs receives an *ē* (or *ă*) instead of the stronger vowel *ō* (orig. *ŭ*) e. g. יֹאחֵז Job 17, 9, mostly *ē* with distinctive accents and before the accented afformative וּן; but with conjunctive accents, which mark continuous discourse, it takes *ă* (*Păthăch*), e. g. תֹּאבֵד לָעַד Ps. 9, 19, on the contrary תֹּאבַד (compare a similar exchange of *ē* and *ă* in § 65, 1, *c*) in Ps. 1, 6. When the tone moves back, the last stem-syllable has sometimes *Păthăch,* as יֹאבַד יוֹם *perish the day* Job 3, 3, וַיֹּאכַל *and he ate,* and sometimes *Seghôl,* as in וַיֹּאמֶר (*Mil'êl*) with a conjunctive accent; but וַיֹּאמַר וַיֹּאכַל (*Milrăʿ*) with a distinctive and in pause (only in Job mostly וַיֹּאמֶר *Mil'êl*). Of אָחַז the weak *imperf.* is always יֹאחֵז and וַיֹּאחֵז (however וְאֹחֵז Judges 20, 6; comp. וְאֹכַל Gen. 3, 12 in *pause*).—אָבָה and אָפָה are at the same time verbs ל"ה; hence *Impf.* יֹאבֶה (§ 75, 1).

It is but very seldom that *Ṣĕrê* stands before א in *Impf. Qăl,* as תֵּאתֶה *it shall come* (Mic. 4, 8) contracted from תֵּאֶתֶה (from אָתָה), אֵחֵב (in 1st sing. only for אֶאֱהַב) *I love* (Prov. 8, 17) as well as אֹהַב (from אָהַב, אֶאֱהַב); but always in the *Inf.* with לְ, as in לֵאמֹר *for to say* (i. e. *saying*) for לֶאֱמֹר.

2. In the 1*st pers. sing. Impf.* the second (the radical) א (to avoid the repetition of this feeble letter) is regularly dropped (§ 23, 3), as אֹמַר for אֶאֱמַר *I will say,* וָאֹמַר *and I said.* In the other cases, where the א is generally conceived of as quiescent with *ô* or *ê*, it is retained merely orthographically and for the sake of etymology. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following examples:

Continually in the contracted forms of אָסַף, thus תֹּסֵף for תֹּאסֵף *thou takest away* Ps. 104, 29, וַיֹּסֶף *and he gathered* 2 Sam. 6, 1. Compare also in the 1st pers. Micah 4, 6 and אֹסְפָה 1 Sam. 15, 6 (with *ĕ* according to § 60, Rem. 4); further more הֹמְרוּ 2 Sam. 19, 14, וַתֹּחֵז 2 Sam. 20, 9, וַיֹּתֵא Deut. 33, 21 (for וַיֵּאתֵא), according to another reading וַיִּתְאָא or וַיֹּתְאָא, etc.; תֹּזְלִי *thou goest away* (from אָזַל) Jer. 2, 36, v. Rem. 1.

The Parad. I shows the weak forms in which א is treated as a quiescent (viz., *Impf. Qăl*), and merely indicates the more regular ones.

Rem. 1. In forms of the derived conjugations the א but very seldom quiesces, as in *Perf. Niph.* נֹאחֲזוּ Josh. 22, 9, *Hiph.* וַיֹּאצֵל *and he took away* Num. 11, 25, וַיֹּארֶב (for וַיַּאְרֶב) *and he set an ambush* 1 Sam. 15, 5,

אָזַן *I hearken* Job 32, 11, אוֹכִיל (ô from â) *I cause to eat* Hos. 11, 4, אוֹבִידָה (ô from â) *I will destroy* Jer. 46, 8, מֵזִין *giving ear* Prov. 17, 4; Imp. הָתָנוּ *bring ye* (from אָתָה) Is. 21, 14.

2. In *Pi.* the א is sometimes dropped by contraction (like ה in יַהְקְטִיל, יַקְטִיל), e. g. מַלֵּם (as in Aram., and Samar.) for מְאַלֵּם *teaching* Job 35, 11, יַהַל for יְאַהֵל *he shall pitch tent* Is. 13, 20, וַתְּזָרֵנִי *thou girdest me* 2 Sam. 22, 40 for וַתְּאַזְּרֵנִי (Ps. 18, 40).

§ 69.

VERBS פ״י. FIRST CLASS, OR VERBS ORIGINALLY פ״ו.

E. g. יָשַׁב *to dwell. Paradigm* K.

Verbs פ״י fall principally into *two classes,* which are different from each other in their origin and inflection. The *first* embraces those verbs which have properly a ו for their first stem-letter. In Arabic and Ethiopic they are written with ו (e. g. יָלַד, Arab. and Ethiop. *wălădă*), but in Hebrew (and Aramæan) by a change of sound which shows itself also, with few exceptions in the noun, they take י instead of it, wherever the first stem-letter begins the form whereas, after preformative the ו either appears again, or is likewise changed into י, or finally is completely elided. The *second* class embraces those which are properly פ״י, and which have *Vôdh* also in Arabic (the so-called *Verba cum Jod originario* § 70). A few of these verbs פ״י, of both classes form, in some respects, a *third* class which is inflected like verbs פ״ן (§ 71).

In the verb יָצַר the forms are distinguished according to the signification, viz.,—1) יָצַר (1st class, for וָצַר) *to be in a strait, Impf.* יֵצַר, וַיֵּצַר;—2) יָצַר (2d class) *to form, Impf.* יִיצַר, וַיִּיצַר.

The peculiar inflection of the *first class,* which is analogous to the Arabic פ״ו, consists in the following particulars:

1. In the *Impf., Imp.* and *Inf. constr.* of *Qăl* there is a twofold inflection according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh.* The entire rejection (elision) takes place regularly in eight verbs (v. Rem.) after the following analogy:

Impf. יֵשֵׁב, with tone-long *ē* in both syllables. The vowel of the preformative had *ĭ* (attenuated from *ă*); after the elision of *Wāw*, this *ĭ* standing in an open syllable had to be changed into a tone-long *ē* (the fully written form, as יִישֵׁב is extremely rare and incorrect). In the second syllable, five of these forms have an original *ĭ* which in the tone-syllable becomes likewise *ē*; three verbs however (under the influence of a guttural), take *ă*: יֵדַע, יֵקַץ, יֵחַד.

The tone-long *ē* of the 2d syllable may naturally become *Seghōl* or *Shᵉwâ*, e. g. וַיֵּשֶׁב, וַיֵּשְׁבוּ etc.; in the same way the *ă* become *Shᵉwâ* in cases like יֵדְעוּ etc., but in *pause* it is retained and lengthened into *Qāmĕṣ* (יֵדָעוּ) and before suffixes (יֵדָעֵם). As the last example shows the tone-long *ē* of the 1st syllable is retained, not only before the tone (יֵשֵׁב etc.) but also with the secondary tone.

Imp. שֵׁב, shortened from יֵשֵׁב by omission of the feeble י; and—

Inf. שֶׁבֶת, shortened in like manner, but taking the feminine-ending תַ—, which again lengthens and strengthens the form; comp. § 66, 1.

The greater part of these verbs are inflected with *stronger* forms, have the *Impf. A,* and retain the *Yôdh* at the beginning, viz. in—

Imp. יְרַשׁ and *Inf.* יְסֹד, as a *consonant,* but in

Impf. יִירַשׁ, as a *quiescent,* resolved into the vowel *î* (§ 24, 2). In the 2d syllable the Impf. regularly has *ă*.

That the latter mode of inflection belongs to verbs actually פ״ו (which has often been overlooked and falsely denied), is shown, partly by the numerous verbs which take these forms in Qăl, and at the same time have ו in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.*, partly by the Arabic, where the verbs פ״ו have likewise a double inflection, comp. *wălădă*, *Impf. jălĭdu* (with the elision of the *Wāw*) and *wăgĭlă*, *jaúgalu* (with the retention of the *Wāw* v. Rem. 3).

Even in the same verb are found both the weaker and the stronger forms, the latter with the *Yôdh*, the former without it, as צַק 2 K. 4, 41, and יְצֹק *pour thou* Ez. 24, 3, (comp. *Infin.* צָקֹק Exod. 38, 27); רֵשׁ 1 K. 21, 15, רַשׁ Deut. 2, 24, also יְרַשׁ *possess thou*, lengthened יְרָשָׁה Deut.

33, 23; *Impf.* יִיקַד *he will kindle* Deut. 32, 22, and יֵקַד Is. 10, 16; וַיִּיקַר *it became dear* 1 Sam. 18, 30 and וַיֵּקַר Ps. 49, 9 (comp. וַיִּיקַר Ps. 72, 14).

NB. To the first mode of inflection belong, e. g. יָלַד *to bear* (offspring), יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשַׁב *to sit*, יָרַד *to descend*, יָדַע *to know* (*Impf.* יֵדַע with *Pătăch* in the last syllable so also, יֵחַת, יֵקַע); to the second belong יָעַף *to weary*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשַׁן *to sleep*.

2. The original *Wāw* appears always a consonant, wherever it must be doubled, as in the *Inf., Imp.* and *Impf. Niph.* הִיָּשֵׁב, יִוָּשֵׁב (just like הִקָּטֵל, יִקָּטֵל); and also in the *Hithp.* of some verbs, e. g. הִתְוַדַּע from יָדַע, הִתְוַדָּה from יָדָה, הִתְוַכַּח from יָכַח, and in some noun-forms, e. g. וָלָד *offspring* from יָלַד *to bear*. The ו at the end of the syllable becomes *û* (וּ) as in all *Hŏphʿăl*, e. g. הוּשַׁב for הָיְשַׁב; and in combination with a preceding *a*, as a diphthongal *ô* (וֹ) in *Perf.* and *Part.* of *Niphʿăl*, and in all *Hiphʿîl*, e. g. נוֹשַׁב for נָוְשַׁב, הוֹשִׁיב for הָוְשִׁיב.—The *Yôdh* stands as a consonant in the *Perf.* and *Part. Qăl* (יָשַׁב etc., יֹשֵׁב, יָשׁוּב) even when ו precedes, as יְיָשַׁב (yet we have וַיֹּשְׁבֻם according to § 24, 1, *a*), in all *Pi.* and *Pu.*, as יִחֵל *to wait for*, יֻלַּד *to be born*, also in the *Impf.* and *Part.*, as יְרֵחֵל, מְיֻדָּע *known* (from יָדַע), also at times in *Hithp.*, as הִתְיַלֵּד, הִתְיַצֵּב, הִתְיַחֵשׂ (as well as הִתְוַדַּע with *Wāw* as above).

NB. In those forms in which Yôdh does not appear, these verbs may be *distinguished*, in the *Impf.* of Qăl by the *Ṣĕʿrê* under the preformatives, in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.* by the *Wāw* (וּ, וֹ, וּ) before the second radical. (The defective orthography, as in הִלִּיד, is not frequent.) Forms like שֵׁבֶת, שֶׁבֶת are common to these and verbs פ״ן. Hophʿăl has the same form as in verbs ע״ע and ע״ו.

Rem. 1. The *Inf. Qăl* of the weaker form (שֶׁבֶת Gdf. שָׁבְתָּ) takes *suff.* like שָׁבְתִּי; and it very seldom has the masculine form like דַּעַ *to know* Job 32, 6, 10, or the feminine ending ה—, like דֵּעָה Ex. 2, 4. לָדָה Is. 37, 3, רָדָה *to descend* Gen. 46, 3. Instead of דֶּעֶת stands יָדַע under the influence of the guttural דַּעַת, with *Suff.* יָדַעְתִּי etc. (on the other hand יצא : צֵאת from יָצָא). From יָרַד is found, Ps. 30, 4, in *Qᵉri* quite notably the strong form מִיְּרַדְתִּי (for מִרַדְתִּי).—אֶלֶד *to bear* in 1 Sam. 4, 19 is contracted to לַת (§ 19, 2).—Examples of the regular or strong form are יָרֵא *to fear* Josh. 22, 25, with prep. לִירֹד Is. 51, 16; with *suffix*, בִּיסָדִי Job 38, 4, בִּיסָדוֹ Ezra 3, 12. The strong form seldom has the feminine-ending, as in יְכֹלֶת *to be able*, יְבֹשֶׁת *to dry up* Gen. 8, 7 (also יְבֹשׁ Is. 27, 11).

2. The *Imp. Qăl* often has the lengthening ־ָה, as שָׁבָה *sit thou*, רָדָה *descend thou*. From יָהַב *to give*, Arab. *wăhăbă*, there is found in Hebrew *only* the *Imper.* which is הַב *give*, lengthened הָבָה, mostly with the signification *L. age, go on!* (before א e. g. Gen. **29**, 21 הָבָה, to avoid a hiatus); fem. הָבִי Ruth **3**, 15, probably *Mil'ră* after the analogy of the plur. הָבוּ (but Job **6**, 22, before the tone syllable אָבוּ; comp. however Deut. **32**, 3).

3. The *Impf.* with ו elided takes *ă* in 2d syll., besides cases in No. 1, also in תֵּרַד Jer. **13**, 17 and in the pausal form יֵלַךְ Job **27**, 21 (from הָלַךְ v. Rem. 8). The *ă* returns regularly before the *aff.* נָה (תֵּרַדְנָה etc.). Forms with *ē* in 2d syll. are shortened to *ĕ* by the drawing back of the tone (before a tone syllable and after ו *consec.*); e.g. יֶשֶׁב־נָא Gen. **44**, 33; וַיֵּרֶד, וַיַּשֶׁב but in pause וַיֵּשֶׁב and וַיֵּרֵד (but 1. p. s. וָאֵרֵד). The *Impf.* יִרַשׁ, when lengthened, can also lose its radical ר, even when the preformative is ר, whose vowel (a long *î*) has then *Mèthegh* (see § 16, 2, *b*), as in יֵעָפוּ Is. **40**, 30, יֵגִיעוּ Is. **65**, 23.—From יָכַל (*to be able*) we get exceptionally יוּכַל as the *Impf. Qăl;* comp. the Arab. form *yauru'u* (*yôru'u*) from *warua*, and *yauġalu* (*yôġalu*) from *waġila;* or even the vulgar Arab. *yûṣalu* from *waṣala.* Others regard יוּכַל as *Impf. Hoph.* (of יָכַל) *he is enabled=he can*, which may have got into use instead of the *Impf. Qăl.*

4. The section 44, Rem. 2 (comp. § 64, Rem. 1) refers to the attenuation of the *ă* into *ĭ* in the *Perf.* (in a toneless closed syllable) which is found in some forms of יָלַד (Num. **11**, 12, Ps. **2**, 7 etc. always after a preceding יְ) as well as of יָרַשׁ, e. g. וִירִשְׁתֶּם etc. Deut. **4**, 1, **8**, 1, **19**, 1, **26**, 1 (however only after וְ or וַ for וְיָ). In both cases one can explain the attenuation by the tendency to the assimilation of the vowel, at least if we pronounce ר as *i* (§ 47, 2). From the restoration of the *ĭ* are explained also in the simplest manner the forms וְיִרֵשׁוּהָ Ez. **36**, 12 and וְיִרְשׁוּהָ Ps. **69**, 36.

5. As an exception, the *Impf. Niph.* sometimes has י instead of the ו; e. g. וַיִּנָּחֵל *and he waited* Gen. **8**, 12; comp. Ex. **19**, 13, 1 Sam. **13**, 8 *Kᵉthîbh.*—The first pers. sing. has always the form אִנָּשֵׁב not אֶנָּשֵׁב; comp. § 51, Rem. 4.

6. In *Pi'ēl*, the radical *Yôdh* is sometimes dropped after יְ preformative, which takes its pointing (like א in § 68, Rem. 2); e. g. יַגֵּהּ for יְיַגֵּהּ *and he grieved* Lam. **3**, 33, וַיַּהוּ for וְיַיְהוּ *and they cast*, also in verse 53. And so also from a verb פ״י of the second class, וַיַּבְּשֵׁהוּ for וַיְיַבְּשֵׁהוּ *and he dried it up* Nah. **1**, 4; comp. וַיַּשְׁרֵם 2 Chr. **32**, 30 *Qᵉrî.*

7. In the *Imper. Hiph.*, instead of the usual form הוֹשֵׁב, *î* is also found in the 2d syllable: הוֹצִיא Is. **43**, 8; הוֹפִיעַ Ps. **94**, 1 (before ה, perhaps a mere misspelling for הוֹפִיעָה); הוֹכִיחַ Prov. **19**, 25. With a closing guttural the 2d syllable has generally *ă*, e. g. הוֹדַע, הוֹשַׁע, comp. also הַגֶּר Prov. **25**, 17. On the other hand *î* appears again everywhere in open syllables, thus הוֹשִׁיבִי, הוֹשִׁירֵנִי and so always before suffixes (§ 61, 2).—The *Impf. Hiph.*, like *Impf. Qăl*, takes *Sᵉghôl* when the tone

is drawn back, as וַיֹּסֶף *let him add* Prov. 1, 5, וַיֹּסֶף *and he added* (תֹּסֶף Prov. 30, 6 is anomalous); in *pause* however also תֹּוסַף as *Jussive*, Job 40, 32 (usually, *Jussive* in *pause:* יֹושֶׁב etc.; the latter form also outside of the pause after *Wāw consecutive* Gen. 47, 11, 2 Sam. 8, 4). With final guttural יִרְבַּח (*Jussive*) and וַיִּרְבַּח etc. On forms like יְהוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53, Rem. 7.—In *Hoph.* are some cases of וֹ for וּ, as הוֹדַע for הוּדַע Lev. 4, 23, 38, and יוֹרֶא for יוּרֶה Prov. 11, 25. However comp. *Delitzsch.*

8. The verb הָלַךְ *to go* is connected in part with verbs פ"י of the first class, for it forms (as if from וָלַךְ) *Impf.* יֵלֵךְ, with *Wāw cons.* וַיֵּלֶךְ, in *pause* וַיֵּלַךְ (§ 29, 4. Rem.), *Inf. constr.* לָכֶת, w. suf. לֶכְתִּי, לֶכְתְּךָ, לֶכְתּוֹ, לֶכְתָּם, *Imp.* לֵךְ, w. ה cohort. לְכָה, and also לֶךְ Num. 23, 13, and so *Hiph.* הוֹלִיךְ. Rarely and almost exclusively in later books and in poetry, we find also the regular inflections from הָלַךְ, as *Impf.* יַהֲלֹךְ, *Inf.* הָלֹךְ (Num. 22, 14, 16, Eccl. 6, 8, 9), *Imp.* pl. הָלְכוּ (Jer. 51, 50); on the contrary *Perf. Qăl* is always הָלַךְ, *Part.* הֹלֵךְ, *Inf. abs.* הָלוֹךְ, *Niph.* נֶהֱלַךְ, *Pi'ēl* הִלֵּךְ, *Hithp.* הִתְהַלֵּךְ, so that in this verb a י nowhere distinctly appears as first radical. An obsolete stem יָלַךְ may however be assumed, although in a word so much used as הָלַךְ, the feeble letter ה may itself be treated like י, and so the inflection resemble פ"ו. Comp. also the feeble פ"א, e. g. תֵּזְלִי from אָזַל (§ 68 2), and תֵּלְכִי from הָלַךְ, *Impf. Hiph.* אֲבִירָה from אָבַר like אוֹלִיכָה 2 K. 6, 19 from הָלַךְ.

§ 70.

VERBS פ"י. SECOND CLASS, OR VERBS PROPERLY פ"י.

E. g. יָטַב *to be good. Paradigm* L.

The most essential points of difference between verbs properly פ"י and verbs פ"ו are the following:—

1. Qăl has only the stronger of the two forms described in § 69, 1, viz. that in which the radical י remains, *Inf.* יְטֹב, with the *Impf. A,* as יִיטַב, יִינַק, יִירַק, also written יִטַב etc.; and so always with accented ă in the 2d syllable, even after *Wāw consec.* וַיִּירָק the *Păthăch* of which becomes *Seghôl* when the tone shifts back, as וַיֵּרֶץ *and he awoke* Gen. 9, 24, וַיִּיצֶר (from יִיצַר) *and he formed* Gen. 2, 7.

2. In Hĭph'îl the י is regularly retained in writing, and is pronounced as a diphthongal *ê* (*Ṣērê*), e.g. הֵיטִיב (from הַיְטִיב), *Impf.* יֵיטִיב, וַיֵּיטֶב; uncontracted with the diphthong *ai,* as in יַיְשִׁירוּ *they make straight* Prov. 4, 25; הַיְצַר (*Imper.*), Ps. 5, 9 in Q^{e}rî, comp. Gen. 8, 17 in Q^{e}rî.

NB. The following are the only verbs of this kind: יָטַב *to be good*, יָנַק *to suck*, יָקַץ *to awake*, יָצַר *to form*, יָלַל (only in Hiph. הֵילִיל) *to bewail*, יָשַׁר *to be straight*, יָבֵשׁ (Arab. *yăbĭsă*) *to be dry* (yet like the פ״ו, *Hiph.* הוֹבִישׁ) and the *Hiph.* הֵימִין (denom. of יָמִין) *to go to the right.*

Rem. Of the *Impf. Hiph.* there is an anomalous form with preformatives put before the already contracted form: וְיֵטֵב Job. **24**, 21; וְיֵלֵיל *he wails*, אֲיֵלֵיל *I wail*, וְיֵלֵילוּ *ye wail*, Is. **15**, 2, **65**, 14, Jer. **48**, 31, Hos. **7**, 14; also וְיֵטֵב Job **24**, 21; and once even in *Impf. Qăl* וְרֵעַ Ps. **138**, 6, from רָעַע. *Kimchi* and others explain the above forms from an exchange of sound between *Yôdh* and *Hê*, assuming as a base the non-syncopated form וְהֵילִיל (comp. Is. **52**, 5) etc. But then also וְרֵעַ should be explained, with *Kimchi* as *Hiphil.* It might be more correct to suppose that originally the regular forms (וְיֵלֵיל, וְיֵטֵב) were intended, but were separated in the later pronunciation in order to reestablish artificially the preformative which had been blended with the 1st stem consonant. Other anomalies also are: *Perf. Hiph.* וְהִטְבֹּתִי Ez. **36**, 11 (with separating vowel for הֵיטַבְתִּי) after the analogy of ע״ו; תֵּיטְבִי (*Impf. Qăl* for תֵּיטֵבִי) Nah. **3**, 8; וַתְּנִיקֵהוּ *Impf. Hiph.*, after the analogy of ע״ו, Exod. **2**, 9. In the same way הֵיקִיץ from יָקַץ is always used instead of the *Hiph.* הֵקִיץ (from קוּץ). On וַיַּבְּשֵׁחוּ Nah. **1**, 4, see § 69, Rem. 6.

§ 71.

VERBS פ״י. THIRD CLASS, OR CONTRACTED VERBS פ״י.

This class embraces those verbs פ״י, of the first and second class, whose י does not quiesce in long *î* or *ê*, but is assimilated like נ. Some verbs are exclusively of this class, e. g. יָצַע *to spread under, Hiph.* הֵצִיעַ, *Hoph.* הָצַע; יָצַת *to burn up, Imp.* יְצַת, *Niph.* נִצַּת, *Hiph.* הִצִּית; others have two forms, the one *sharp* with the י assimilated, the other weaker with the י quiescent, as יָצַק *to pour*, *Impf.* יִצֹּק and וַיִּצֹק (1 K. **22**, 35); יָצַר *to form, Impf.* וַיִּיצֶר and וַיִּצֹר (Is. **44**, 12, Jer. **1**, 5); יָשַׁר *to be straight, Impf.* יִישַׁר and וַיְשַׁרְנָה (for וַתְּ acc. to § 47, Rem. 3) comp. אֶסֹּרֵם Hos. **10**, 10 (1 Sam. **6**, 12).—It is worthy of notice that the verbs which are thus inflected have an *s* sound as the second radical, with the exception of וַיִּקַּץ (1 K. **3**, 15) and חָלְּתָה (Gen. **40**, 20, Ez. **16**, 5) *Inf. Hoph.* from יָלַד.

NB. Verbs of this class (which seldom occur) are inflected like verbs פֵּ״ן, for which they may easily be mistaken by the learner. When, therefore, a form has not a root פֵּ״ן in the lexicon, he should look for one of this class under *Yôdh.*

The first two classes are exhibited in their distinctive forms in Paradigms K and L, § 69. The third follows exactly verbs פֵּ֫ן, and is besides very rare.

§ 72.

VERBS ע״ו.

E. g. קוּם *to rise up. Paradigm* M.

1. In these verbs (with a few exceptions, Rem. 10 below) the middle stem-letter ו always gives up its consonant sound and *quiesces;* not merely in the usual cases (according to § 24, 1) when a Sh^{e}wâ precedes or follows, as בּוֹשׁ *bôsh* for בּ֫וֹשׁ *b^{e}wōsh,* but also when it is both preceded and followed by a full vowel, as קוּם *Part. Pass.* for קָוּם; קוֹם *Inf. absol.* for קָוֹם. Hence the stem or root appears always as a monosyllable.

2. The vowel in which the ו quiesces is essentially the vowel of the second syllable, which, in the verb, almost universally characterises the form (§ 43, Rem. 1, § 67, 2). However we must here remark *a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in an accented closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph.,* v. No. 3) e. g. 3d pers. *Perf.* קָם from קָוַם, *fem.* קָ֫מָה, *Pl.* קָ֫מוּ, but in the closed penult קָ֫מְתָּ etc.;[1] *b*) that in the present forms the lengthening of the original short vowel is sometimes performed anomalously, e. g. *Impf. Qăl* יָקוּם from יָקְוֻם (the normal lengthening of *ŭ* appears again in the *jussive* יָקֻם, *Impf. constr.* וַיָּ֫קָם); *Imper.* קוּם (from original קְוֻם lengthened normally in 2. *fem. pl.* into

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[1] In the Aramæan, and also in Heb. Grammars before Kimchi, the long *â* is found, as קָ֫מָתָּ, קָ֫מָתִי etc., but in our editions of the Bible, it is so only in *pause*, e. g. קָ֫מָתִי Mic. 7, 8, בָּ֫אתִי 2 K. 7, 3, 4. If we explained (with *Olsh.* et al.) the *ā* of the *Perf. Qăl* קָם as a combination of two *ăă* which have remained after the elision of the ו in קָוַם, then we ought to suppose that the language (or the Massôrā) was mistaken later in respect to the origin of this *a*; for an *â* contracted from *ăă* could hardly be shortened, as it is in קָ֫מְתָּ etc. Nor could *ô* in בּ֫שְׁתִּי etc. (v. Rem. 1) be kept in a closed penult, if it had arisen by contraction from *băŭschti* and not rather by lengthening from *bŭschti.*

קָמְנָה because long *û* could not be retained in a closed penult. Comp. with this No. 4.

The intransitive verbs *middle E* take in *Perf.* (and *Part.*) *Qăl* the form of מֵת (from מָוֶת) *he is dead;* the verbs *middle O* take the form of אוֹר (from אָוֹר) *it shone*, בּוֹשׁ (from בָּוֹשׁ) *he was ashamed.* Comp. Rem. 1, below.

3. The preformatives in the *Impf. Qăl* and *Perf. Niph.*, and throughout *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which before the monosyllabic stem form a simple syllable, take instead of the short vowel of the regular form the corresponding long one. In *Qăl* and *Niph.* the original *ŭ* is the vowel which is lengthened and not *ĭ*, attenuated from *ă* (§ 67, 6), e. g. יָקוּם for יַקֻם, הֵקִים for הַקִם, הוּקַם for הָקַם.

This vowel is changeable, and becomes Sh^{e}wâ when the tone is thrown forward, e. g. before *suff.* וַיְמִיתֵנִי *he will kill him*, and in the full plural form of the *Impf.* יָמוּתוּן *they will die.*

The ו in *Hoph.* forms an exception; for it has become a quite firm and unchangeable vowel, as if it had been transposed, and so הָקְמוּ had become הָוְקַם, hence הוּקַם.

4. The above (No. 2) mentioned cases of unusual vowel lengthening are: *Impf. Qăl* יָקוּם (also Arab. *jăqûmu*); on the other hand *Jussive* יָקֹם with retraction of tone יָקֹם (*jāqŏm*), וַיָּקֹם (in *pause* וַיָּקָם); *Imper.* קוּם (in the 2d fem. pl. קֹמְנָה, v. No. 2 above, *ŭ* is normally lengthened); *Infin. constr.* קוּם. In *Hiph.* the lengthening of the original *ĭ* into *î* (הֵקִים *Impf.* יָקִים, Jussive יָקֵם with retraction of tone יָקֵם, וַיָּקֵם) corresponds entirely with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53, 1). The following forms require a particular explanation: the *Part. Qăl* קָם may be traced to the groundform with *â* uninflected (Arab. *qâtĭl,* § 9, 10, 2, § 50, 2); after the rejection of the ו there was *qâĭm*[1] and this became קָם,—the *ĭ* being absorbed by the predominating *â*. The immutability of the *â* (pl. קָמִים, *constr.* קְמֵי etc.) favors this explanation.—In the *Impf. Qăl* again there are found, besides the forms with original *ŭ* (now *û*), forms with original *ă*. This *ă* became *ā* after the elision of ו and was again inflected into *ō*; so especially

[1] Arab. *qâĭm* (really *qâ'ĭm* in which the two vowels are united by the insertion of א, comp. Aram. קָאֵם) rarely contracted, as *sâs* for *sâĭs*, *hâr* for *hâĭr*. Others think that קָם is for קָוָם, like the verbal adjective קָטָל, comp. § 84, 1.

וַיָּבוֹא (וָבֹא) וַיָּבֹא etc. from the *Perf.* בָּא (*he has come*). In the *Impf.* יֵבוֹשׁ from בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed,* the *ē* of the preformative has been lengthened from *ĭ* (attenuation of original *ă*) and thus *yĭ-băsch* became *yĭ-bāsch* and finally *yē-bôsch*. The *Niph.* נָקוֹם (נִקַּם) *Impf.* יִקּוֹם (יִקַּם) have arisen in the same way (*yĭq-q*[*aw*]*ăm* = *yiqqām*) by the obscuration of *ā* which was lengthened from *ă*.

5. In the *Perf. Niph.* and *Hiph.* (in order to keep the long vowel of the stem), an י is regularly inserted before the afformatives (1st and 2nd person) that begin with a consonant, and ִי— is inserted in *Impf. Qăl* before the afformative נָה (comp. § 67, 4). As in verbs ע"ע, these separating vowels are an artificial opening of the preceding syllable in order that the latter may retain its long vowel; however there is also frequently found in the *Perf. Hiph.* before י the reduction of *î* into *ē* (as a normal lengthening of the original *ĭ*) especially after the *Wāw. consec.* as well as before the afformatives תֶּם and תֶּן or before suffixes. For in all these cases the accent is removed from the י to the following syllable, and this removal of tone produces, at the same time, a great weakening of the *î*; thus הֵקִימוֹתָ, הֲקִימוֹתָ (or הֲקֵ) but וַהֲקִמֹתָ etc. (however comp. וַהֲקִמֹתִי Micah 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the *Perf. Niph.*, the *ô* before the separating vowel is always modified into *û* (נְקוּמוֹתִי). In the *Impf. Qăl* the separating ִי— is always accented (תְּקוּמִינָה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with tonē-long *ō* and *ē* instead of *û* and *î* are found in *Impf. Qăl*, תְּשֹׁבֶן Ez. 16, 55 (also תְּשׁוּבֶינָה in the same verse), in *Hiph.* as הֲנַפְתָּ Ex. 20, 25, but also הֲנִיפוֹתִי in Job 31, 21, תְּשֹׁבְנָה Job 20, 10. Wholly abnormal is תְּקֹרְמְנָה Jer. 44, 25 probably a transposition of רמ (for תְּקֻמֶינָה) or an incorrect vowel writing (for תְּקֻרְמְנָה or תְּקֹרְמְנָה).

6. The *tone,* as in verbs ע"ע, is not thrown forward upon the afformatives ָה—, ֹו, ִי—, e. g. קָמָה (however after *Wāw consec.* also וְקָמָה), קָמוּ (however also קָמֹו, וְקָמֹו), תָּקוּמִי, וְקוּמוּ; on the other hand before suffixes and with *Nûn paragogic* וַיְסִכוּם 2 Chr. 28, 15; יְקוּמוּן Deut. 33, 11. For the accent on the י and ִי—, see No. 5. In those forms which do not take either of these endings, the accentuation is quite regular, e. g. קַמְתָּ; so always in Hoph., e. g, הוּקַמְתִּי.

7. The conjugations *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, are very seldom found in the *weak* verbs ע"ו (comp. Rem. 10). The only instance of *Pi.* with the ו as a doubled consonant is עִוַּד *to surround* from עזד. In a few others י has taken the place of ו, as in קִיֵּם *Inf.* קַיֵּם Esth. 9, 31, 32 from קום; וְחִבַּבְתֶּם Dan. 1, 10 from חוב *to be guilty,* which forms belong to the later Hebrew, and were borrowed from the Aramæan. On the contrary, the elsewhere rarer conjugation *Pi'lēl* (§ 55, 2), with its passive and reflexive, is the common form employed in the sense of *Pi'ēl,* and as its substitute; e. g. קוֹמֵם from קָוַם or (after the elision of ו) from *qâmēm* with obscuring of *â* to *ô* (comp. § 67, 8) *to set up* (from קום), רוֹמֵם *to raise, pass.* רוֹמַם (from רום), *reflex.* הִתְעוֹרֵר *to rouse one's self* (from עור). More rare is the conjugation *Pilpēl* (see § 55, 4), e. g. כִּלְכֵּל *to sustain, to nourish; pass.* כֻּלְכַּל (from כול).

REMARKS.

I. *On Qăl.*

1. Of verbs *middle E* and *O,* which in the strong verb also have their *Perf.* and *Part.* the same (§ 50, 2), the following are examples; viz. *Perf.* מֵת (for מָוַת) *he is dead, fem.* מֵתָה 2. *masc.* מַתָּה, 1 *sing.* מַתִּי, וָמַתִּי even in *Pause* Gen. 19, 19, 1 *pl.* מַתְנוּ, 3 *pl.* מָתוּ; בּוֹשׁ (for בָּוַשׁ) *he is ashamed,* בֹּשְׁתִּי, בֹּשְׁנוּ, בֹּשׁוּ; אוֹר *it has shined,* Plur. אֹורוּ; טוֹב, טֹבוּ. *Part.* מֵת *dead;* בּוֹשִׁים *ashamed* ones Ez. 32, 30. See the Paradigm M.

Isolated anomalies are also in the *Perf.* וְשָׁבַת (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁבָה) Ez. 46, 17 (v. § 44, Rem. 4); צָקוֹן Is. 26, 16 (*Nûn. parag.* with *Perf.* only Deut. 8, 3, 16).—In בָּנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for בָּאנוּ from בוא) the א has been dropped contrary to custom. In בֹּאוּ Jer. 27, 18 (instead of בָּאוּ) the Massora seems to point towards the *Imperf.* יָבֹאוּ, which might be expected there; as *Yôdh* precedes we may suppose that it is simply a mistake in writing. In the *Perf.* and *Part.*, the usual form קָם is only very seldom written with א (after the Arab. mode, § 9, 1), as in קָאם *he rises* Hos. 10, 14, לָאט *being secret* Judg. 4, 21, שָׂאטְמִים *despisers* Ez. 28, 24, 26, *fem.* 16, 57. The *Part.* in verbs med. ō takes at times also the form of קוֹם for קָם 2 K. 16, 7; even with a transitive sense, as לוֹט *covering* Is. 25, 7, בּוֹסִים for בָּסִים Zech. 10, 5.

2. Verbs whose imperfects have *û* take also *û* in the *Imper.* and *Inf. constr.*, thus דָּקוּם, *Imper.* and *Inf.* קוּם; however for דָּרוֹשׁ *he thrashes* (*Impf.* הִדּוֹשׁ) the *Imper.* has הוֹשׁ (*fem.*) Micah 4, 13; for דָּמוֹט *he staggers* the *Inf.* is מוֹט; comp. נוֹחַ (also נוּחַ) and נוֹעַ Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere נוּעַ) with

the *Impf.* יָנוּחַ and יָנוּעַ. The *Inf. absol.* has always וֹ in the final syllable (like קָטוֹל), as קוֹם יָקוּמוּ *surgendo surgent* Jer. **44**, 29.—Those verbs which have וֹ in the *Inf. constr.* mostly retain it in the *Impf.*, as יָבוֹא *he will come*=בּוֹא, יָבוֹשׁ=בּוֹשׁ etc.

3. In the *Imp.* with afformatives (קוּמִי, קוּמוּ) the tone is on the stem syllable, with a few exceptions, as עוּרִי in Judg. **5**, 12, an intended variation with עוֹרְרִי and צוּרִי Is. **21**, 2 likewise for rhythmical reasons. So too the lengthened form, as שׁוּבָה Jer. **3**, 12, Ps. **7**, 8, עוּרָה Ps. **7**, 7; but often also with the tone at the end, specially if an א begins the next word, Ps. **82**. 8, Judg. **4**, 18, and so too before רָחוֹ, because this was read as אֲדֹנָי (§ 17), see Ps. **3**, 8, **7**, 7, even without א following **74**, 22 (רִיבָה).

4. The shortened *Impf.* as *Jussive* (§ 48, 4), has the form יָקָם (see above No. 4) also יָקוֹם incorrectly written fully and even יָקֻם which however differs only orthographically from יָקוּם. In the form with *Wāw consec.* (וַיָּקָם, in *pause* וַיָּקֹם) with a guttural or a *Resh*, the final syllable usually takes *Pă'thăch*, e. g. וַיָּסַר *and he turned aside* Ruth **4**, 1 (but also וַיָּגָר from גּוּר), וַיָּנַח *and he rested* Gen. **20**, 11, וַיָּעַשׁ *and he wearied* Judg. **4**, 21, 1 Sam. **14**, 28, 31 (on the other hand in open syll. always וַיָּקוּמוּ etc.).

The full plural-ending וּן has the tone (according to No. 6 on p. 177), e. g. תְּמָהוּן Gen. **3**, 3, 4, רְנוֹסְנוּן Ps. **104**, 7, יְרוֹצְנוּן Joel **2**, 4, 7, 9.

II. *On Nĭph'ăl.*

5. In the Paradigm M. the form of the 1 *pers. sing. Perf.* נָקוּמֹתִי, which occurs repeatedly, as in נְסֹגֹּתִי, נִפְוֹגֹתִי, is taken as the model also for the 2 *pers. sing.* נָקוּמֹתָ, נָקוּמֹת and for the 1 *pers. plur.* נָקוּמֹנוּ, although no examples of them occur; so too the 2 *pers. plur.*, of which we find only forms with *ô* (not *û*), viz. נְפוֹצֹתֶם *ye have been scattered* Ez. **11**, 17, **20**, 34, 41, and נְקוֹטֹתֶם *ye loathe yourselves* Ez. **20**, 43.—To the *ĭ* (instead of *ă*) of the Preformative may be traced the *Perf.* נֵעוֹר Zech. **2**, 17 (*Impf.* יֵעוֹר for יְעוֹר). The *Inf. constr.* occurs once in the anomalous form הֵהוֹשׁ Is. **25**, 10; in לֵאוֹר Job. **33**, 30 the Massora supposes the syncopè of ה (for לְהֵאוֹר); but perhaps לָאוֹר (*Qăl*) is meant. Comp. also Rem. 9.

III. *On Hĭph'îl.*

6. Examples of the *Perf.* without the inserted וֹ are: הֲנַפְתָּ *thou liftest* Ex. **20**, 25, הֲמַתָּה *thou killest* (from מוּת, comp. § 20, 1, *a*), הֵסַתָּה 3d *fem. Perf. Hiph.* of סוּת or סִית 1 K. **21**, 25; הֵכֵנּוּ 1 *plur. Perf. Hiph.* of כּוּן 2 Chron. **29**, 19, and even הֲמִתֶּם (§ 27, Rem. 3) Num. **17**, 6; with *Wāw consec.* וְהֵטַלְתִּי Is. **14**, 30; comp. וְהֵטַלְתִּי, Jer. **16**, 13 and וְהֵנַפְתָּ Ex. **29**, 24.—In these cases the *ē* in the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the antepenult it becomes —; more fre-

quently however ־ֶ, and in the syllable before the antepenult it is necessarily ־ֵ (e. g. וַהֲקִמֹתִי Gen. 6, 18, and so always before the suffix).—As in verbs ע״ע (§ 67, Rem. 6) these verbs take before gutturals also Pă'thăch instead of ־ֶ; thus in all the forms of עוד Ex. 19, 23 and עור Is. 41, 25. 45, 13.

7. In the *Imp.*, besides the shortened form הָקֵם, the lengthened הָקִימָה also occurs. With *suff.* הֲקִימַנִי; הָבִיא Jer. 17, 18 is anomalous (for הָבֵא Gen. 43, 16); perhaps הָבִיא was meant (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40) or it was originally הָבִיאָה. In the *Inf.* the ה is syncopated in לָבִיא Jer. 39, 7. 2 Chron. 31, 10 (for לְהָבִיא). The participles have *ē* as vowel of the preformative like the ע״י; for מֵבִי (1 K. 21, 21 in *Kᵉthîbh*) the *Qᵉrî* is everywhere מֲבִיא.

The shortened *Impf.* has the form וַיָּקֶם, (וַיָּקֻם, but always וַיָּבֵא) comp. No. 4 above. The final syllable, when it has a guttural or *Resh*, takes *Pă'thăch*, as in *Qăl*, e. g. וַיָּרַח 1 Sam. 26, 19; וַיָּרַח Gen. 8, 21; וַיָּסַר *and he took away* Gen. 8, 13. Still the 1. *sing.* is usually like וָאָשִׁיב Neh. 2, 20, more rarely וָאָשֵׁב Josh. 14, 7.

IV. *In General.*

8. On account of the intimate relation between verbs ע״ו and ע״ע (§ 67), it is necessary, in analysing forms, to note particularly the points in which these classes differ. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e. g. *Impf. Qăl* with *Wāw consecutive; Pi'lēl* of ע״ו and *Pô'ēl* of ע״י. Hence it is that verbs ע״ו borrow forms from verbs ע״ע, as in *Perf. Qăl* בַּז *he despised* (from בּוּז, as if from בָּזַז) Zech. 4, 10, טַח (for טָחַח) *he besmeared* Is. 44, 18. *Perf. Niph.* נָמַר Jer. 48, 11 (for נָמוֹר from מוּר, as if from מָרַר).

9. In common with verbs ע״ע (§ 67, 5), these verbs have also in *Niph.* and *Hiph.* the Aramaic and Rabbinic formation, which substitutes, for the long vowel under the preformatives, a short one followed by *Dāghē'sh fortè*. This form and the common one are often both in use; e. g. הִסִּית *to incite, Impf.* יַסִּית (also יְסִית, הֵסִית), וַיַּתֵּר *and he shows the way* 2 Sam. 22, 33 (also יָתֵר Prov. 12, 26), הִסִּיג *to remove, Impf.* יַסִּיג (from סוּג), also *Hoph.* הָסַג Is. 59, 14; sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הֵנִיחַ *to cause to rest, to set down, Impf.* יַנִּיחַ, *Imp.* הַנַּח, *plur.* הַנִּיחוּ, לָלִין *to spend the night, to abide,* יַלִּין, מַלִּין *to be headstrong* or *rebellious.* Other examples: *Niph.* נִמּוֹל (from מוּל, not נָמַל) *to be circumcised* Gen. 17, 26, 27, *Part.* נְעִוֹר 34, 22, with a guttural Zech. 2, 17; *Hiph.* הַזִּיל *to despise* Lam. 1, 8, יַלְּזוּ *they depart.* Prov. 4, 21.

To this class are perhaps to be referred some forms of verbs *Pē Guttural* with *Dāghē'sh fortè implicitum*, which others derive from another root, or wish to amend, viz. וַתַּחַשׁ for וַתָּחָשׁ *and she hastens* (from חוּשׁ) Job. 31, 5, וַיַּעַט (others read וַיָּעָט) 1 Sam. 15, 19, 25, 14 from עוּט, עִיט

to rush upon. Both forms would be correct *imperf. apoc.* of חָשָׁה and עָטָה (ל״ה); both are found however with quite a different signification from that required in this case.

10. Verbs, in which the middle stem-letter *Wāw* is sounded as a consonant, are, in respect to this letter, perfectly regular; e. g. חָוַר *to be white, Impf.* יֶחֱוַר; גָּוַע *to expire, Impf.* יִגְוַע; רָוַח *to be wide; Pi.* עִוֵּל, *Impf.* יְעַוֵּל *to act wickedly;* עִוַּת *to bend, Hithp.* הִתְעַוֵּת *to bend one's self,* especially in those which are also at the same time verbs ל״ה, as צִוָּה *Pi. to command,* קִוָּה *to wait,* רָוָה *to drink, Pi.* and *Hiph.* רִוָּה, הִרְוָה *to cause to drink.*

§ 73.

VERBS ע״י.

E. g. בִּין *to discern. Paradigm* N.

1. These verbs have the same inflection as verbs ע״ו, and the י is here treated in the same manner as the ו of that class; e. g. *Perf. Qăl* שָׂת (for שָׂיַת) *he has set, Inf.* שִׂית, *Inf absol.* שׂוֹת (for שִׂיֹת), *Imp.* שִׂית, *Impf.* יָשִׂית, *Jussive* יָשֶׂת, with *Wāw consec.* וַיָּשֶׂת.—But the *Perf. Qăl* has, in several verbs, still a second set of forms, which resemble a *Hĭphʿîl* with the characteristic ה elided, e. g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; בִּינֹתִי (similar to הֲבִינֹתִי) Dan. 9, 2, also בַּנְתָּ Ps. 139, 2; רִיבֹתָ *thou contendest* Job. 33, 13, also רַבְתָּ Lam. 3, 58. The above perfects (בִּין, רִיב and the like) might be taken as forms *med. e* (really *ĭ*) whose *ĭ* has been lengthened into *ī* (as *ŭ* into *ū* instead of *ō* in the *Impf. Qăl* of קוּם). It is more probable however that they actually are a shortened Hiphil form; especially as often complete *Hiph.* forms occur, e. g. *Perf.* הֵבִין, הֲבִינוֹתֶם, *Inf.* הָבִין (also בִּין), *Imp.* הָבֵן (also בִּין), *Part.* מֵבִין. Elsewhere *Hiphil* forms are in use along with actual *Qâl*-forms with the same signification, so too מֵרִיב (also רָב), מֵשִׂים *putting* (also שָׂם), מֵצִיץ *glittering* (also in *Perf.* צָץ). Moreover, as *passive,* we find a few times *Hoph. Impf.* יוּשַׁר from שִׁיר *to sing,* יוּשַׁת from שִׁית *to set.*

2. The above *Hiph.* forms may easily be traced to verbs ע״ו, and possibly they in part belong to that class. The same may be said of *Niph.* נָבוֹן, *Piʿlēl* בּוֹנֵן, and *Hĭthpăʿlēl* הִתְבּוֹנֵן (as

if from בוּן). These verbs are in every respect closely related to verbs ע״ר. Hence it is that we find several verbs used in the *Qăl*, as ע״ר and ע״י, and with the same meaning in both forms, as לִין (*denom.* from לַיִל *night* but see Davies' Heb. Lex. under v. לוּן, I.) *to spend the night, Inf.* לוּן oftener than לִין; שׂוּם *to put, Inf.* שׂוּם (rarely שִׂים Job 20, 4), *Impf.* יָשִׂים, once יָשׂוּם (Ex. 4, 11), *Part. pass.* שִׂים and שׂוּם. In other verbs, one of the two is the predominant form, as גִּיל *to exult* (גּוּל only in Prov. 23, 24 *Kᵉthîbh*). The following are mostly found as verbs ע״ר;—רִיב *to contend,* שִׁית *to set,* דִּין *to judge,* שִׁישׁ *to rejoice;* so too *Perf.* כָּל (for in Arab. it is a verb *mid. Yôdh*) *to comprehend, to measure* Is. 40, 12, עִיט (as in Arab. and Syr.) *to rush upon;* and the *Perf.* קַץ (*denom.* from קַיִץ) *to pass the summer* Is. 18, 6, and דִּיג (from דָּג) *to fish* Jer. 16, 16.

The older grammarians did not recognise such verbs, but referred all the forms to verbs ע״ו. Indeed in many cases a decision is impossible, as imperfects like יָשִׂים may be just as well referred to the *Hiph.* of שׂוּם and as participles, like שָׂם and other forms, agree already with the form of the ע״ו. In modern Arabic we find an exactly corresponding abbreviation (comp. בִּין above No. 1) of the Hĭph'îl (Conj. IV.) of verbs ע״ו. However forms still remain which can only be traced to verbs ע״ר comp. Rem. 3. The Arabic, as also Ethiopic, has actual verbs ע״י, and ע״ר, and the Hebrew has some with a *Yôdh* as a consonant, like אָרַב *to hate,* and עָיֵם *to tire,* חָיָה *to be,* חָיָה *to live.*

The paradigm N is placed in connection with that of verbs ע״ו (Parad. M), in order to exhibit the parallel between the two classes. The conjugations which Parad. N omits have the same form as in Parad. M.

Rem. 1. In the *Perf. Qăl,* 3d fem. sing. there is found once וָלָנָה Zech. 5, 4 instead of וָלָנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* into *ĕ* (like fem. participles זוֹרֶה Is. 59, 5); 1st pers. plur. וָלַנּוּ Judges 19, 13 for *lan-nû.* The lengthened imperative has before א the tone on the ultima (as by the verbs ע״ו § 72, Rem. 3); רִיבָה יהוה Ps. 35, 1, the same also elsewhere (Ps. 43, 1, 74, 22, 119, 154) for rhythmical reasons. Examples of the *Inf. absol.* are רֹב *litigando* Judg. 11, 25, שׂת *ponendo* Is. 22, 7, but also רִיב יָרִיב Jer. 50, 34, בִּין תָּבִין Prov. 23, 1.

2. The *Impf. apoc.* is יָבֶן; with shifted tone it takes the form with Sᵉghôl, as יָרֶב לוֹ Judg. 6, 31. So with *Wāw consec.* וַיָּשֶׂם *and he placed,* וַיָּבֶן *and he perceived;* with guttural וַיָּעָט בָּהֶם *and he flew at them* 1 Sam. 25, 14 (vide § 72, Rem. 9). As Jussive of לִין stands תָּלֶן Judges 19, 20 (in *pause*) and Job. 17, 2 for תָּלֶן.

3. As *Part. act. Qăl* we find once לָן *spending the night* Neh. 13, 21; *Part. pass.* שִׂים or שׂוּם (according to a different reading) 2 Sam. 13, 32.

* * * *

4. Verbs ע"א scarcely ever suffer their א to quiesce, and hence are to be regarded as verbs *'Ayin Guttural*, as in § 64. An exception where the א has lost its force as a consonant is: נָאוּ *they are fair* (from נָאֲתָה *Pi'lēl* to נָאָה really נָאַו) Is. 52, 7, Cant. 1, 10. Very doubtful on the other hand is רָנָאץ *it blooms* (Ec. 12, 5) *Impf. Hiph.* of נָאַץ, for יַרְנִיץ; if the form has been correctly preserved, it could better be traced back to נָצַץ (with incorrect writing for רָנַץ) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

§ 74.

VERBS ל"א.

E. g. מָצָא *to find. Paradigm* O.

The א is here, as in verbs פ"א, treated partly as a consonant with a soft guttural sound (scarcely audible at the end of a syllable), partly as a quite inaudible (quiescent) letter, according to the following rules:—

1. In those forms which end with the third radical, the final syllable has always the regular vowels, e. g. מֹצֵא, מְצֵא, מָצוּא, הִמְצִיא. In all these cases the א is simply absorbed into the long vowel without the latter being subject to any variations; at the utmost there might have been preserved originally a certain sound of the א after the quite heterogeneous *û*. Therefore in the *Perf., Impf.* and *Imp. Qăl*, in the *Perf. Niph.*, and *Pu'ăl* and *Hoph.*, the *Pă'thăch* is lengthened before the feeble א into *Qā'mĕṣ* (§ 23, 1), as מָצָא, יִמְצָא, etc., which (—ָ) however is movable (§ 25, 2), hence we have in the plural יִמְצְאוּ.

The *Impf.* and *Imp. Qăl* have *A* after the analogy of verbs *Lā'mĕdh Guttural.*

2. Also before afformatives beginning with a consonant (ת, נ) the א is not heard, but is quiescent in the *Perf. Qăl*, in *Qā'mĕṣ*, as מָצָאתָ (for מָצַאְתָּ); in the *Perf.* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, in *Ṣē'rê*, as נִמְצֵאתָ; in the *Imp.* and *Impf.* of all the conjugations, in *Seghôl*, as מְצֶאנָה, תִּמְצֶאנָה.

The *Seghôl* of these forms of the *Impf.* and *Imp.* may be considered throughout as an inflection and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ă* (v. § 8, 1). In the same way the *ē* of the *Perf.* forms in *Piel, Hiphil, Hithpael* may be traced to an original *ĭ* (as the usual 3d pers. sing. of this conjugation) although this *ĭ* may have been attenuated from an original *ă*. Regarding the *Niphal*, we might refer to traces of a weakening of the *ă* to *ĭ* with the verbs ע"ע (§ 67, Rem. 5); the supposition however lies nearer that the *Niphal* has yielded to the pervading analogy of the other conjugations. The use of *Ṣērê* and *Seghôl* is otherwise explained from the great resemblance between verbs ל"א and ל"ה (comp. § 75, 2), and an approximation of the former to the latter. No form of this kind in *Pu'al;* in *Perf. Hoph.* only 2d *masc.* הָבֹאתָה Ez. **40**, 4, lengthened in accordance with the rule.

Before the suffixes ךָ, כֶם, כֶן, the א retains its character as a guttural, and takes (ָ—); as אֶמְצָאֲךָ Cant. **8**, 1, הֲבִיאֲךָ Ez. **28**, 13; comp. § 65, 2, Rem. The reason (as in verbs *Lă'mĕdh Guttural*) is, that those suffixes require before them a *Shewâ mobile.*

3. At the beginning of a syllable or before afformatives beginning with a vowel, as well as before suffixes; the א is a consonant, and the form regular, as מְצָאוּ *mā-ṣe'û'*, מְצָאָה etc. (in *pause* מְצָאוּ, מְצָאָה).

REMARKS.

1. Verbs *middle E*, like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain *Ṣērê* in the other persons of the *Perf.* as in מָלֵאתִי; yet 2 pl. יְרֵאתֶם in Josh. **4**, 24; מָלְאוּ Esth. **7**, 5. Instead of מָצְאָה is sometimes found the form קָרְאַת for קָרְאָה (after the form קָטְלַת, § 44, Rem. 4) *she names* Is. **7**, 14, *it happens to* Jer. **44**, 23, Deut. **31**, 29, in *Niph.* נִפְלְאַת Ps. **118**, 23, in *Hoph.* הָבְאַת Gen. **33**, 11.

2. In the *Inf. Qăl* occurs the *fem.* form מְלֹאת *to fill* Lev. **12**, 4 (comp. גְּלֹוֹת from ל"ה); also מְלֹאוֹת Job **20**, 22 and Esth. **1**, 5 written מְלוֹאת. Compare similar forms Judges **8**, 1, Prov. **8**, 13; before suffixes Ez. **33**, 12 and likewise in *Niph.* Zech. **13**, 4.

3. The *Part. fem.* is commonly (by contraction) מֹצֵאת, seldom מְצֹאָת Cant. **8**, 10, and without the א (see Rem. 4) יֹוצֵת (from יָצָא) Deut. **28**, 57. So too in *Niph.* נִשֵּׂאת Zech. **5**, 7 (cf. also 2 Sam. **19**, 43, where it stands as a substantive, like L. *oblatum=oblatio, donum*) and 1 Ch. **14**, 2; פָּלֵאת Deut. **30**, 11.—The Plur. of Part. *Niph.* makes נִמְצָאִים dropping the *Qameṣ* (1 Sam. **13**, 15, 2 K. **14**, 14), which however remains in pause (Ezr. **8**, 25); so from נִבָּא the plur. נִבְּאִים (but in p. נִבְאִים Ez. **13**, 2); the *Qameṣ* remains also before suff. as נִמְצָאַיִךְ Is. **22**, 3, and before fem. ending נִמְצָאָה 2 K. **19**, 4, plur. נִמְצָאוֹת Gen. **19**, 15. In the forms חֹטְאִים *sinning* 1 Sam. **14**, 33, and בֹּדְאִם *feigning them* Neh.

6, 8, the vowel is drawn back (§ 23, 2) and the א orthographically retained.

4. The א is sometimes dropped: a) in the middle of the word as in מָצָתִי Num. 11, 11, מָלַתִי Job 32, 18, comp. 1, 21, צָמֵתִי Judges 4, 19. In *impf.* תִּשְׁנָה Jer. 9, 17, Zech. 5, 9, Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand the same form with pleonastic *Yôdh* analogous with ל״ה Ez. 23, 49 comp. Jer. 50, 20); *Niph.* נִטְמֵתֶם *ye are defiled* Lev. 11, 43; b) at the end of the word: נִגְבוּ 1 K. 12, 12 *K^{e}thîbh; Hiph.* הֶחֱטִי 2 K. 13, 6. *Hiph.* הַחֲטִי *to cause to sin* Jer. 32, 35.

Upon the transformation of verbs ל״א into forms ל״ה v. § 75. Rem. VI.

§ 75.

VERBS ל״ה.

E. g. גָּלָה *to reveal. Paradigm* P.

These verbs, like the verbs פ״י (§§ 69, 70), embrace two different classes of the irregular verb, viz. ל״י and ל״ו, which in Arabic, and especially in Ethiopic, are still more clearly distinguished. But in Hebrew the original י and ו have passed over into a feeble ה, as a substitute for a final vowel (§ 23, 4), in all those forms which end with the third radical, and hence these verbs are called verbs ל״ה; e. g. גָּלָה for גָּלַי *he has revealed,* שָׁלָה for שָׁלַו *he has rested.* By far the greater number, however, of these verbs are treated as originally ל״י; and only a few forms occur of verbs ל״ו. The separation of these classes is therefore not so distinct as in verbs פ״ו and פ״י.

A true verb ל״ו is שָׁלָה *to be at rest,* whence (with a ו conson.) 1 pers. sing. *Perf. Qăl* שָׁלַוְתִּי Job. 3, 26, *Part.* שָׁלֵו, and the derivative שַׁלְוָה *rest;* yet in the *Impf.* it has יִשְׁלֶה (with *Yôdh*). In עָנָה I (Arab. عنى) *to answer,* and עָנָה II (Arab. عنو) *to suffer, to be oppressed,* are two verbs originally distinct, but with the same form in Hebrew (see Davies' Heb. Lex.).—In Syriac the intermingling of these forms is carried still farther, verbs ל״א being confounded with verbs ל״ה, i. e. with the two classes ל״ו and ל״י of the Arabic.

Of quite another class are those verbs whose third stem-letter is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappîq,* § 14, 1), e. g. גָּבַהּ *to be high.* They are inflected throughout like verbs *Lamedh Guttural.*

The grammatical structure of these verbs (which Paradigm P exhibits) is as follows:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped and ה is placed in its stead, as an orthographical compensation, indicating that a long vowel precedes. Such an indication was necessary already for practical reasons in the still unvocalized consonant text. But even after the addition of vowel signs, the orthographic rule still remained with very insignificant exceptions (v. § 8, No. 4 and *ā* in קָטַלְתָּ etc.), that a final vowel must be pointed out by a so-called vowel-letter.—In the verb ל״ה, the ה which here is employed as a vowel letter, is preceded in each particular form by the same vowel through all the conjugations. Thus appears the ending:

ָה— in all the Perfects, גָּלָה, גָּלְתָה, גָּלוּ, etc.

ֶה— in all the Imperfects and Participles active, יִגְלֶה, גֹּלֶה, etc.

ֵה— in all the Imperatives, גְּלֵה, גִּלֵּה, etc.

ֹה— in the Inf. absol. (except in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, also *Pi.*, see Rem. 10 and 15 below), גָּלֹה, etc.

The *Part. pass. Qăl* forms an exception, in which the original י appears, at the end, גָּלוּי, as also in some derivatives (§ 85, V).

The *Inf. constr.* has, as a rule, the feminine form in ת; thus in *Qăl* גְּלוֹת (from גְּלֹוֹת), in *Pi᷑ēl* גַּלּוֹת, etc.

In explanation of these forms we observe:—

That in the *Perf. Qăl* גָּלָה stands for גָּלַי (according to § 24, 2, *c*), so too in *Niph.*, *Pŭ᷑ăl* and *Hŏph᷑ăl*. The *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are based on the forms קִטֵּל, הִתְקַטֵּל (§ 52, Rem. 1), *Hiph.* on the form הַקְטֵל, after the manner of the Arabic *ʾăqtălă* (§ 53, 1).

The final accented ֶה— of the imperfect is variously explained. The least plausible is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (or rather the *i* into which it is dissolved) with preceding *ă*. For the language generally only has *ê* as contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which at the most may be weakened into *î* (v. No. 2). According to *Rödiger* the obscure ֶ— is in place of the distincter characteristic vowels of the corresponding forms of the strong verb, which have maintained themselves in Arab. and Ethiop. with greater purity also in these verbs, e. g. *Impf. Qăl* יִגְלֶה, (Arab. *yaǵlû*) (vulgar *yaǵlî*), Eth. *yĕglû;* יִבְכֶּה (from בָּכָה *to weep*), Arab. *yabkî*, Eth. *yĕbkî;* יִחְיֶה (r. חָיָה *to live*), Arab. *yachyà*, Eth. *yechyaw;* יִרְעֶה (r. רָעָה *to feed*), Arab. *yar᷑ā*, Eth. *yer᷑ay*. So too in the other conjugations, e. g. *Pi.* יְגַלֶּה, cf. Arab. *yuṣállî*, Eth. *yĕṣallî* (he

prays); Hiph. יַרְאֶה (r. רָאָה *to see*), Arab. *yur'î*, Eth. *yâr'î*, etc. According to these examples in Arab. and Ethiop. the characteristic vowel has maintained itself everywhere, and from this we might conclude that also in Hebrew in the imperfects of the different conjugations of the ל״ה different vowels were originally employed, but in an endeavour after a complete analogy they all have become equally ֶ. That such an effort has taken place, remains without doubt, if we also consider the uniformity of the forms, in *perf.*, *impf.* and *participle.* The only question now is, whether in regard to the imperfects, the uniformity of formation did not originally exist in an *ă* as a vowel to the final syllable. By the *Pual* and *Hophal* this would be a matter of course; but also elsewhere (especially in the *Qăl*, v. Rem. 4) the *ă* shows itself occasionally as the original vowel. Accordingly the accented ֶ would be an inflection and lengthening of *ă* in an open syllable (as יִמְלְךָ for יַמְלֹךְ) instead of the full lengthening into *ā*. In the same way may be also explained the ֶ of the participles, whilst the *constr. state* of the same (גֹּלֶה) is based upon a contraction of the original *ay;* comp. also the noun שָׂדֶה and שָׂדֶה (from שׂדַי) *field;* construct שְׂדֵה. The same as in these constr. forms, also in the *Imper.* (ending הֶ, contraction of *ay*) *Yôdh* must everywhere be supposed to be the final letter, the original ו״ל having also followed the analogy of י״ל.

2. Before the afformatives beginning with a consonant (ת, נ), the original י remains, and there arises *a*) in the *Perf.* the diphthong *ay* (ַי); this diphthong should be contracted into *ê* (ֵי), but this *ê* is constantly found only in passive conjugations, whilst regularly in Qăl and other active and reflexive conjugations it appears to be further attenuated into *î* (comp. Rem. 7, 9, 14 and § 27, Rem. 1); but in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* before נָה it is changed into the obtuse and accented *ê* (ֵי). Here again we have the disputed question (v. above) whether this ֵי must be considered the equivalent of ֵי (i. e. *ê* as contraction from *ay*) or whether after the dropping of the *Yôdh* (as in the 3d sing.) *ă* was inflected into *Seghôl.* In the latter case the *Yôdh* which is still written everywhere in these forms, must be simply considered an orthographical remainder of the original form. Accordingly before afformatives beginning with a consonant, there appears as chief vowel—

Perfect *Qăl î*, as גָּלִיתָ;

Perfects of the other active conjugations, and also in the reflexive, partly *ê*, partly *î*, as in גִּלֵּיתָ and גִּלִּיתָ, נִגְלֵיתָ and נִגְלִיתָ;

Perfects of the passives only *ê,* as גְּלֵיתָ;

Imperfects and Imperatives always ◌ִי—, as גְּלִינָה, תִּגְלִינָה.

The diphthongal forms have been throughout retained in Arabic and Ethiopic, and the diphthong is contracted only by way of exception and in the popular idiom. In Aram. and Syriac, the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syr. also has in *Qăl* 2 p. sing. גְּלַיְתְּ (but 1 p. sing. גְּלִית), and so too the West. Aram. has גְּלֵיתָ along with גְּלִיתָ.

3. Before the vowel afformatives (וּ, ◌ִי—, ◌ָה—), the *Yôdh* with the vowel before it is usually dropped, e. g. גָּלוּ (for גָּלִיוּ), תִּגְלִי (for תִּגְלִיִי), *Part. fem.* גֹּלָה, *plur. mas.* גֹּלִים; yet it is retained in ancient full forms, particularly in *pause,* as יִגְלִיוּ (see Rem. 4 and 13). Before *suffixes* also it is dropped, as in גָּלָהּ (Rem. 19).

4. In 3 *Perf. sing. fem.,* the old *fem.* ending ◌ַת— returns, and, with the elision of the *Yôdh* arises the form גָּלְתָה (before suffixes) and tone-lengthened גָּלָתָה. But this ancient form is become very rare (see Rems. 1 and 19); and, as if this mark of the gender were not sufficiently distinct, a second feminine-ending ◌ָה— is appended, before which the *Pătăch* of the ending ◌ַת— becomes *Shᵉwâ* so as to form גָּלְתָה, נִגְלְתָה (*pause* גָּלָתָה).

See similar cases in § 70, Rem. and in § 91, 3.

5. The formation of the *shortened Imperfect* both as *jussive* and w. ו consec. § 48 and 49), which occurs in this class of verbs in all the conjugations, is strongly marked, consisting in the rejection of the ◌ָה—, by which some other changes are occasioned in the form (see Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). The *shortened Imperative* is also formed by *apocopė* of the ◌ָה— (Rems. 12, 16).

6. Of the *Imperfect lengthened* by ◌ָה— (§ 48, 3), only the following examples are found in verbs ל״ה:—in *Qăl,* אֶשְׁעָה Ps. 119, 117, אֶהֱמְיָה (retaining י, see Rem. 4) Ps. 77, 4, and in *Hithp.* נִשְׁתָּעָה Is. 41, 23 (toneless ◌ָה— after long vowel).

REMARKS.

I. *On Qăl.*

1. For the 3 *Pers. fem.*, the older and simpler form גָּלָת, from גָּלַרְתָ (comp. the verb ל״א, § 74, Rem. 1), is almost entirely banished from common use (see No. 4 above). One instance is עָשָׂת *it yields* Lev. 25,

21 (comp. 2 K. 9, 37 *Keth.*). So in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, e. g. חִרְצָה *it enjoys* Lev. **26**, 34, הָגְלָה *it is taken captive* Jer. **13**, 19. But with *suffixes* this form is always used; see Rem. 19 below. In the 3d pers. plur. is found instead of the usual accent (גָּלוּ etc.) Ps. **37**, 20, גָּלוּ in *pause* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding כָּלוּ. Regarding the accent of the *consec. perf.* v. § 49, 3 Rem.

2. The *Inf. absol.* has also the form רָאוֹ *videndo* Gen. **26**, 28. The form שָׁחוֹת Is. **22**, 13 (also שָׁחוֹ in the same verse) has been chosen, because it represents a similarity of sounds with שָׁחֹט; the same in **42**, 20 in *Qeri* and Hos. **10**, 4. As *Inf. constr.* גְּלוֹת (once גְּלֹה or גָּלוֹ) comp. רְאֹה Gen. **48**, 11, עֲשֹׂה **50**, 20, or עֲשׂוֹ **31**, 28, and the feminine form רַאֲוָה *to see* Ez. **28**, 17, like קְטָלָה (§ 45, 1, *b*).

3. The *shortening* of the *Impf.* (see above in No. 5) occasions in *Qăl* the following changes:—

a) The first stem-letter most commonly receives a helping *Seghôl*, or, when the middle radical is a guttural, a helping *Păthăch* (§ 28, 4), e. g. יִגֶל for יִגְלֶה; וַיִּבֶן *and he built;* יְהִי *let him look* (for יִרְאֶה).

b) The *Chĭrĕq* of the preformative is also sometimes lengthened into *Sērê* (because it now stands in an open syllable), as יֶרֶא *let him see* (from רָאָה). This however occurs mostly only after the preformative ת, whilst after the י the *ĭ* being homogeneous remains, e. g. וַתֵּבֶל (also וַתִּבֶל), וַתֵּפֶן (also וַתִּפֶן); and by verbs middle guttural תֵּחַת, וַתֵּבַהּ (from בָּהָה). The strange accentuation תֵּרָא Zech. **9**, 5, וְתֵרָא Micah. **7**, 10 and יֵרָא (mid. *ē*) Gen. **41**, 33 can be explained only to some degree from rhythmical reasons.

c) The helping vowel is not used elsewhere, and especially not in the cases mentioned in § 28, 4; e. g. וַיִּשְׁבְּ *and he took captive* Num. **21**, 1; and with *ĭ* lengthened to *ē*, וַיֵּשְׁתְּ *and he drank*, וַיֵּבְךְּ *and he wept.* The verb רָאָה has the forms יֶרֶא *let him see*, and וַיַּרְא *and he saw*, the latter with *Păthăch* on account of the following ר.

d) Examples of verbs which are *Pē Guttural* (§ 63) as well as *Lāmĕdh Hē*:—וַיַּעַשׂ *and he made* (from עָשָׂה), וַיַּעַן *and he answered* (from עָנָה), וַנַּעַל *and we ascended* (from עָלָה). On a few forms of פ״א v. § 76, 2, *c*. Sometimes the pointing of the first syllable is not affected by the guttural, as in וַיִּחַר *and he was wroth*, וַיִּחַן *and he encamped*, יִחַד (with *Dag. lenè*, according to § 28, 4) *let it rejoice* Job. **3**, 6. On וַיִּז, וַיִּגַּ, וַיִּט (both ל״ה and פ״ן) v. § 76, 2, *b*.

e) The verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live*, where analogy would require the *Impf. apoc.* to be יִהְיְ, יִחְיְ, change these forms to יְהִי and יְחִי, because the second *Yôdh* draws to itself the vowel *i*, and makes with it a long *î*; in *pause:* יֶהִי, יֶחִי, the original *ă* having been modified into *Seghôl.* (Comp. the derivatives בְּכִי for בְּכְיְ, עֲנִי for עֲנְיְ, etc., § 85, No. V).—From הָיָה *to be* occurs once the form וְהוּא for יִהְיוּ *he will be* Ec. **11**, 3, (on the א v. § 23, 3, Rem. 3).

The full forms, without the *apocopè* of ה־, occur sometimes even after *Wāw consec.*, especially in the 1st person and in the later books, e. g. וָאֶרְאֶה *and I saw* (20 times) and Josh. **7**, 21 in *Kᵉthib* but never in the Pentateuch (וָאֵרֶא, 15 times, 3 times in *Pent.*); וַיַּעֲשֶׂה *and he made* 4 times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times). At times also for the *jussive*, as in יַעֲשֶׂה Gen. **41**, 34, Jer. **28**, 6.

4. The original י is sometimes retained before the afformatives beginning with a vowel (comp. Nos. 3 and 6 above), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ון־, or where for any reason an emphasis rests upon the word. *Perf.* חָסָיָה *she trusts* Ps. **57**, 2, חָסְיוּ *they trust* Deut. **32**, 37 (comp. Ps. **73**, 2 *Qᵉrî*). *Imp.* בְּעָיוּ *ask ye* Is. **21**, 12, *Impf.* יִשְׁלָיוּ *they are quiet* Ps. **122**, 6, יִרְבְּיוּן *they increase* Deut. **8**, 13, Ps. **36**, 9, more frequently like יִשְׁתָּיוּן *they drink* Ps. **78**, 44, Is. **21**, 12; **26**, 11, Ps. **36**, 8 (comp. Rems. 5, 7, 13 and 16).

5. The *Part. act.* has also a *fem.* retaining the 3d radical י, as in בּוֹכְיָה (=בֹּכָה) *weeping* Lam. **1**, 16, צוֹפְיָה *spying* Prov. **31**, 27, פּוֹרְיָה *fruitful* Ps. **128**, 3; in the *plur.* like אוֹתְיוֹת *coming* Is. **41**, 23. The *Part. pass.* is still sometimes found with the ו as 3d radical, as עָשׂוּי *made* Job. **41**, 25, צָפוּי Job **15**, 22, contracted from צָפְוִי, עָשְׂוִי, and the ו has still its consonant sound before a formative ending, as in עשׂוות (read it as *ᶜasûwôth*) 1 Sam. **25**, 18 in Kᵉthibh, נטוות (read *nᵉṭûwôth* Is. **3**, 16 Kᵉthibh.

6. The forms are at times written defectively, as in וָהָיְתָ 2 Sam. **15**, 33, תַּעֲשֶׂנָּה Job. **5**, 12, and (according to the Massora) תִּרְאֶנָּה Mic. **7**, 10, comp. תַּעֲנֶנָּה Judges **5**, 29 (according to others in *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3d fem. sing.). Both cases must probably be considered in the sense of § 20, 2, *c*.

II. *On Nĭph'ăl.*

7. Here the forms with ־ִי in 1 and 2 p. sing. of the *Perf.* are the usual, the ־ֶי being found only in נִקֶּיתָ Gen. **24**, 8; but in 1 p. pl. the ־ִי is always used, as in נִגְאַלְנוּ 1 Sam. **14**, 8. No examples of the 2 p. pl. occur in *Niph.* of these verbs.—The י is retained in pause, as in נִמְרוּ Num. **24**, 6.

8. The *apocopè* of the *Impf.* occasions here simply the rejection of ה־, יִגֶּל from יִגְלֶה; yet in one verb *Ă'yĭn Guttural*, we find a form with (־ָ) shortened to (־ַ), viz. יִרַּח (for יִרְחַם) Ps. **109**, 14 (but in pause תִּרְחָם Ps.**109**, 13). Similar also in *Pi.* is תִּעַר (from תְּעָרֶה) Ps.**141**, 8, and in *Hithp.* תִּתְרַע (from תִּתְרָעֶה) Prov. **22**, 24.

III. *On Pĭ'ēl, Pŭ'ăl, and Hĭthpă'ēl.*

9. In the *Perf. Pi.*, the second syllable has î (*Chîreq*) instead of the diphthongal ־ֵי in the greater number of examples, as in דִּבַּרְתָּ, קִוִּיתִי, always in 1 p. pl. and before *suffixes*, e. g. כִּסּוּנוּ Gen. **37**, 26, הִכְרִיתָנוּ Ps. **44**, 20. But in the Paradigm the form with ־ֵי stands first,

as being older, though examples occur in the O. Test. only in 1st sing. as Joel 4, 21. In *Hithp.* not only ־ִ— (Jer. **17**, 16), but also ־ֶ— is sometimes found (Prov. **24**, 10, 1 K. **2**, 26, Jer. **50**, 24). Yet *Pŭ'ăl* has always *Ṣē'rê* (־ֵ—), as in עֻשֵּׂיתִי Ps. **139**, 15.

10. The usual form of the *Inf. absol. Pi.* is like כַּלֵּה קַוֵּה (according to קַטֵּל, the more frequent form also in the strong verb, see § 52, Rem. 3), rarely like קַוֹּה Ps. **40**, 2.

11. The *Impf.* loses, after the *apocopè*, the *Dāghē'sh fortè* of the second stem-letter (comp. § 20. 3, *a*); hence *Pi.* וַיְצַו *and he commanded*, *Hithp.* וַיִּתְגַּל *and he uncovered himself*, Gen. **9**, 21. Less frequently is *Păthăch*, in this case, lengthened into *Qā'mĕṣ*, as וַיָּתְו *and he marked* 1 Sam. **21**, 14, יִתְאֹו *he craves*, *Hithp.* תִּשְׁתָּחֲו Is. **41**, 10. Ps. **45**, 12; according to the best texts however this should read יִתְאַו.

12. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are found also *apocopated* forms of the *Imp.*, as צַו for צַוֵּה *command thou*, נַס for נַסֵּה *prove thou* Dan. **1**, 12; הִתְחַל *feign thyself sick* 2 Sam. **13**, 5, Deut. **2**, 24. Anomalous is Judges **9**, 29 רַבֶּה for רַבֵּה increase; on הַלְּוֹ Prov. **26**, 7 (according to some *Imper. Pi.* for הַלֵּוֹ) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.* In Ps. **137**, 7 is found twice עָרֹו *naked* instead of עָרֹוּ (for עָרוֹ), but comp. 2 Chr. **24**, 11.

13. The *Yôdh* is retained in some cases where it is more commonly omitted, e. g. *Impf.* תְּדַמְּיוּן *will ye liken* Is. **40**, 18, comp. vs. 25; וְכִסָּיְמוּ *they cover them* Ex. **15**, 5.

IV. *On Hĭph'îl and Hŏph'ăl.*

14. In the *Perf. Hiph.* 3 sing חֵגָלָה, as also found besides הֵגְלָה, especially הֵרָאָה, הֶלְאָה. The forms with *ê* are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Prov. **5**, 13), rarely in the 2d sing. masc. never in 1. pl. In the other pers. they are about equally common with *î*; before suffixes the latter is used as somewhat shorter than the other. The Paradigm P puts first the older form with ־ֵ—. In *Hoph.* only ־ָ— occurs.

15. The *Ṣē'rê* of the *Inf. absol. Hiph.* is the regular vowel (as in הַקְטֵל); *Hoph.* conforms to this *Inf. absol.*, as in הָבְהֵה Lev. **19**, 20. The verb רָבָה *to be much* has three forms of the *Inf.*; viz. הַרְבֵּה used as adverb (§ 131, 2) *much*, הַרְבָּה as *Inf. absol.* with a finite verb (§ 131, 3), הַרְבוֹת as *Inf. constr.* Comp. Gen. **41**, 49, **22**, 17, Deut. **28**, 63. On הַמְרוֹת Job. **17**, 2 (with *Dag. f. dirimens*) v. § 20, 2, *b*.

16. The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* is found either without a helpingvowel, as יָרֵד *let him subdue* Is. **41**, 2, יַפְרֹשׂ *let him spread* Gen. **9**, 27, וַיַּשְׁקְ *and he watered* (see § 28, 4); or with it, as יָגֶל (for יַגֶל, see § 27, Rem. 2, *c*), as וַיָּגֶל *and he led captive* 2 K. **18**, 11, וַיַּפֶר *and he made fruitful* Ps. **105**, 24. Examples with gutturals: יַעַל Num. **23**, 2, וַאֲעַל etc., which can be distinguished from the like forms in *Qăl* only by the sense (comp. 28, 4).— The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* has always the helping-vowel *Seghôl* or *Păthăch*, as הָרֶב *increase thou* (for הַרְבֵּב, תַּרְבֵּה) Ps. **51**, 4, *Qerî;* הֶרֶף *let alone* (for

חָרַפְתָּ, חָרַף) Deut. 9, 14, חַסַל (for הַחֲצִלָה) Ex. 33, 12.—The *Impf. Hiph.* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in תּוֹגְרוּן Job 19, 2, from יָגָה. Comp. Rem. 4 on p. 190.

V. *In General.*

17. In the Aramæan, where as before remarked, the verbs ל״א and ל״ה run into one another, both classes terminate in the *Impf.* and *Part.* of all the conjugations, without distinction, in א— or י—. As imitations of this mode of formation, we are to regard those forms of the *Inf.*, *Imp.*, and *Impf.* in ה—, more seldom א— or י—, which are found in Hebrew also, especially in the later writers and the poets. *Inf. Pi.* חַבֵּי Hos. 6, 9. *Imp. Qăl* הֱוֵא *be thou* Job. 37, 6, *Impf.* יֶחֱזֵא *let him see* Gen. 41, 33; יַעֲשֵׂה *he will do* Is. 64, 3; אַל־תְּהִוֵה Jer. 17, 17, אַל תֵּבֵא *consent thou not* Prov. 1, 10, אַל־תַּעֲשֵׂה *do thou not* 2 Sam. 13, 12 (the same for Gen. 26, 29, Josh. 7, 9, Jer. 40, 16, *Qᵉri*); וַיַּעֲשֵׂה Josh. 9, 24; תְּרֵאֵה Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph.* Lev. 5, 9; in *Pi.* Lev. 18, 7, 8, 12—17, 20, 19 (everywhere לֹא תְגַלֵּה and also תְּגַלֵּה with small distinctives); יְנַקֵּה Nah. 1, 3; אֲזַרֵּה Ez. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*). The circumstance that many of these forms stand in *pause* and that at the same time they represent a *Jussive* or *Voluntative* (Josh. 7, 9), leads us to suppose that the long vowel has been chosen principally in order to heighten the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to distinguish, by sound, the *Jussive* from the usual *Imperf.* Elsewhere (Gen. 26, 29, Lev. 5, 9, Jer. 40, 16, Dan. 1, 13) the long vowel serves probably to avoid the hiatus which is produced by a following א or ע. We are not sure whether in the choice of the — we may not have a return to the original diphthongal final sound (in a manner that תַּעֲשֵׂה be directly contracted from תַּעֲשַׂי).

The ending י— is found for ה— in the *Impf. Qăl* וַתִּזְנִי *and she committed fornication* Jer. 3, 6 (before *Măqqēph*) instead of ה— in the *Perf. Hiph.* הֶחֱלִי *he made sick* Is. 53, 10 (perhaps for החליא from חלא as secondary form to חלה v. Rem. 21). Wholly Aramaic is the *plur.* הִמְסִירוּ *they intimidated* (Josh. 14, 8).

18. In three verbs is found the rare conjugation Pi'lel, or its reflexive (§ 55, 2), where the third radical, which that conjugation requires to be doubled, appears repeated under the form וה (see § 24, 2, *c*), viz. in נַאֲוָה (contracted נָאוָה) *to be beautiful*, from נָאָה; מְשַׁחֲיִם *archers* Gen. 21, 16; but especially in שָׁחָה *to bow*, *Pi'lel* שַׁחֲוָה, hence *Hithpă'lēl* הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה *to bow one's self*, *to prostrate one's self*, 2*d pers.* in יתָ— and 1*st pers.* יתִּי—, *Impf.* יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, *apoc.* וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ for וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲו (analogous to segholate forms like שָׁחוּ for שָׁחַו).

19. Before *suffixes*, the ה final and the preceding vowel, are displaced by the so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3, *b*), as עָנַנִי (in pause עָנָנִי) *he answered me*, עֲנָךְ, in pause עָנָךְ Is. 30, 19 (and even outside of pause Jer. 23, 37) or like חָנָךְ Deut. 32, 6, עָנָם, עָנָהוּ, *Impf.* יַעֲנֵהוּ, יַצְנֵהוּ, *Hiph.* הַכָּנִי, הֶעֱלָהּ, הַכָּהוּ. Very seldom י— takes the place of the

final ה— or ה֫—, as in אַפְאִירֵם Deut. **32**, 26, יְכַסֵּרְמוֹ *he will cover them* Ps. **140**, 10 *Qᵉrî*, הַכֵּרְנִי *smite me* 1 K. **20**, 35. By these examples we might suppose a return to the original ending *ay;* but perhaps they are based on a less correct full writing. The 3. *Perf. fem.* always takes before *suff.* the older form גָּֽלַת (see No. 4), e. g. כִּפַּֽחְתּוֹ for כִּפַּחְתּוֹ, Zech. **5**, 4, in *pause* עֲשָׂתְנִי Job **33**, 4.

VI. *Affinity of Verbs* ל״ה and ל״א.

20. The verbs of each of these classes, in consequence of their intimate relation (being quite confounded in Aramæan), often borrow forms from one another, especially in the later writers and the poets.

21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל״א—

a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל״ה, e. g. *Perf.* כָּלָאתִי *I restrain* Ps. **119**, 101; *Part.* חֹטֵא *sinning* Ec. **8**, 12, **9**, 18; *Pi. Perf.* מִלֵּא *he has filled* Jer. **51**, 34; comp. 1 K. **9**, 11, Am. **4**, 2, Ps. **143**, 3; רִפֵּאתִי *I heal* 2 K. **2**, 21; comp. Jer. **51**, 9; *Niph. Perf.* נִפְלֵאתָה (like נִגְלֵתָה) *it was wonderful* 2 Sam. **1**, 26; *Hiph. Perf.* הִפְלֵא Deut. **28**, 59, הֶחְבֵּאָתָה *she hid* Josh. **6**, 17. On the other hand forms like יִנָּשׂוּא Jer. **10**, 5, תְּדַכְּאוּנַנִי (correct reading) Job **19**, 2, are based upon syncope of א, v. § 74, Rem. **3**.

b) Which retain their own pointing, but have adopted the ה, e. g. *Imp.* רְפָה *heal thou* Ps. **60**, 4; *Niph.* נֶחְבָּה Jer. **49**, 10 and הֶחְבֵּה *to hide one's self* 1 K. **22**, 25; comp. Jer. **19**, 11; *Pi. Impf.* יְמַלֶּה *he will fill* Job **8**, 21.

c) Which in all respects have the appearance of verbs ל״ה, e. g. *Perf. Qăl* צָמֵאת *thou thirstest* Ruth **2**, 9, comp. 2 Sam. **3**, 8; כָּלוּ *they kept back*, 1 Sam. **6**, 10; מָלוּ *they are full* Ez. **28**, 16, comp. **39**, 26; *Inf.* חֲטוֹ (v. Rem. 2) *to sin* Gen. **20**, 6; *Impf.* יְכֶלֶה (for יִכְלָא) *he will keep back*, Gen. **23**, 6; תְּרֻפֶּֽינָה *they heal* Job **5**, 18; *Part. fem.* יֹצֵא Ec. **10**, 5; *Part. pass.* נָשׂוּי Ps. **32**, 1; *Niph.* נִרְפֶּֽתָה Jer. **51**, 9; נִבֵּית Jer. **26**, 9, *Impf.* יִוָּרְפוּ 2 K. **2**, 22; *Pi. Impf.* יְרַפֵּא Jer. **8**, 11, comp. Gen. **31**, 39; *Hithp.* תִּתְנַבֵּית *thou prophesiest* 1 Sam. **10**, 6, *Inf.* הִתְנַבּוֹת 1 Sam. **10**, 13. For the *Kᵉthîbh* לְהִשּׁוֹת 2 K. **19**, 25 the *Qᵉrî* gives the usual form לְהַשְׁאוֹת; the *Kᵉthîbh* would read לַהֲשׁוֹת (with syn. of א).

22. On the contrary, there are forms of verbs ל״ה which, wholly or in part, follow the analogy of verbs ל״א; e. g. in their consonants אָתָא *he comes* Is. **21**, 12; וְרָצֹאתִי Ez. **43**, 27, יִשְׁנֶא Lam. **4**, 1, מְרַפֵּא Jer. **38**, 4, יְשַׁנֶּא Eccl. **8**, 1, יְשָׁנָא *it is changed* Lam. **4**, 1, שְׁנָא 2 K. **25**, 29, וַיֶּחֱלָא *and he became sick* 2 Ch. **16**, 12; in their vowels, אָתְנוּ Jer. **3**, 22, יְקָרָה Dan. **10**, 14, תְּכָלָה 1 K. **17**, 14; in both, תְּלָאוּם 2 Sam. **21**, 12 *Qᵉrî*.

§ 76.

VERBS DOUBLY WEAK OR ANOMALOUS.

1. There are a number of verbs that have two stem-consonants which as weak letters are affected by the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether the verb is actually subject to both, or but one of them, or, as sometimes happens, to neither.

Thus e. g. from נָדַד *to flee* are formed *Impf.* יִדֹּד Nah. **3**, 7, and יִדַּד Gen. **31**, 40 (after the analogy of verbs פ״ן), *Hiph.* הֵנִד (as a verb ע״ע), but in *Impf. Hoph.* יֻדַּד (as פ״ן).

2. The following are examples of doubly anomalous verbs, and of difficult forms derived from them:—

a) Verbs פ״ן and ל״א (comp. §§ 66 and 74); e. g. נָשָׂא *to bear*, *Imp.* שָׂא, *Inf. constr.* שְׂאֵת (for שַׂאֵת), also נְשֹׂא; after the *prefix* ל always לָשֵׂאת (but once מִשַּׂתּוֹ Job **41**, 17 with *Syn.* of א); *Impf.* תִּשָּׂנָה for תִּשֶּׂאנָה Ruth **1**, 14.

b) Verbs פ״ן and ל״ה (comp. §§ 66 and 75), as נָגָה *to bend* נָכָה *to smite*. Hence *Impf. Qăl* יִגֶּה, *apoc.* וַיֵּט *and he bowed*, וַיִּגַּח and וַיִּגַּד *and he sprinkled* (from נָגַד); *Perf. Hiph.* הִכָּה *he smote*, *Impf.* יַכֶּה, *apoc.* וַיַּךְ, so also וַיִּגַּח; *Imp.* הַכֵּה, *apoc.* הַךְ; *Inf.* הַכּוֹת; *Part.* מַכֶּה.

c) Verbs פ״א and ל״ה (comp. §§ 68 and 75), as אָבָה *to be willing*, אָתָה *to come*, אָפָה *to bake*. So *Impf. Qăl* יֹאבֶה, יֹאפֶה, *plur.* יֹאפוּ; נַתָּאנָה Deut. **33**, 21 (for נַיְתָאתָה), *Impf. apoc.* וַיָּאת Is. **41**, 25 (for וַיַּתְאֵתוּ), *Imp.* אֲתָיוּ Is. **21**, 12, **56**, 9, 12 (comp. אֲפוּ Exod. **16**, 23) for אֱתוּ, אֲתָיוּ (§ 23, 3, Rem. 2, § 75, Rem. 4), *Hiph. Imp.* הַתָּירוּ for הַאֲתָיוּ (הֵאֲתָיוּ), Is. **21**, 14; *Impf. apoc.* וַיֹּאֶל *and he swore* 1 Sam. **14**, 24 (from אָלָה), really וַיְאַלֶּה, hence וָאֶל and, with the obscuring to *ô*, וַיֹּאלֶה; instead of the simple *apocopè*, which would give וַיֹּאל, the א which had already disappeared, becomes again audible by the auxiliary *Seghôl*.

d) Verbs פ״י and ל״א (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 74), as יָצָא *to go forth*, *Imp.* צֵא, *Inf.* צֵאת, *Hiph.* הוֹצִיא *to bring out*.

e) Verbs פ״י and ל״ה (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 75), e. g. יָדָה *to throw*, in *Hiph. to confess, to praise*, and יָרָה *to cast* which are properly verbs פ״ו, also יָפָה *to be beautiful* (which is really פ״י). *Inf.* יָרֹה, יָרוֹת; *Imp.* יְרוּ (cf. *Impf.* וַיִּירְ Ez. **31**, 7), with *suff.* וַנְּיָרֵם *we shot them* (from יָרָה) Num. **21**, 30; *Pi.* וַיְדַוּ for וַיְרַדּוּ (§ 69, Rem. 6); *Hiph.* הֹדָה, הוֹדָה, *Inf.* הוֹדֹת *Impf.* יוֹדֶה, *apoc.* וַיּוֹר 2 K. **13**, 17.

f) Verbs ע״ו and ל״א, particularly בּוֹא *to come*, *Perf.* בָּא, בָּאתָ, once בָּנוּ for בָּאנוּ 1 Sam. **25**, 8; *Hiph.* הֵבִיא, הֲבֵאתָ and הֲבִיאֹתָ. *Impf.* אָבִי, for אֲבִיא Mic. **1**, 15. So נָנִי *he refuses* (*Impf. Hiph.*, from נוּא) Ps. **141**, 5.

g) Moreover the verb חָיַי *to live* deserves to be noticed, which, besides its usual form חָיָה *fem.* חָיְתָה, is also treated as a verb ע"ע, and hence has חַי (*pause* חָי, w. ו cons. וָאֲחִי) in the 3 *Perf. Qăl* in Gen. 3, 22 and other cases; In Lev. 3, 22 is found even the contraction to חִי. The form וְחָיָה stands Ex. 1, 16 in *pause* for וְהָחָיָה (3. *fem.*) with *Dāgh.* omitted on acc. of the pausal lengthening of *ă* to *ā*.

§ 77.

RELATION OF THE WEAK VERBS TO ONE ANOTHER.

Several classes of weak verbs, e. g. those פ"י and פ"ו, ל"א and ל"ה, ע"י and ע"ע, stand in a very close relationship, as appears from the similarity in their meaning and inflection, from their mutual interchange of forms and especially from the fact that often the same biliteral root occurs in several weak verbs having the same meaning. These two root-consonants, to which the common signification attaches (*biliteral root,* § 30, 2), are constant, and the third feebler radical is not taken into account. Thus, דָּכָא, דּוּךְ, דָּכַךְ and דכה[1] are all developements of the crude-form (or ultimate root) דַּךְ, and mean *to strike, to beat in pieces;* נוּד, נָדַד, נָדָה (from the root נד) *to flee.*

In this manner are related in form and signification—

1. Verbs ע"ו and ע"י (in which the essential stem-letters are the first and last), e. g. מוּךְ and מָכַךְ *to become poor,* מוּשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ *to feel* or *touch,* נוּד and נָדַד *to flee.*

2. Verbs פ"י and פ"ן (in which the two last are the essential stem-letters), are related both to each other and to the former class. They are related to each other in the verbs נָצַב and יָצַב *to place,* יָקַשׁ and נָקַשׁ (*yāqō'sh*) *to fowl;* to the former class, especially to verbs ע"ו, in גּוּר and יָגֹר *to fear,* טוֹב and יָטַב *to be good,* פּוּחַ and נָפַח [= E. *puff*] *to blow;* נָפַץ and פּוּץ *to smash.* Verbs פ"א are only seldom found connected with these classes, as אָשַׁם, שָׁמַם and יָשַׁם *to be destroyed,* אָדַשׁ and דּוּשׁ *to thresh,* etc.

3. Verbs ל"א and ל"ה (in which the first two consonants properly form the stem) are related both to each other and to the former classes; to each other in דָּכָא and דָּכָה *to break in pieces,* קָרָא and קָרָה *to meet* (comp. § 75, Rem. 20 ff.); to verbs of the former classes, in מָצָה and מָצַץ *to suck,* הָתָה and הוּחַ *to thrust,* etc.

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[1] These verbs are *mimetic* or *onomatopoetic,* mimicking the sound intended, and so are akin to our *dash* and *thwack* (see § 30, 3).—*Tr.*

§ 78.

DEFECTIVE VERBS.

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use in the same signification, that both are *defective,* i. e. do not occur in all the forms. As, however, the missing forms or tenses are not generally the same in both, the two are combined to make out a complete verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, 2 aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre;* but with this difference, that in Hebrew these verbs are almost universally related in root as well as signification, like the Greek βαίνω, 2 aor. ἔβην, from the stem βά-ω.

A list of the most common verbs of this class:—

בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed, Hiph.* הֵבִישׁ, but also הוֹבִישׁ (from יָבֵשׁ).

טוֹב *to be good, Perf.,* טֹוב; *Impf.* יִיטַב (from יָטַב); *Hiph.* הֵיטִיב (from יָטַב).

יָגֹר *to fear, Impf.* יָגוּר (from גּוּר).

יָקַץ *to awake* only in *Impf.* יִיקַץ; for *Perf.* the *Hiph.* הֵקִיץ is used (fr. קוּץ).

נָפַץ *to break in pieces, Impf.* יָפוּץ (from פּוּץ), *Imp.* פּוּץ; *Niph.* נָפוּץ; *Pi.* נִפֵּץ (from נָפַץ); *Pi'lēl* פּוֹצֵץ (from פּוּץ); *Reflex.* הִתְפּוֹצֵץ; *Hiph.* הֵפִיץ. Also *Pilpēl* פִּצְפֵּץ Job 16, 12.

שָׁתָה *to drink,* used in *Qăl;* but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁקָה *to give to drink,* from שָׁקָה, which is not used in Hebrew.

On הָלַךְ (רָלַךְ) *to go,* see above in § 69, Rem. 8.

Rem. 1. The case is similar when different conjugations of the same verb, having the same signification, borrow *tenses* from each other;—

יָסַף (*to add*) borrows its missing *Inf.* and *Impf. Qăl* from *Hiph.* הוֹסִיף, הוֹסֵיף.

נָגַשׁ (*to approach*) takes *Perf. Niph.* נִגַּשׁ for the *Perf. Qăl,* which is not in use; only the *Impf.* יִגַּשׁ, *Imp.* גַּשׁ, and *Inf.* גֶּשֶׁת of *Qăl* are in use.

נָחָה (*to lead*) has *Perf.* usually in *Qăl,* also the *Imp.* נְחֵה; but the *Impf.* always in *Hiph.* יַנְחֶה.

נָתַךְ (*to pour out*) has *Perf. Niph.* נִתַּךְ, along with *Impf. Qăl* יִתַּךְ, but the *Impf. Niph.* and *Perf. Qăl* are not in use.

Rem. 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formæ mixtæ*) in which, as they maintain, are united the character and signification of two different tenses, moods or conjugations. On correct grammatical principles most of the examples they adduce are

set aside; in others, the form seems to have originated in misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially through misunderstanding of an unusual full writing. Others again are nothing but false readings, or the erroneous combination of two originally different readings.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE NOUN.

(Substantive and Adjective.)

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§ 79.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. As according to § 30, 1 most word stems are developed into verbal stems as well as into noun stems; it has become customary, especially lexically, to trace back also the noun to the most simple ground form of the verbal formation viz: the 3d sing. perf. Qăl, and, as it were, to derive it thence. This is done not only with those noun stems which may be classified directly with the corresponding verbal stem (the so-called verbal nouns § 83) but also with the so-called primitive nouns i. e.: those whose verbal stem can no more be found in Hebrew (§ 82), as well as finally with Denominatives which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

NB. The *adjective* quite coincides with the *substantive* in form. On the process by which words with an abstract sense come to be treated as concretes or adjectives, see § 83, Rem. 1.

2. A regular *inflection* of the noun by *cases* does not exist in Hebrew, although some ancient and almost wholly extinct traces of case-endings perhaps remain (§ 90). The relation of case in a noun is, therefore, either learned simply from its position in the clause, or indicated by prepositions. In either case the *form* of the noun undergoes no change (except for the construct state); and hence the matter belongs not to this division of grammar, but to the Syntax (§ 117). On the contrary, the connection of the noun with the feminine,

with the dual and the plural terminations, with suffixes, and with another noun following in the genitive, produces numerous changes in its form (see §§ 80, 87—89, 91—96), which is all that is meant by the *inflection*[1] of nouns in Hebrew. Even for the *comparative* and *superlative,* the Hebrew has no appropriate forms, and these relations must be expressed by circumlocution, as taught in the Syntax (§ 119).

§ 80.

FORMS WHICH MARK THE GENDER OF NOUNS.

1. The Hebrew, like all the Semitic languages, has but two genders, a *masculine* and a *feminine.* Even inanimate objects or things and abstract ideas, which other languages generally express by the *neuter,* are regarded in Hebrew as either masculine or feminine, chiefly the latter (see the Syntax, § 107, 3).

2. The *masculine,* as being the prevalent and more important gender, has no peculiar indication.

The *feminine* had originally the ending תַ—, as in the 3 *sing. Perf.* of verbs (§ 44, 1). The original תַ— however has been retained (provided the principal form was not already created by the annexation of a simple ת, v. below lit. b) only in close connection with a following genitive or suffix (comp. § 89, 2, *b* and § 91, 4). Apart from these cases the feminine ending of the independent form (the so-called absolute state) is:

a) Most commonly an accented הָ—, as סוּס *horse,* סוּסָה *mare;* as in the 3d sing. fem. perf. (קָטְלָה etc.) this הָ— has been produced by rejecting the closing ת and lengthening the *ă* in an open syllable; whereupon the ה has been added as an orthographical compensation for ת, as well as to point out the final long vowel (comp. the quite analogous creation in forms like גָּלָה for גָּלַי § 75, 1).

b) Simple ת to nouns terminating with a vowel e. g. יְהוּדִי *Jew.,* יְהוּדִית *Jewess.* The same termination ת is added very frequently to stems terminating with a consonant,

[1] This has been inexactly called the *declension* of the Hebrew noun.

however only (except before suffixes) with the aid of an auxiliary vowel, which as a rule is *Seghôl* but after gutturals *Pathăch,* e. g. קֹטֵל, *fem.* קֹטֶלֶת *killing* (ground-form קָטַלְתְּ, therefore before suffixes קְטַלְתִּי etc.); מוֹדֵעַ, *fem.* מוֹדַעַת *acquaintance.* The forms created in that way follow in every regard the analogy of the so-called Segholate forms (§ 94). The forms which have been developed by the aid of an auxiliary vowel maintain themselves also in the *status constructus;* except יוֹלַדְתְּ for the elsewhere used יוֹלֶדֶת Gen. 16, 11, Judges 13, 5, 7 and so regularly before suffixes e. g. יְוֹלַדְתּוֹ Prov. 17, 25.

Rem. 1. The feminine form ת־ is, in general, less frequent than the other, and occurs almost exclusively when the other in ה־ is also in use. It is only in Participles and Infinitives that it is found more frequently than the other (e. g. קֹטֶלֶת oftener than קֹטְלָה, לֶדֶת than לֶדָה).

2. *Rarer* feminine endings are:—

a) ת־ accented, as בָּרֶקֶת *emerald* Ez. 28, 13, (also בָּרְקַת Ez. 28, 17); נְגִינַת Ps. 61, 1; חֵיַת 74, 19; שְׁפַעַת *crowd* 2 K. 9, 17 (if not a false reading); more often in *proper names* especially of places, among the Canaanites, the Phœnicians (in whose speech ת־ was the usual f. ending, § 2, 2) and other neighbouring tribes, as צָרְפַת *Sarepta,* גִּבְעַת *Gibeath,* אֵילַת *Aelana* in Idumea, קִרְיַת *Kirjath,* גָּלְיַת *Goliath* (Philistine).

b) ת־, also in *names* of places, as בַּצֶלֶת, חֶלְקַת, else mostly poetical, e. g. זִמְרַת Ex. 15, 2, Is. 12, 2, Ps. 118, 14 (probably instead of זִמְרָתִי *my song* with suppressed termination before the following י), נַחֲלַת *heritage* Ps. 16, 6, either for נַחֲלָתִי *my heritage* or for נַחֲלָתִ, comp. let. *f.*, as probably also עֶזְרַת *help* Ps. 60, 13, 108, 13, פִּרַת *prolific* Gen. 49, 22; שְׁנַת *sleep* (for שְׁנָת) Ps. 132, 4 and in prose קָאַת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable in Is. 34, 11 to the form קָאָת); in prose also we find מָחֳרַת *morrow* Gen. 19, 34.

c) א־, Aramæan orthography for ה־, found chiefly in the later writers, e. g. חָזְוָא *fright* Is. 19, 17, שְׁנָא *sleep* Ps. 127, 2, קָרְחָא *baldness* Ex. 27, 31, סִמָּרָא *mark* Lam. 3, 12.

d) ה־, a weakened form of ה־ (§ 27, Rem. 4), only in זוּרֶה for זוּרָה Is. 59, 5 and לֶנֶה for לָנָה Zech. 5, 4.

e) ה־, without accent, as רָחָמָה Deut. 14, 17, תַּנּוּר בִּעֵרָה *burning furnace* Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ez. 40, 19, 2 K. 15, 29, 16, 18. In all these examples there should be the usual accented ה־, but the Punctists, not comprehending the feminine here, marked the ת־ (by depriving it of the tone) as not feminine, but a kind of *locative*

[1] On the feminines not distinguished by their form, see § 107, 1, 3, 4.

form (v. § 90, 2). Also לַיְלָה *night* (really *noctu* comp. new Greek ἡ νύκθα) appears by the tone to be such a form, particularly as it is always construed as *masc.*, and we find לַיִל, לֵיל also occurring. Also מְאוּמָה *something*, might be considered as an old accusative (from מְאוּם, מוּם, *spot, point*). In the same way could be explained as accusatives אַרְצָה Is. 8, 23 and (in *pause*) Job 34,13; but there are also found forms in which the unaccented ה— may be considered as a meaningless appendix, serving, at the most, as poetical emphasis, thus: אָרְצָה (in P.) Job 37, 12; הַשַּׁחֲרָה *the sun* Judg. 14, 18 (else חֶרֶס), נַחֲלָה *brook* Ps. 124, 4, הַמָּוְתָה *death* Ps. 116, 15, and some other words. Much of this however is doubtful.

f) תָה— only in poetry, e. g. אֵימָתָה *terror* (=אֵימָה), עֶזְרָתָה *help* (=עֶזְרָה), יְשׁוּעָתָה *salvation* (=יְשׁוּעָה), עַוְלָתָה *wickedness* (=עַוְלָה), see Ps. 3, 3, 63, 8, 92, 16, 94, 17, 120, 1, 125, 3, Job 5, 16, Ex. 15, 16, and other places. Those cases can hardly be taken for double fem. endings, for if they were, we could not explain why the final syllable has lost the tone; they are rather cases of an old accusative of direction (intention). In examples like עֶזְרָתָה *help!* (Ps. 44, 27 etc.) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and stands only for poetical emphasis; comp. § 90, 2.

3. It is wholly unsuitable to consider the *vowel*-ending ה—[1] as the original termination of the feminine, and the *consonant*-ending ת— as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ת constantly, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*), and in the Phœnician also the feminines end only rarely in א, but mostly in ת, which is sounded *ath* in the words found in Greek and Roman authors (see *Gesenii* Monumenta Phœnicia, pp. 439, 440; *Schröder's* Phön. Sprache, pp. 169—74). The ancient Arabic has the weakened vowel-ending scarcely anywhere but in the pause; the modern Arabic is, in this respect, much like the Hebrew.

§ 81.

DERIVATION OF NOUNS.

Nouns are either *primitive,* i. e. those whose kindred relation to a verb-stem does not so easily appear (§ 82), as אָב *father,* אֵם *mother* (see Davies' Hebr. Lex.); or *derivative,*

[1] In this ending the ה can be considered consonantal (*h*) only in the sense, that the original ת as aspirated mute was at first changed into a guttural (according to *Socin,* among a part of the modern Bedouins there is still heard an *h* as fem. ending); at any rate in Hebrew this final consonant sounding has been later entirely abandoned.

as being derived either from the verb (*Verbals,* §§ 83—85) in the sense given above in § 30, 1 and § 79, 1, as צַדִּיק *just,* צְדָקָה, צֶדֶק *righteousness,* from צָדַק *to be just;* רָם *high,* רָמָה *high place,* מָרוֹם *height,* from רוּם *to be high;* or (as in very few cases) from another noun (*Denominatives,* § 86), as מַרְגְּלוֹת *place at the feet,* from רֶגֶל *foot.*

Rem. 1. Many of the early grammarians, who admitted none but verbs as *stem-words,* classed *all* nouns among the verbals, and divided them into,—*a*) *Formæ nudæ,* i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) stem-letters, and—*b*) *Formæ auctæ,* such as have received formative letters or syllables at the beginning or end, as מַלְכוּת, מַמְלָכָה. These formative letters are:

ה, א, מ, נ, ת, ר, ו, (הֶאָמָנְתָּיו).[1]

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* given in § 30, 1, Rem. 2, the relation of the noun to the verb is, strictly speaking, somewhat different, since, according to it, many nouns are formed immediately from the (ideal) root. But we here retain the common view, as being easier for beginners. Comp. § 79, 1.

2. Of *compound* nouns, as *appellatives,* the number in Hebrew is very small, e. g. בְּלִיַּעַל properly *worthlessness, baseness.* As *proper names,* they occur frequently, e. g. גַּבְרִיאֵל (*man of God*), יְהוֹיָקִים (*whom* יְהוָה *raises up*), יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ (*whom* יְהוָה *strengthens*), etc.

§ 82.

PRIMITIVE NOUNS.

1. The number of *primitives,* as explained in § 81, is very small, the nouns which are in most languages primitive being here usually derived from verbal ideas; e. g. most of the names of animals and natural objects, as שָׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy,* from שָׂעַר), שְׂעֹרָה *barley* (prop. *bearded,* also from שָׂעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *pia,* sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from צָהַב=זָהַב *to be yellow*). There remain a few nouns, e. g. the names of members of the body in men and beasts, for which a suitable stem-verb can hardly be found, or at most only indirect ones (derived from the kindred Semitic dialects), as קֶרֶן *horn,* עַיִן *eye.*

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[1] From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are called also, by the old grammarians, *nomina heemantica.* Comp. § 5, Note [5], § 30 Rem. 1.

2. The *form* of the primitives is that of the simple verbals, as קָטָל, קָטֶל, etc.; and it makes no difference, in the grammatical treatment, to which class the nouns are referred.

E. g. אָדָם *man*, follows the analogy of the verbals No. 1 (§ 84), whether it comes from אָדַם (*to be ruddy*) or not: אָב *father*, אֵם *mother*, have the same form as if derived from אָבַה, אָמַם, and undoubtedly they may be traced back to these stems, although their corresponding signification (אָבָה *to procreate*, אָמַם *to precede*) has not been preserved in the language.

§ 83.

VERBAL NOUNS IN GENERAL.

1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in *form* and *signification* with certain forms of the verb, viz. the Participles and Infinitives, which, even without any change, are often employed as nouns; e. g. דַּעַת (*to know*) = *knowledge*, אוֹיֵב (*hating*) = *enemy*. Still oftener, however, we find that certain forms of the Infinitive and Participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb itself, though in use in the weak verb and in other dialects, are the prevalent forms employed for the verbal noun; e. g. the participal form קָטֵל, the Infinitives after the (Aram.) form מִקְטַל (as a noun also מִקְטָל), farther קִטֹּלֶת, קִטְלָה, קָטְלָה, קָטֶלֶת (§ 45, *b*) etc. Some (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the Participle.

2. As to *signification*, it follows from the nature of the case, that nouns which have the form of Infinitives regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely-related ideas (e. g. the *place* of the action), and are therefore mostly *abstract;* that participial nouns, on the contrary, denote, for the most part, the *subject* of the action, or of the state, and hence are *concrete*. It is to be noticed, however, that a particular sense is found in many isolated examples of derivative nouns, which does not hold good alike in all.

Rem. It must not, therefore, appear strange (for it is found in all languages), that a noun which in form is properly *abstract*, should be employed afterwards as a *concrete*, and *vice versâ*. So, in English,

we say *his acquaintance* for one *with whom he is acquainted;* the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Heb. מוֹדָע *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance;* פְּתִי *simplicity* and *a simple one;* on the contrary, חַטָּאת *that which sinneth* for *sin*, which use is frequent in the *fem.* of *concretes* (§ 84, 5, 6, 11).

For the sake of clearness, we treat first of the *derivatives* from the strong or regular verb (§ 84), and then of those from the different classes of the weak or irregular verb (§ 85).

The general view given in § 84 first classifies the Noun forms, after their significance, into *concretes* (as related to the participle), and *abstracts* (as connected with the infinitive); but next advances under each of these divisions from the simpler and easier forms to the harder and more enlarged. But the whole series of forms may be enumerated also simply with respect to the difference of form, without regard to the difference of meaning, since the forms do not always differ strictly according to the sense. In that case the forms would stand nearly in this order: 1) from simple stems: Nos. 1—5, 10—13; 2) from strengthened stems either by doubling the middle stem consonant (e. g. Nos. 6—9) or by repetition of one or several consonants of the stem (e. g. Nos. 20—23); 3) nouns with other additional letters whether *preformatives* (e. g. all forms derived from Niph. Hiph. and Hithpael, as well as the numerous forms with מ preformative) or *afformatives* (e. g. Nos. 15, 16). It is of the greatest importance to distinguish everywhere whether the vowels employed by the formation of nouns were originally long and therefore unchangeable, or originally short, but have been lengthened in or before the tone. In the latter case the tone lengthened vowel becomes short by the removal of the accent or *Sh^{e}wâ* (with the pretonic vowels, but also elsewhere). In what follows, the groundforms have everywhere been added where such changes are liable to occur.

§ 84.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM STRONG STEMS.[1]

We distinguish here—

I. *Participial Nouns from Qăl.*

1. קָטֵל, *fem.* קְטָלָה, (Groundform *qăṭăl*, *qăṭălăt*), one of the most simple forms of this class and analogous to the two following (Nos. 2 and 3), but not in use as a Participle. It is most frequently employed as

[1] Under the strong verb we here include the verb with gutturals (§§ 63—65), and also those forms of weak stems whose weakness does not appear (comp. § 41).

an adjective expressing *quality*, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*. It occurs, however, also with an abstract sense (No. 12).

2. קָטֵל, *fem.* קְטֵלָה, (Grdf. *qāṭĭl*, *qāṭĭlăt*), Part. of verbs *middle E* (§ 50, 2), mostly with intransitive meaning (§ 43) and therefore frequently as adjectives; e. g. זָקֵן *old*, יָבֵשׁ *dry*, דָּשֵׁן *fat*.

3. *a*) קָטֹל and קָטוֹל, *fem.* קְטֹלָה, (Grdf. *qāṭôl*, *qāṭôlăt*), with unchangeable *ô*, which, however, can be shown to have partly arisen from an obscured *â*. Here belong numerous adjectives, as גָּדוֹל *great*, רָחוֹק *far*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*. As *abstr.* substantives, כָּבוֹד *honour*, שָׁלוֹם *peace*. From this is to be distinguished *b*) nouns of the form *qāṭōl* from original *qāṭŭl* e. g. אָדֹם *red*, עָגֹל *round*, עָמֹק deep, etc. (not seldom written fully thus: אָדוֹם, עָגוֹל etc.) The original *ŭ* of the 2d syllable appears again before afformatives, because then the following consonant is artificially doubled (as the *ŭ* can stand only in a closed syllable); thus the plurals עֲגֻלִּים, עֲמֻקִּים etc.

4. קוֹטֵל, קֹטֵל, *fem.* קוֹטֶלֶת (sometimes like יֹלֶדֶת with the *Ṣērê* retained) or קֹטֶלֶת, the usual active participial of *transitive* verbs, e. g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, יוֹנֵק *suckling;* hence of the instrument by which the action is performed, as חֹרֵשׁ *a cutting instrument* (also with a personal signification, *plowman*). A feminine with a collective signification is sometimes found, as in אֹרְחָה *caravan*, properly *a wandering*, *a wandering crowd*. The groundform of these participles is *qôṭĭl* (modified from *qâṭĭl*) *qôṭĭlăt;* but קֹטֶלֶת has for groundform *qôṭălt*, comp. § 80, 2, *b*.

5. קָטוּל and קָטִיל, (*qāṭûl* and *qāṭîl*) passive Participles of Qăl, the latter (the usual Aramæan participial form) employed rather as a substantive; e. g. אָסוּר *imprisoned*, מָשׁוּחַ *anointed*, אָסִיר *prisoner*, מָשִׁיחַ *anointed one*. Both forms occur also with intrans. and even active signification, as עָצוּם *strong* and the examples in § 50, Rem. 2; in the form קָטִיל (as secondary form to קָטֵל No. 2), צָעִיר *small*, and *act.:* נָבִיא *prophet*, פָּקִיד *overseer*, etc. Some words of the form קָטִיל express the *time* of the action, as קָצִיר *time of cutting*, *harvest*, חָרִישׁ *time of ploughing*, like the Greek verbals in τός, e. g. ἄμητος, ἄροτος, τρύγητος, (acc. to the Greek Grammarians, the *cutting*, *plowing*, etc. is in opposition to ἀμητός etc. *harvest gathered in.*—v. *Liddell* and *Scott* s. v. ἄμητος—; corresponding to this also the forms in the Heb. like קָצִיר are used *actively;* comp. עֵת קָצִיר in Jer. 50, 16, 51, 33, Cant. 2, 12). The feminines e. g. בְּתוּלָה *virgin* (*the secluded*).

6. קַטָּל (Arabic קַטָّאל), with unchangeable vowels (see however below). In Arab. it is the usual intensive form of the participle, and hence in Heb. expresses what is *habitual*, e. g. נַגָּח *apt to butt*, קַנָּא (also קַנּוֹא) *zealous*, חַטָּא *sinner* (diff. from חֹטֵא *sinning*), גַּנָּב *thief;* so of occupations and trades (the so-called *nomina opificum*), e. g. טַבָּח *cook*, חָרָשׁ (for חַרָשׁ) *artificer*. It is curious that the unchangeable *â* of the 2d syllable should be dropped in the *constr. state sing.*, as if the groundform were not *qaṭṭâl* but *qaṭṭăl* e. g. חָרַשׁ עֵצִים *carpenter* Is. 44,

13.—To the same category belongs the form קָטָל (with the attenuation of *ă* of the 1st syll. to *ŏ*) e. g. אִכָּר (arab. *'akkâr*) *husbandman* (prop. *digger*). Here again the feminine (קָטָלָה or קָטֹלֶת) often takes the abstract signification, as חַטָּאָה (also חַטָּאת) *female sinner* and *sin;* דַּלֶּקֶת *burning fever*, with a guttural טַבָּעַת *signet.*

7. קַטִּיל and קַטּוּל, intensive forms applied to persons as adjectives of quality, as צַדִּיק *righteous*, אַבִּיר *strong*, חַנּוּן *compassionate.* Seldom passive, as אַסִּיר *fettered.*

8. קִטּוֹל, as יְסוֹר *corrector*, שִׁכּוֹר *drunkard*, גִּבּוֹר *strong one, hero.* Seldom passive, as יְלוֹד *born.* As, for instance the Arab. *gabbâr* (for גִּבּוֹר) shows, all these forms are but modifications of the form קָטָל, produced by the attenuation of *ă* into *ĭ* in the first syllable, and by inflecting *â* into *ô* in the second.

9. קִטֵּל (Grdf. *qĭṭṭĭl*) indicates everywhere abnormal qualities, especially a bodily fault or a defect, e. g. גִּבֵּן *hunch-backed*, קִרֵּחַ *bald-headed*, אִלֵּם *dumb*, עִוֵּר *blind*, פִּסֵּחַ *lame*, חֵרֵשׁ *deaf*, עִקֵּשׁ *perverse;* פִּקֵּחַ *clear-sighted* follows the same analogy. The *abstr.* signification is found in the *fem.*, אִוֶּלֶת *folly*, (although, before suff. אִוַּלְתּ).

II. *Nouns after the manner of Infinitives in Qăl.*[1]

10. קְטַל, קְטַל, קִטַל (really *qᵉṭăl, qᵉṭĭl, qᵉṭŭl*), are with No. 11 the simplest forms of this class, of which the latter is the predominant, and the first a rare form in the verb as Infinitive (§ 45, *a*). As nounforms they are rare, e. g. גְּבַר *man*, פְּאַר *ornament*, צְחַק *laughter.* Instead of these, we much oftener find—

11. קָטָל, קָטָל, קָטָל, their three kindred so-called *sᵉghôlate* forms (sprung from the crude-forms *qaṭl, qiṭl, quṭl*, as preserved in Arabic); e. g. מָלֶךְ (for מַלְכְּ *malk*, § 27, Rem. 2, *c*) *king*, סֵפֶר (orig. form סִפְרְ) *book*, קֹדֶשׁ (orig. form *qudsh*) *sanctuary;* these have the characteristic vowel with the accent in the first syllable, and the unaccented helping-vowel *Sᵉghôl* (§ 28, 4) in the second. Instead of the *Sᵉghôl*, a *Păthăch* is used with gutturals in the second or third place, as זֶרַע *seed*, נֵצַח *eternity*, פֹּעַל *work.*[2]—Examples of feminines, מַלְכָּה *queen*, עֶזְרָה *help* (also עֶזֶר), חָכְמָה *wisdom.*

In masculines as well as feminines the *abstract* is the proper and prevailing signification, as הֶרֶג *slaughter*, חֶסֶד *pity*, זֵכֶר *memory*, אֹסֶף *gathering;* yet the *concrete* often occurs, especially in the form קָטָל, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king*, נַעַר *a youth*, בַּעַר *brutish*, עֶבֶד *servant*, בַּעַל *lord*, גֶּבֶר *man.* In such forms the concrete sense is secondary and derived from

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[1] All these forms are found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Arabic as Infinitives, or as so-called *nomina verbi.*

[2] Only very few remain without a helping-vowel, as גַּיְא *valley*, חֲטָא *sin*, קְשְׁט *truth;* the first two of which may be explained by the circumstance that א final has there lost its value as a consonant.

the abstract, as in בַּעַר prop. *brutishness*, נַעַר prop. *season of youth* (comp. Eng. *youth* and *a youth*), or the form of the word is shortened from another with a concrete sense, as מֶלֶךְ, עֶבֶד from participial forms (*mălĭk*, *ʿăbĭd*), meaning *ruling*, *serving*.[1] But altogether the meaning of these forms is very various, e. g. even for the instrument, as חֶרֶב *sword*, חֶרֶט *graving-tool*, and passively אֶרֶג *web* (really *weaving*, hence instrumentally *weaver's shuttle*). In the latter sense the form קֹטֶל is more common, as אֹכֶל *food;* this form קִטֶּל is also more used in the *abstract* meaning, hence נַעַר *a youth*, נְעַר *youth*.

12. קָטָל (*qăṭăl*, like No. 1), fem. קְטָלָה (*qăṭălăt*), both very often with the *abstr.* sense; e. g. רָעָב *hunger*, אָשָׁם *guilt*, שָׂבָע *satiety* (their *concretes* being רָעֵב *hungry*, אָשֵׁם, שָׂבֵעַ); *fem.* צְדָקָה *righteousness*, נְקָמָה *vengeance*. Less frequent is the form קָטָל (Grdf. *qĭṭăl*), as שֵׁכָר *strong drink*, עֵנָב *grape*, לֵבָב *heart*. It would perhaps be more correct to count these forms among the participials in No. 1.

13. קָטֹל, קָטִיל, קָטוֹל (where *ô* is orig. *â*), קְטוּל, all with an immovable vowel (§ 25) between the second and third radicals, and a Sh^{e}wâ (instead of orig. short vowel) under the first, as כְּתָב *book* (Arab. *kĭtâb*), חֲמוֹר *ass* (Arab. *hĭmâr*), חֲלוֹם *dream*, כְּסִיל *fool*, גְּבוּל *border;* sometimes with *Aleph prosthetic*, as זְרוֹעַ=אְזְרוֹעַ *arm*, אֶפְרֹחַ *brood*. The corresponding *feminines* are like בְּשׂוֹרָה (Arab. *bĭshâra*), *good news*, כְּתֹבֶת (Arab. *kĭtâbăt*) *writing*, גְּבוּרָה *might;* the last form coincides with the fem. of the form קָטוּל in No. 5.

14. מִקְטָל (the Aram. has מִקְטַל as the form of the infinitive), e. g. מִשְׁפָּט *judgment*. This form belongs to the category of the very numerous nominal formations with preformative מ which (without doubt connected with מִי *who* and מָה *what* v. § 37) is employed to express the most varied relations. In all cases where the מ stands before a consonant with a toneless firm vowel it receives vocal *Sh^{e}wâ* (derived from an original short vowel); in those forms however in which the מ, with the first stem consonant makes a closed syllable, it receives at first everywhere the vowel *ă*, which however is frequently weakened into *ĭ* or *ĕ*. Corresponding to this, there is found before the accented stem syllable the pretonic lengthening, partly into *ā* and partly into *ē*. In reference to the signification we must distinguish *a*) the מ *subjective;* thus the preformative מ of the participles of Piel, Hiph. and Hithp. and other active conjugations; *b*) מ *objective;* such as the preformative מ of the passive (Pual, Hoph. etc.) as well as that of

[1] In Arabic the form *qăṭĭl* always expresses an action or a quality inherent in the subject, as a secondary form to the usual participle *qâṭĭl*, which indicates the casual or passing action or quality; thus, *mălăkă* to rule, Part. *mâlik* ruling, *mălĭk* rarely *malk*, ruler, king. Such an origin of מֶלֶךְ may be shown also from other examples. Comp. גֶּדֶר, as the name of a town, with גָּדַר (gdf. *gădĭr*) *wall;* and כֶּתֶף shortened (in the *constr. state*) from כָּתֵף (*kătĭf*) *shoulder*.

numerous nouns; comp. מַחְמָד *a desired object*, מַלְקוֹחַ *prey*, מַלְבּוּשׁ *dress*, מִזְמוֹר *Psalm;* fem. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מַשְׂכֹּרֶת *reward*, מִלְחָמָה *war*, מֶרְכָּבָה *chariot;* c) מ *instrumental*, e. g. מַזְלֵג *fork*, מַפְתֵּחַ *key;* מַזְמֵרָה *pruning knife*, מַאֲכֶלֶת *knife;* d) מ *local*, e. g. מָקוֹם (from קוּם) *place*, מִרְעֶה *pasture*, מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, מֶרְחָב *large space*, מִסְתּוֹר and מִסְתֹּר *hiding-place*. The vowels of the 2d syllable are with the exception of *î* and *û* as well as of *ô* (which has been mostly inflected from *â*; v. the last example) originally short vowels and therefore subject to attenuation into a short vowel or *Sh^{e}wâ;* thus מַשְׂכֹּרֶת (with *ō* not *ô*) is reduced to the original מַשְׂכָּרְתִּ.

15. קִטְלָן (Grdf. *qiṭlăn*), קִטְלוֹן *qiṭlôn*, and other similar forms, with the terminations ן־ and וֹן, as פִּתְרוֹן *interpretation*, שֻׁלְחָן *table*, קָרְבָּן *offering;* but also זִכָּרוֹן *remembrance*, חִזָּיוֹן *prophetic vision*. In a few old words instead of ן־ and וֹן we find ם־ and ם֫—, as אוּלָם *porch*, פִּדְיוֹם and פִּדְיוֹן *ransom*.

In some examples the affirmative *Nûn* has been appended without the aid of an accented vowel, as in כְּנַעַן *Canaan* and צִפָּרֶן *finger-nail* (in both cases only with an auxiliary vowel before the ending). In גַּרְזֶן *axe* original *ă* has been modified into *S^{e}ghol* instead of being lengthened into *ā* (to the same category belong examples with afformative ל as בַּרְזֶל *iron*, כַּרְמֶל etc. (v. No. 35). For וֹן there is a modified form וֹ, written also ה, which occurs especially in proper names, as מְנַחֵם and מְנָחוֹן, שְׁלֹמֹה for שְׁלֹמוֹן (comp. Πλάτων, *Plato*). In the *patronymic* and *gentilic* forms (§ 86, 5) the *Nûn* still appears, e. g. שִׁילֹנִי from שִׁילֹה the city *Shiloh* (called even now *Seilûn*).

16. Also with the feminine-ending וּת, e. g. סִכְלוּת *folly*, רְפָאוּת *healing*. In the Aramæan, this (or ו without ת) is a usual termination of the Infinitive in the derived conjugations (comp. No. 28). Its frequent use appears only in the later O. Test. books. As a synonymous ending we find at times ית־ in earlier use, as שְׁאֵרִית *remnant*. Comp. the denominative nouns, § 86, 6.

III. *Participials of the derived Conjugations.*

17. From *Niph.* נִקְטָל, as נִפְלָאוֹת plur. fem. *wonders*.

18. 19. From *Pi$^{\text{ʿ}}$ēl* and *Hiph.*, e. g. מְכַסֶּה *a covering*, מְזַמֶּרֶת *snuffers*, מַשְׁחִית *destruction*.

20. From *Po$^{\text{ʿ}}$ēl*, as עוֹלֵל (probably shortened from מְעוֹלֵל Is. 3, 12) and עוֹלָל *child*, שׁוֹלָל *war-prisoner*, אוֹצָר *store*, חוֹתָם *seal*, שׁוֹפָר *trumpet;* all with original *ă* in the 2d syllable.

21. 22. From *Pi$^{\text{ʿ}}$lēl* and *Po$^{\text{ʿ}}$lal*, as קִטֵּל (groundform *qăṭlăl*), and קָטֵל (*qŭṭlăl*), רָאֵן *green*, שָׁאֵנָן *quiet;* אָמְלַל *faint*.

23. קִטְלְטַל, קָטַלְטַל have an intensive and iterative sense, as חַפְכַּפָּךְ *full of turns* (L. *flexuosus*), פְּתַלְתֹּל *full of twists* (L. *perversus*), and form adjectives with a *diminutive* signification (§ 55, 3), as אַדְמְדָם

reddish, שְׁחַרְחֹר *blackish;* hence in a contemptuous sense (like Latin *miser, misellus*, Germ. *Gesinde, Gesindel*), as אֲסַפְסָךְ (with the passive form as enlargement of אָסוֹךְ) *a rabble.*

IV. *Nouns in the form of infinitives of the derived Conjugations.*

24. From *Niph.*, as נַפְתּוּלִים (plur.) *struggles.*

25. From *Pi'ēl*, like נַפָּץ *dispersion*, more frequently in the *fem.*, as בַּקָּשָׁה *request*, with Qā'mĕṣ unchangeable in the second syllable.

26. קִטּוּל, as שִׁלּוּם *requital*, חִבּוּק *folding* (of the hands); also with *concrete* sense (comp. No. 7), as לִמּוּד *learner*, עִזּוּז *strong.*

27. תַּקְטוּל, תַּקְטִיל (*Infin.* of *Pi'ēl* very common in Arabic), e. g. תַּגְמוּל *benefit*, תַּכְרִיךְ (covering) *mantle.*

28. From *Hiph.*, like אַזְכָּרָה *remembrance-offering*, הַשְׁמָעוּת *announcing* (with firm Qā'mĕṣ), like Aramæan Infinitives.

29. From *Hithp.* הִתְיַחֵשׂ *register* (prop. to register oneself in a genealogical table).

30. From *Pō'ēl*, like הוֹלֵלוֹת (plur) and הוֹלֶלֶת *folly;* in 31 the forms are kindred, having a long vowel in both syllables, as קִרטוֹר *smoke*, צִרנֵק *prison*, קִרמוֹשׂ, also קִמּוֹשׂ *nettle.* Perhaps the î of the 1st syllable serves as a compensation for the omission of the Daghesh.

32. From *Pi'lēl*, as סַגְרִיר *heavy rain*, נֵאֲפוּף (*only plur.*) *adultery.*

33. פְּקַחְקוֹחַ *opening*, Inf. to No. 23.

34. שַׁלְהֶבֶת, as שַׁקְמַל *flame* (comp. § 55, 6).

35. Quadriliterals of various forms e. g. *a*) with affformative ל (v. No. 15) בַּרְזֶל *iron*, כַּרְמֶל *orchard* (comp. כֶּרֶם *vineyard*) עַרְפֶּל *dark clouds*, חַרְגֹּל *locust*, חַשְׁמַל *bright metal; b*) with the insertion of ל, so probably גַּלְמוּד *barren*, חַלָּמִישׁ *flint*, the fem. זַלְעָפָה *glowing heat* etc. *c*) other forms: חֶרְמֵשׁ *sickle*, עַקְרָב *scorpion*, סְמָדַר *vine blossom* etc.—Quinquiliterals (probably compounded) צְפַרְדֵּעַ *frog.*—See Davies' Heb. Lex. on אַרְנֶבֶת *hare*, and on the other words mentioned above.

§ 85.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM WEAK STEMS.

These are formed after the analogy of the strong stem. Accordingly, following the same arrangement, we shall refer these forms to the corresponding ones already described, marking them with the same number (§ 84), but mentioning only such as exhibit some notable effect of the feebleness of the stem.

I. *From Stems* פ"ן.

Connected with the *Inf.* of *Qăl*, 14. מַתָּן *gift*, מַגָּל *sickle*, מַגֵּפָה *overthrow;* with *Inf.* of *Hiph.* 28. הַצָּלָה *deliverance.*—

II. *From Stems* ע"ע.

From the *Part. Qăl* (after the form קָטָל) we get:—1. תָּם *upright;* commonly with *Păthăch* (to indicate the *Dāg. f. implic.* of the final syllable), דַּל *abject*, רַב *much*, *fem.* רַבָּה, דַּבָּה. From the *Inf.* 10, 11: בַּז *booty*, חֵן *favour*, חֹק *law*, *fem.* מִצָּה *word*, חֻקָּה *law;* 14. סֵבֶב *that which surrounds anything*, סָכָךְ *covering*, צִנָּה *shield*, עֹז *fastness*, *fem.* מְעֻנָּה *roll.* Through the removal of the pretonic vowel have arisen forms after the analogy of No. 10 (קָטָל, קָטַל), which are further developed into proper segholate forms (No. 11); as מֶמֶר (from מָרַר, r. מרר) *bitterness*, מֹרֶךְ *timidity* (from מָרַךְ, r. רכך). 27. תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer;* also in the segholate form, as תֶּמֶס *a melting away* (from תָּמַס, r. מסס), perh. also תֹּרֶן *mast* (from רָנַן *to make a tremulous sound*). From *Pilpēl* (§ 55, 4), גִּלְגַּל *wheel* and *whirlwind* (from גָּלַל *to roll*), קִלְקַל *contemned*, קִדְקֹד *crown* (of the head), בַּקְבּוּק *flask*, etc.

III. *From Stems* פ"ו *and* פ"י.

The participial forms are regular. To the Infinitive belong: 10. יֵד, *fem.* יָדָה, דַּעַת *knowledge*, עֵצָה *counsel.* 13. סוֹד, for יְסוֹד *divan.* 14. מוֹרָא *fear*, מוֹשָׁב *seat*, מוֹקֵשׁ *snare*, מוֹלֶדֶת *birth*, מוּסָר *punishment;* from verbs פ"י of the 2d class (§ 70), מֵיטַב *the best* and acc. to § 71: מָדָע, מַיְדַע (comp. Aram. מַנְדַּע) *knowledge* from יָדַע. 27. תּוֹשָׁב *inhabitant*, תּוֹלָדָה or תּוֹלֶדֶת *generation* (only *pl. constr.* תּוֹלְדוֹת), תֵּימָן *the south.*

IV. *From Stems* ע"ו *and* ע"י.

Participles: 1. זָר *foreign.* 2. גֵּר *stranger*, עֵדָה *a female witness, testimony.* 3. טוֹב *good*, טוֹבָה *what is good.* Infinitives: 11. various segholate forms, as מָוֶת *death* (Arab. *maut*) and בַּיִת *house* (Arab. *bait*); שׁוֹט (Arab. *saut*) *whip*, שׁוֹק (Arab. *sâq*) *leg*, רוּחַ *spirit;* in feminine עַוְלָה and עוֹלָה *evil*, בֹּשֶׁת *shame.* 14. מָנוֹחַ, *fem.* מְנוּחָה *rest*, מָקוֹם *place*, also מְשׁוֹט *oar* (from שׁוּט), and מְעָרָה *cave* (from עוּר). 27. תְּהוֹם *the deep*, תְּבוּנָה *intelligence*, תְּעוּדָה *testimony.* 28. הֲנָחָה *rest.* 31. נִיחוֹחַ *satisfaction.*

V. *From Stems* ל"ה.

Participles: 1. יָפֶה *fair*, קָשֶׁה *hard*, *fem.* קָשָׁה, יָפָה. Some lose the ה־, as יָד *hand*, יָו *sign* (for יָוֶה). 4. רֹאֶה *seer*, *fem.* עוֹלָה *burnt-offering.* 5. נָקִי *pure*, עָנִי *poor.*—Infinitives: 11. The segholates in various forms; at times like בֶּכֶה *a weeping*, קֵצֶה *end;* sometimes also curtailed, as עַד *duration, eternity* (from עֶדֶה). Sometimes the original ו appears, but then merely as a toneless helping vowel, as in שְׂחוֹ *a swimming*,

תֹּהוּ, בֹּהוּ *waste;* but on the other hand with י, as in פְּרִי *fruit* (Grdf. *pĕrj* and farther attenuated to *pirj*), חֳלִי (*chŭlj*) *sickness*, חֲצִי (Grdf. *chiṣj*)—*half;* the *fem.* form always with consonant ו or י, as in שִׁלְוָה *rest*, לִוְיָה *garland.* 12. (really belonging to 1.): רֵעָה *friend;* with rejection of the ending: עֵץ *tree.* 13. סְתָו *winter.* 14. מִקְנֶה *possession*, מַרְאֶה *appearance*, מַעֲשֶׂה *deed*, מַחֲנֶה *camp; fem.* מִצְוָה *command.* Apocopated form, מַעַל *height* (for מַעֲלֶה). 15. קִנְיָן *wealth*, כִּלָּיוֹן *destruction.* 16. דְּמוּת *resemblance*, פְּדוּת *deliverance* etc. 27. חַבְלִית *annihilation*, חַבְנִית *structure*, חַרְבּוּת *brood.* 28. אֶשֶׁךְ *testicle* for אַשְׁכָּה (from שָׂכָה), really *'ăskăj.*

VI. *From doubly weak Stems.*

We present only some cases of especial difficulty for the beginner to find the triliteral stem:

1. From a verb פ"ן and ל"א, שְׁאֵת and שֵׂת *elevation* (Job 41, 17) for נְשֹׂא, שַׂאת from שֵׂאת.

2. From a verb פ"ו and ל"ה, תּוֹרָה (pl. תּוֹרֹת) *instruction, law*, תּוֹדָה *thanksgiving.*

3. From a verb ע"א and ל"ה, שֵׂת *tumult* Num. 24, 17 (for שַׂאֲת = שַׂאֲת) from שָׂאָה.

4. From a verb ע"ו and ל"ה, אִי (for אַיִי) *island*, from אָוָה *to dwell;* אוֹת *sign* derived from אָת which again comes from *'ăvăjăt* (with ת fem., comp. Arab. *'âjăt*, Aram. אָת), from אָוָה; קַו and קָו *cord*, from קָוָה; חָא *chamber* (for חָוּ), from חָוָה *to dwell* (secondary form of אָוָה v. s.); גּוֹי *people* (from גָּוָה, Arab. *confluxit*); רִי *irrigation* (for רְוִי, from רָוָה).

To the learner the stem is often obscured also though the loss of נ, ד or ה by contraction, e. g. גַּת *wine-press* for גַּנְת, גֶּת and this for רֶגֶשׁ (from רָגַן *to press*); אַף *anger* for אַנְף (*'anp*); אֱמֶת *faithfulness* for אֲמָנֶת (from אָמַן), עֵת *time* for עִדֶּת (*'idt* with *fem.* ת), from יָדָה; זִו for זִהְיו *brightness* (from זָהָה).

§ 86.

DENOMINATIVE NOUNS.

1. Such are all nouns which are formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive, or derived from a verb, e. g. קַדְמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קֶדֶם *the east,* which is itself derived from the verb קָדַם.

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given among the verbal nouns, the denominatives as secondary (though partly very old) forms, being entirely analogous to nouns derived from the verb.

The verbal with מ prefixed, e. g. was employed to express the *place of an action* (§ 84, No. 14); accordingly this מ *local* was prefixed to a noun in order to make it a *designation of place* (see No. 3 below).

The principal forms are the following:—

1. Like the *Part. Qăl* (No. 4 of the Verbals), as שֹׁעֵר *porter*, from שַׁעַר *gate;* בֹּקֵר *herdsman*, from בָּקָר *herd;* כֹּרֵם *vine dresser*, from כֶּרֶם *vineyard.*

2. Like the verbals of No. 6, קַשָּׁת *archer*, from קֶשֶׁת *bow;* מַלָּח *seaman*, from מֶלַח *salt, sea.* Both these forms (Nos. 1 and 2) indicate occupations inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in της, τεύς, e. g. πολίτης, γραμματεύς.

3. Nouns with מ prefixed, expressing the place in or near which a thing is found (comp. No. 14 of the Verbals), e. g. מַעְיָן *place of fountains*, from עַיִן *fountain;* מַרְגְּלוֹת *place about the feet*, מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *place about the head*, from רֶגֶל, רֹאשׁ; מִקְשָׁה for מִקְשָׁא *cucumber field*, from קִשָּׁא *cucumber.* Comp. ἀμπελών, from ἄμπελος.

4. Adjectival designations, with add. of וֹן —ָן, as קַדְמוֹן *eastern*, from קֶדֶם; אַחֲרוֹן *hinder*, from אַחַר; חִיצוֹן *exterior*, from חוּץ; לְוְיָתָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from לְוְיָה *a winding*, נְחֻשְׁתָּן *copper image*, from נְחֹשֶׁת *copper.* Also *abstracts*, as עִוָּרוֹן *blindness*, from עִוֵּר. Comp. § 84, No. 15.

וֹן forms a *diminutive* (like the Syriac ךָ), in אִישׁוֹן *little man* (in the eye), *apple of the eye* from אִישׁ; on the contrary שְׁפִיפֹן *little snake*, is really an adjective form, from שָׁפַף *to rub* (perhaps=rubber-like). In the same way יְשׁוּרוֹן is really a denominative from יָשׁוּר (=יָשָׁר) and not a diminutive (*pious little people* and the like), but rather *upright* (*righteous people*); finally שָׁהֲרוֹן is not *little moon*, but *artificial moon* (*jewelry*), and צַוְּארוֹנִים, not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צַוָּאר *neck*). Comp. *Delitzsch* on Cant. 4, 9.

5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination י—ִ, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals, gentilics*, and *patronymics;* e. g. נָכְרִי *strange*, from נֵכָר *what is foreign;* שִׁשִּׁי *sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six;* מוֹאָבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב; יִשְׂרְאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the substantive is a *compound*, it is commonly resolved again into two words, e. g. בֶּן־יְמִינִי *Benjaminite*, from בִּנְיָמִין (for the use of the article with such forms, see § 111, 1, Rem.). Rarely instead of י— we have *a*) the ending ַי— (as in Aramæan), as כַּיְלַי *deceitful* and in proper names, as בַּרְזַלַּי (*ferreus*, from בַּרְזֶל *iron*) *Barzillai;* and *b*) its parallel ה—, as אִשָּׁה *belonging to fire* (אֵשׁ) *fire-food, sacrifice;* לִבְנָה (prop. *milky*) *white poplar*, arab. *lubnaj.*

6. *Abstract* nouns formed from *concretes* by the addition of וּת and ־וּת (comp. the Eng. terminations *-dom,-hood,-ness*, etc.); e. g. מַלְכוּת

kingdom, from מָלַךְ; אַלְמָנוּת *widow-hood*, from אַלְמָן *widower*, אַלְמָנָה *widow*; רֵאשִׁית *principium*, from רֹאשׁ=רֵאשׁ *princeps*. (See the Verbals No. 16.)

§ 87.

OF THE PLURAL.

1. The *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is ־ִים, e. g. סוּס *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses*, often also written defectively ־ִם, especially when in the same word a ו or י has already gone before as a so-called *fulcrum*, as in Gen. 1, 21 תַּנִּינִם. Nouns in ־ִי end with ־ִיִם in the plural, as עִבְרִיִּם *Hebrews* (Ex. 3, 18), from עִבְרִי, but usually a contraction takes place, as עִבְרִים, שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי.—Nouns in ־ֶה lose this termination when they take the plural-ending, e. g. חֹזֶה *seer, plur.* חֹזִים (comp. § 75, 3).—In regard to the removal of the accent from the ־ִם in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, comp. § 96. The termination ־ִים is found sometimes also with feminines (comp. נָשִׁים *women*, § 96, under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years* from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים *ewes*, from רָחֵל) and is employed elsewhere to represent intensive ideas (§ 108, 2), so that the designation of gender is not necessarily attached to it (comp. also No. 3).

This ending *îm* is also prevalent in Phœnician, e. g. צדנם *Sidonians;* in Aramæan it is *în*, in Arabic *ûn* (nominative) and *în* (the other cases), in Ethiopic *ân*. Compare also the ending ון in *3d pers. pl. mas.* of verbs.[1]

Less frequent terminations of the *plur. masc.* are:

a) ־ִין, as in Aramaic (aside from the poetical use in some older and even the oldest portions), almost exclusively in the later books of the O. Test., e. g. מְלָכִין *kings* Prov. 31, 3, צְרֹרִין 1 K. 11, 33, רָצִין *a guard* 2 K. 11, 13, חִטִּין *wheat* Ez. 4, 9; defectively אִיִן *islands* Ez. 26, 18, יָמִין *days* Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מְדִין *carpets* Judges 5, 10 (in the north Palestinian song of *Deborah* which shows also other linguistic peculiarities); עִירִין *ruins* Micah 3, 12 (apparently caused by the following ת); מִלִּין *words* (from the Aram. מִלָּה) Job 4, 2 and in 12 other places (also מִלִּים, 10 times); further Job 24, 22, 31, 10, Lam. 1, 4.—Doubtful is however:

[1] On the connection between all these endings, see *Dietrich's* Abhandlungen zur Heb. Grammatik, Leipzig, 1846, 8vo., p. 51 etc.

b) ־ִי (with ם cast off, as according to some in *dual* יָדַי for יָדַיִם Ez. **13**, 18; comp. the *constr. st.* § 89, 2), e. g. מֵעַי *chords* Ps. **45**, 9, for מֵעִים (if it is not to be written so); עַמִּי *peoples* Ps. **144**, 2 and prob. also Lam. **3**, 14, (2 Sam. **22**, 44 satisfies the rendering *my people;* comp. in paral. ex. Ps. **18**, 44 עָם; also in Cant. **8**, 2 would the *î* of רַמֹּנִי better be taken as a *suff.*). If according to this nearly all cases of this sort are more or less doubtful (comp. also 2 Sam. **23**, 8; 1 Ch. **11**, 11, 1 Sam. **20**, 38 K^{e}thibh and *Gesenius's* Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache, S. 524 ff.), for the whole question, it has at least its analogy in the other Semitic languages. On the Assyrian plural ending *i* compare, *Schrader* in the Zeitsch. der DMG. XXVI, p. 218 ff. (e. g. *malki*, princes). In Syr. we have the corresp. plur. *malkê* (מַלְכֵא), likewise in the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud גַּבְרֵי *men;* finally the apocopè of the מ or נ is very common in the pronunciation of the West. Aram. e. g. תְּלֵי for תְּלִים *Psalms.*—More doubtful still is—

c) ־ֵי (like the *constr. state* in Syriac); and here are reckoned, e. g. חוֹרֵי *white cloths* Is. **19**, 9, שָׂרֵי *princes* Judg. **5**, 15, חַלּוֹנֵי *windows* Jer. **22**, 14. This last is also taken for dual (§ 88, Rem. 1) *two windows*, but it is probably a corrupt reading for חַלּוֹנִים; שָׂרַי may be *my princes* (with suff.), and ־ֵי in חוֹרֵי is a formative syllable (*white cloth*). Further חֲשׁוּפֵי in Is. **20**, 4 is either *constr. st.*, comp. § 89, Rem., or likewise coll. sing. with the ending ־ֵי; שַׁדַּי *the Almîghty*, from the stem שָׁדַד, is formed with the adjective ending ־ַי, while in the collectively used singular גּוֹבַי *locust-swarm* Am. **7**, 1, Nah. **3**, 17 (from גֵּבָה) the ־ַי belongs to the stem (cf. שָׂרַי Ps. **8**, 8, f. שָׂרָה); finally, in אֲדוֹנָי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the so-called plural of Majesty, אֲדֹנִים *lord*) the *ay* is originally a suffix; see § 121, Rem. 4.

d) ־ָם, as supposed plural ending in כִּנִּים=כִּנָּם *midges*, which however is rather a collective singular (of the stem כָּנָן) with the formative syllable ־ָם (comp. § 84, No. 15); likewise סֻלָּם *ladder*, prop. *steps* (from סָלַל I), comp. our *stairs*.

2. The *plural* termination for the *feminine gender* is וֹת (often written defectively ־ֹת), which takes the place of the singular feminine-ending ־ָת, ־ַת, ־ָה, when the noun in the singular ends with one of these; otherwise it is merely appended to the form of the singular, as תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, plur.* תְּהִלּוֹת; אִגֶּרֶת *letter, plur.* אִגְּרוֹת; בְּאֵר *a well, plur.* בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in ־ִית form their plural in ־ִיּוֹת, and those in ־וּת, in ־וּיוֹת, e. g. מִצְרִית *an Egyptian woman, plur* מִצְרִיּוֹת; מַלְכוּת *kingdom, plur.* מַלְכֻיּוֹת. These last plurals have, however, for their basis, the singular endings ־ִיָּה and ־ֻיָּה before which *Yôdh* to be retained as a consonant must be doubled.

Rem. It is only from mistake or disregard of these feminine-endings וֹת and ־ִית— that some words ending with them, form their plural by the addition of ־ִים—, e. g. חֲנִית *spear, plur.* חֲנִיתִים and חֲנִיתוֹת; זְנוּת *whoredom, plur.* זְנוּתִים; אַלְמְנוּתִים *widowhood,* and many other instances. After the manner of the Syriac is the formation of the plural (before suffixes) עֵדוֹת (*ēdh^e-wô'th*) *laws,* with *Wāw* as a consonant, from the singular עֵדוּת.

This ending וֹת (*-ôth*) stands for *-âth* (as it sounds in Arab., Ethiop. in the construct state of the West. Aram. in Eastern Syriac also in Assyrian, Schrader l. l. p. 222; see on the change of *â* to *ô*, in § 9, 10, 2), and *-âth* is properly only a longer and stronger form of the singular-ending *ăth* (§ 80, 2). The strengthening is intended partly to denote the plural and partly as intensive; and this ending is thus by a further application appended even to such nouns as have not *-ăth* in the singular.

How the changeable vowels of the noun are modified by the addition of the plural endings, is explained in §§ 92—95.

3. Words which are of two genders (§ 107, 3) have often, in the plural, both the masculine and the feminine termination, e. g. עָב *cloud,* pl. עָבִים and עָבוֹת; both forms may be employed as masculine and feminine, but their gender must be determined by observing the usage of the language in respect to each word. But a number also of other words of one invariable gender have both (*masc.* and *fem.*) plural-endings, e. g. דּוֹר *m. an age, plur.* דּוֹרִים and דּוֹרוֹת; שָׁנָה *f. a year, plur.* שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת. The gender of the singular is in such cases retained with both the plural forms, e. g. אֲרִי *m. a lion, plur.* אֲרָיוֹת *m.* (Zeph. 3, 3), דּוֹרוֹת *m.* (Job 42, 16).

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days* and שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only *constr.* Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15) and שָׁנוֹת are rare poetic forms.

A difference of sense appears in the use of several words for members of the body, the dual (see § 88) being used for the living members themselves, while the plural in וֹת denotes something like them but without life; e. g. יָדַיִם *hands,* יָדוֹת *artificial hands, tenons* Ex. 26, 51, כַּפַּיִם *hands,* כַּפּוֹת *handles* (L. *manubria*); קַרְנַיִם *horns,* קְרָנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינַיִם *eyes,* עֲיָנוֹת *fountains.*

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וֹת—, while many feminines have a plural in ־ִים—. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains in the plural; e. g. אָב *father, plur.* אָבוֹת; שֵׁם *m. name, plur.* שֵׁמוֹת;

on the contrary, מִלָּה *f. word, plur.* מִלִּים; פִּלֶגֶשׁ *f. concubine, plur.* פִּלַגְשִׁים.

5. It is only in adjectives and participles that we find the two plural-endings strictly and constantly distinguished according to the gender, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni,* טוֹבוֹת *bonæ;* קְטָלִים *m.,* קְטָלוֹת *f.* So also in substantives of the same stem, when the difference depends on sex, as בָּנִים *filii,* בָּנוֹת *filiæ;* מְלָכִים *reges,* מְלָכוֹת *reginæ.*

Rem. 1. In some few words, there is added to the plural form in וֹת the other termination of the plural יִם־ (ִי־ in construct state, comp. § 89, 2) or that of the dual ַיִם־; e. g. בָּמָה *height, pl.* בָּמוֹת, *construct state* בָּמוֹתֵי; מֵרַאשׁוֹתֵי שָׁאוּל *from* places *at the head of Saul* 1 Sam. 26, 12; חוֹמָה *wall, plur.* חוֹמוֹת (*mœnia*), whence *dual* חוֹמוֹתַיִם *double wall.* This double designation of the plural appears also in the manner of connecting suffixes with the plural forms in וֹת (§ 91, 3).

2. Some nouns are used only in the sing. (e. g. אָדָם *man,* collectively *men*) a series of other nouns are used only in the plural, e. g. מָתִים *men* (in Eth. the *sing.* is *mĕt* man); and some of these have a singular sense (§ 108, 2), as פָּנִים *face.* Also when the actual plural of the latter is required, there is but the same way of expressing it; hence, פָּנִים means also *faces* in Gen. 40, 7, Ez. 1, 6; אֱלֹהִים *God* and also *gods.*

§ 88.
OF THE DUAL.

1. As a most ancient modification of the plural, we have the *dual,* which however in Hebrew is used only in substantives (v. No. 2) not in adjectives, verbs, and pronouns. It is indicated in both genders by the ending ַיִם־, appended to the singular, as יָדַיִם *both hands,* יוֹמַיִם *two days;* but instead of the feminine-ending ה־, the dual-form always takes the old ending *ath,* with a long *ā* (on account of the open syllable), thus תַיִם־, as שָׂפָה *lip,* שְׂפָתַיִם *both lips;* the ת of the termination ת־ remains, as נְחֹשֶׁת, in *dual* נְחֹשְׁתַּיִם *double fetters.*

With nouns which stand in sing. without the fem. ending the dual ending is added to the ground form; which however generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the removal of the tone, e. g. כָּנָף *wing* (ground form *kănăph*), *Dual* כְּנָפַיִם (the first *ă* becoming *Shᵉwâ,* since it is no longer

pretonic, and the second *ă* being lengthened before the new tone syllable). But in most cases the original form remains before the dual ending, in the segholate forms (§ 84, 11), as רֶגֶל *foot* (Grdf. *răgl*), *dual* רַגְלַיִם; yet קַרְנַיִם is used as well as קְרָנַיִם (from קֶרֶן *horn*), לְחָיַיִם from לְחִי *cheek* (as from the plurals קְרָנוֹת, לְחָיִם).

Rem. 1. Unusual forms of the dual, mostly occurring only in proper names, are;—*a*) ־ַיִן (as in West. Aram.,—comp. *aini* of the Accusative in Arab.) and ־ָן (—*âni* of the nom. in Arab.), as הַתַּיִן Gen. **37**, 17, and הַתָּן 2 K. **6**, 13 (*pr. name* of a city, prop. *two wells*); כַּרְתָּן (dual of כַּרְתָּה) name of a town, called also קִרְיָתַיִם in 1 Ch. **6**, 61, Josh. **21**, 32 (so too the Moabite cities in Mêsha's Inscription in line 10 קריחן *Qiryathân* or *Qiryathên*=קִרְיָתַיִם in O. Test.; in line 30 בת דבלתם=בֵּית דִּבְלָתַיִם Jer. **48**, 22; in lines 31 and 32 חורנן=חֹרֹנַיִם in O. Test., also line 15 צהרם=צְהָרַיִם *noon;* in line 20 מאתן=מָאתַיִם *two hundred*);—*b*) ־ָם, prob. in the *pr. n.* חַמְדָּם *the double spring*, and ־ִים in שְׁנַיִם *two* in the combination שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר *twelve* (besides the usual form שְׁנֵי־);—*c*) ־ַי (with ם cast off), יָדַי Ez. **13**, 18 (if we do not read יָדַיִם here), perhaps also חַלּוֹנַי (*double windows*) Jer. **22**, 14 (but see § 87, 1, *c*).

2. Only seemingly dual are the words מַיִם *water*, שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם *Jerusalem*. The former two are plurals from the lost singulars מַי, שָׁמַי (comp. § 87, 1); the latter is probably a distended form for the older יְרוּשָׁלֵם,[1] and the Massora, with its *Qᵉrî perpet.*, did not mean a dual; comp. the shorter form שָׁלֵם Ps. **76**, 3, and the Aramaic יְרוּשְׁלֶם.

2. The use of the *dual* in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, etc. (§ 97), chiefly to such objects as are by nature or art in *pairs*, as יָדַיִם *both hands*, חֻפַּיִם *both fists*, אָזְנַיִם *both ears*, שִׁנַּיִם *set of teeth* (used of the *two* rows); further נַעֲלַיִם *pair of shoes*, מֹאזְנַיִם *pair of scales* (Lat. *bilanx*), or at least are thought of as forming a *pair*, as יוֹמַיִם *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*, שְׁנָתַיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*, אַמָּתַיִם *two cubits*.

Rem. In the former case the dual is used also for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, as שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i. e.: three pairs) Is. **6**, 2, Ez. **1**, 6; שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes* Zech. **3**, 9; כָּל־יָדַיִם[2] *all hands* Ez. **21**, 12; כָּל־בִּרְכַּיִם *all knees* Ezek. **7**, 17; מְצִלְתַּיִם *cymbals* Ezr. **3**, 10; שִׁפּוֹדַיִם *double-hooks* Ez. **40**, 43.—With some emphasis the dual takes also the numeral *two*, as in Amos **3**, 12, Judg. **16**, 28.

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[1] See *Gesenii* Thesaurus Ling. Hebrææ, p. 629.

[2] With this use of the *dual* may be compared the Welsh *dwy-law* (two-hands) used for the only *plur.* of *llaw* (hand), and *dwy-fron* (two-breasts) for the *chest*, but *bronau* (the reg. pl. of *bron*) for the *breasts*.—*Tr.*

See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87, Nos. 3 and 5, Rem. 1.

It cannot be doubted that the Hebrew, at an earlier period, made a more extensive and free use of the dual, and that the restrictions and defects above specified belong to a later phase of its developement. The ancient Arabic forms the dual in the noun, pronoun and verb, almost co-extensively with the Sanskrit or Greek; but the modern Arabic omits it almost entirely in verbs, pronouns and adjectives. The Syriac has it without living force, only in a couple of words, and that somewhat as in the Latin forms *ambo, duo, octo.* In like manner, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the more modern East-Indian tongues; and its full use in the Old-Slavic has been later, e. g. in the Bohemian, confined as in Heb. to *pairs,* as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see *Grimm's* Gramm. I. p. 814, 2d ed.

§ 89.

THE GENITIVE AND THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

1. The Hebrew has no longer the living use of *case-endings,*[1] but indicates the *relations of case,* either not at all, which is true of the *nominative* and generally also of the *accusative,* or by prepositions (§ 117); but the *genitive* relation is indicated by a close connection between two nouns. The noun, which serves in Latin or Greek as genitive to limit another (*nomen rectum*), in Hebrew remains unchanged, and is only uttured in more close connection with the preceding (*nomen regens*), and the two nouns are sometimes said to be in *regimen.* In consequence of this connection, the tone hastens on the second (the genitive) of the two nouns[2] and the first (or governing noun) suffers a shortening by changes chiefly in the vowels (when changeable), e. g. דָּבָר *word,* דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *word of God,* literally *word-God* (where we reverse the order, as *God's-word,* like *fruit-tree*); יָד *hand,* יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand of the king;* and partly in both consonants and vowels, e. g. דְּבָרִים

[1] On some traces of obsolete case-endings, see § 90.

[2] In accordance with the universal tendency of the tone, in the Hebrew, as well as other languages, to hasten towards the end of words (§ 29, 1); observe, for instance, in German the natural accentuation of the last word in "*der Thron des Königs*".

words, דִּבְרֵי הָעָם *words of the people.* Thus in Hebrew,[1] the noun which stands *before a genitive* suffers a change (when there is any), by which this relation is indicated, and in grammatical language it is said to be in the *construct state,* while a noun which is not thus followed by a genitive is said to be in the *absolute state.* This goes to show that the construct state is not strictly the result of the syntactical relation, but merely an effect of the relations of tone.

Whether such words are (as often happens) connected by Măqqē'ph (§ 16, 1) or not, does not affect the sense, but depends on the accentuation. On the further use of the *construct state,* see the Syntax, §§ 114, 116.

2. The *vowel*-change which many nouns exhibit in the *construct state* are fully taught in the Paradigms, §§ 92—95. This *construct* form of the noun has, moreover, peculiar *endings* better fitted for union with the following noun. Thus:—

a) In place of the plural and dual *endings* ־ִים and ־ַיִם, it has, by throwing off the *m*, simply ־ֵי (comp. Rem. below); e. g. סוּסִים *horses,* סוּסֵי פַרְעֹה *horses of Pharaoh;* עֵינַיִם *eyes,* עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *eyes of the king.*

b) In place of the usual feminine-termination ־ָה (in the *absol. state*), it always takes the original ending ־ַת, as מַלְכָּה *queen,* מַלְכַּת שְׁבָא *queen of Sheba.* But the feminine-termination ־ַת remains unchanged in the *constr. st.* as well as the plural ending ־וֹת.

c) Nouns in ־ֶה (from verbs ל״ה, § 85, V.) form their *constr. st.* in ־ֵה; as רֹאֶה *seer, constr.* רֹאֵה; undoubtedly this ־ֵה is contracted from original ־ֵי (the ה being orthographically retained) whilst the absol. state has been changed, after the *Yôdh* had been dropped, from רֹאֵי into רֹאֶה (v. § 75, 1); the same contraction is found with דַּי *constr.* דֵּי *sufficiency;* חַי *life, constr.* חֵי, and so also גַּיְא (גַּי) *valley, constr.* (גֵּי) גֵּיא.

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[1] What is here said of the Heb. mode of expressing the relation of the genitive, is applicable in almost every particular also to the Keltic. In Welsh, for instance, they express *word of God* by *gair Duw,* i. e. *word-God,* without any change in either noun, their close connection in utterance being all that indicates the genitive case.—*Tr.*

On the ending וֹ and ־ִ in the *constr. st.*, see § 90.

Rem. to *a*). Probably the liquid מ at the end of a word was pronounced obscurely, like the Latin *-m* before a vowel, and hence might be wholly lost in pronunciation, just as the *m*, in the case alluded to (commonly called *ecthlipsis*), was obscured or slurred over in the language of common life and in poetry. (*Quinct. Inst. Orat.* IX. 4, § 40; *Schneider's* Lat. Gram. I. pp. 153, 300). So also the corresponding *n* of the plural-ending in Arabic and Aramæan is slurred over, and that of the plural-ending וֹן in the verb (§ 44, 1, and § 47, Rem. 4). After the rejection of the *m*, the final vowel *i* of the plural-ending was strengthened by a foregoing *a* (*Guna*, in Sanskrit grammar), so that *ai* arose, which was then contracted to *ê* (§ 7, 1, and § 9, 6). Instead of ־ִי, the Syriac still has ־ֵי: in Hebrew, too, this form may be clearly traced in the suffixes to the plural noun (§ 91, 2). Of this we have, perhaps, an example in the form חֲשׁוּפֵי שֵׁת Is. 20, 4.—It is obvious that the ־ִי of the *dual* has come from ־ֵי (יָדַי from יָדַיִם).

§ 90.

TRACES OF ANCIENT CASE-ENDINGS.

ה־ local, ־ִ and וֹ appended to the construct state.

1. As the Arabic distinguishes three cases by terminations, so we find also in the Hebrew noun three endings, which correspond in sound to those of the Arabic, but have mostly lost their significance. These endings (the so-called *paragogic letters*) appear only as crumbled remains of a fuller and more vital organic developement, than the language exhibits in the Old Testament, where it no longer ordinarily distinguishes the cases by terminations.

The Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptota*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative (corresponding to the three primary vowels); in the so-called *Diptota* the ending *a* represents also the genitive. In modern Arabic, these endings have almost entirely disappeared; and when they are now and then used, as by the Bedawins, it is done without regularity, so that one is used for the other (*Wallin*, in Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Gesellsch. Bd. V., 1851, p. 9, Bd. XII., p. 874; *Wetzstein*, ibid. Bd. XXII., 1868, p. 113). Already, in the Sinaitic inscription, the regular use is not adhered to (*Beer*, Studia asiatica, III., 1840, p. XVIII; *Tuch*, in Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. Bd. III., p. 139); and even at present among the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai, one may hear e.g. *ʿammuk* (thy uncle, in the

nom.) used also for *'ammik* (*gen.*) and *'ammak* (*acc.*). In central Arabia the three endings are still heard in the mouth of the people of the towns; farther south and east the *-a* stands for the *-i*, and nearer the coast these endings are heard no more (*Palgrave's* Narrative of a Year's Journey through central and eastern Arabia, Vol. I., p. 465, Lond. 1865). The Ethiopic, likewise, has preserved only the *-a* (in pr. names—*hâ*), which is, however, still used for the whole scope of the accusative, and moreover (the distinction of case being dropped) as a termination of the *constr. st.* for connecting it with a following genitive. *Philippi* gives a lucid discussion of the questions belonging here in: "Wesen und Ursprung des Status constr. im Hebrew. — Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt." Weimar 1871, p. 96 ff. (Compare the criticism on it by *Nöldeke* in the Götting. gel. Anzeig. 1871. St. 23.)

2. The *accusative* relation is still most obvious in the ending ה֫— (usually without accent), which is appended to the substantive—

a) Mostly to denote *direction* towards an object, or *motion* to a place[1] (answering to our *-ward*), e. g. יָמָּה *seaward, westward,* צָפוֹנָה *northward,* אַשּׁוּרָה *to Assyria,* בָּבֶלָה *to Babylon,* הָרָה (from הַר) *mountain-ward* Gen. 14, 10, אַרְצָה *to the earth,* בַּיְתָה *into a house,* תִּרְצָתָה *to Tirzah* (from תִּרְצָה) 1 K. 14, 17, עַזָּתָה *to Gaza* (from עַזָּה) Judg. 16, 1; with the article, הָהָרָה *to the mountain,* הַבַּיְתָה *into the house,* הָאׇהֱלָה (Grdf. *'o'hl*) *into the tent* (also הָאׇהֱלָה Gen. 18, 6, Exod. 18, 7); even after the *constr. state* with a genitive following, בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף *into Joseph's house,* אַרְצָה הַנֶּגֶב *to the south-land* Gen. 20, 1, אַרְצָה מִצְרַיִם *towards Egypt's land* Ex. 4, 20, מִדְבַּרָה דַּמֶּשֶׂק *towards the wilderness of Damascus,* 1 K. 19, 15 מִזְרָחָה שֶׁמֶשׁ (here *with the tone,* contrary to rule) *towards the rising of the sun, eastward,* Deut. 4, 41; and even after the plural, כַּשְׂדִּימָה *to the Chaldeans,* Ez. 11, 24, הַשָּׁמַיְמָה *the heavens-ward.*

b) Sometimes in a weaker sense, as merely pointing to the place *where*[2] something is; e. g. מָחֲנַיְמָה *at Mahanaim* 1 K. 4, 14; שָׁמָּה *there* (usually *thither*) Jer. 18, 2 comp.

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[1] See on this force of the accusative, § 118, 1: and compare the Lat. local accusative, as *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire.*

[2] So also elsewhere the accusative, § 118, 1.

2 K. 23, 8. (On the other hand בָּבֶלָה Jer. 29, 15 and זְבֻלָה Hab. 3, 11, must be taken as the usual accusative of direction: *to Babylon, in the dwelling;* also expressions like: פְּאַת צָפוֹנָה *the side towards the north* Jos. 15, 5, comp. 18, 15, 20, Ex. 26, 18).

c) The proper sense of the ending ה— is still more disregarded when a preposition is prefixed to the word, and this not only after לְ or עַד (which is easily explicable), e. g. לְמַעְלָה *upwards,* לְמַטָּה *downwards,* לִשְׁאֹלָה *into the grave* Ps. 9, 18; עַד־אַפֵקָה *unto Aphek,* Josh 13, 4 but also after בְּ and even after מִן e.g. בַּנֶּגְבָּה *in the south* Josh. 15, 21, מִבָּבֶלָה *from Babylon* Jer. 27, 16. Comp. also § 80, Rem. 2, *f.*

This termination ה— has usually reference to *place* (hence called *He local*); yet in rare cases it also refers to *time;* so, in עַתָּה (with the tone on the last syllable) *now, at this time* (from עֵת), מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה *from year to year.* Its use is peculiar in חָלִילָה, prop. *ad profanum!* = μὴ γένοιτο, *absit,* or *God forbid!*

Also as *accusatives of the object* we may regard not only a few names of places, Num, 32, 35, Josh. 21, 36 (אֶת־יַהְצָה), but also אַרְצָה זְבֻלוּן *terram Z.* and אַרְצָה נַפְתָּלִי *terram N.* Is. 8, 23; comp. Job. 34, 13 and § 80, Rem. 2, *e.*

As the ending ה— is properly unaccented, the vowels of the word, as the above examples show, undergo mostly no change; in מִדְבָּרָה (*const. state*, v. § 26, 3, *e*) the short vowel *ă* remains even in open tone-syllable. The segholate forms, as אַרְצָה, בַּיְתָה, appear according to their original form, without the helping-vowel (cf. also שַׁעֲרָתָה); so too the feminine ending appears in its older style (§ 80, 2), only that the *ă* of the ending ת— is lengthened to *ā* in the accented open syllable, as in תִּרְצָתָה.—Moreover, the ה— itself is in some cases shortened to ה—, as נֹבַה *to Nob* 1 Sam. 21, 2, 22, 9; דְּדָנָה *to Dedan* Ez. 25, 13, אָנָּה *whither* 1 K. 2, 36, 42.

3. Much less frequent, and almost exclusively poetical, is the use of the two other endings, which along with the accusative in ה—, are presumed to correspond to the Arabic case endings viz. the so-called *literæ compaginis* י— (the obsolete *genitive* ending) and ו— (also וּ— in proper names) the

obsolete *nominative* ending. The reference to case in these forms is *quite lost,* and they are to be regarded simply as *archaisms,* which occur in poetry or in elevated speech, and are found besides in many compound names handed down from early times. As in these names, so also elsewhere, these terminations stand only in the closest connection of noun with noun, wiz. in the *constr. state.*[1]

a) The ending י— is not quite rare in the *construct state,* and it usually has the tone, e. g. בְּנִי אֲתֹנוֹ *his ass's colt* Gen. 49, 11, עֹזְבִי הַצֹּאן *forsaking the flock* Zech. 11, 17, שֹׁכְנִי סְנֶה *dweller in the bush* Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine, גְּנֻבְתִּי לַיְלָה *stolen at night* Gen. 31, 39 (in excited speech), מְלֵאתִי מִשְׁפָּט *full of justice* Is. 1, 21, עַל דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק *after the manner of Melchizedek* Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the apparently numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the construct and the absolute state (comp. § 116, 1) without abolishing the relation of dependence e. g. רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם *mistress among the nations* Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of the tone from the י— here may have proceeded from the foregoing רַבָּתִי עָם, where the drawing back of the tone resulted from the following tone syllable; however comp. also אֹהֲבֵתִי לְרֹעַ Hos. 10, 11); אֹסְרִי לַגֶּפֶן *binding to the vine* Gen. 49, 11, comp. Ex. 15, 6, Obad. 3, Ps. 113, 5—9 (partly in freer constructions; v. 8 even with *Infin.*). Outside of the *constr. st.* is found the *Chîrĕq compaginis* e. g. Is. 22, 16, Mic. 7, 14, Ps. 123, 1, and besides these in like manner it is found with some particles which are strictly nouns in the *constr. st.,* as זוּלָתִי (=זוּלַת) *besides,* מִבְּלִי (poet. = מִן) *from,* בְּלִתִּי *not,* and in compound proper names, as מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק (i. e. king of righteousness), גַּבְרִיאֵל (man of God), חַנִּיאֵל (favour of God), and others; comp. the Punic name *Hannibal,* i. e. חַנִּיבַעַל (favour of Ba'al).

[1] In ancient combinations of words, other endings are also often retained which have disappeared elsewhere, or are but seldom employed; e. g. the feminine-ending ת— with the noun in the genitive connection (§ 89, 2, *b*) and with the verb in connection with suffixes (§ 59, 1). In like manner, many peculiarities of the language are retained in proper names, and also by the poets.

b) The always accented ending וֹ— is of much rarer occurrence, in prose only in the Pentateuch, and that in more elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חַיְתוֹ־אֶרֶץ *the beast of the earth* = חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ v. 25 (the same is copied in Ps. 50, 10, 79, 2, 104, 11, 20, Is. 56, 9, Zeph. 2, 14); other cases are בְּנוֹ בְעֹר *son of Beor* Num. 24, 3, 15, בְּנוֹ צִפֹּר *son of Zippor* 23, 18, and מַעְיְנוֹ מָיִם *fountain of water* Ps. 114, 8.—On the ending וּ—, see the following Rem.

Rem. As these two terminations וּ— and וֹ have wholly lost their significance, they can no longer pass for proper case-endings; yet it is probable that once they, as well as ה֫— (No. 2), were so used in the living language; for we find that the ancient Arabic had exactly corresponding endings, and like the Hebrew (see above) lost them at a later period. This is the case also in other tongues. In Latin, for instance, we find a trace of the so-called locative case (in names of towns, *ruri*, *domi*, etc.) with the same ending as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural-endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient terminations of case, which are no longer so used; not to mention the Germanic and Roman languages.—Even in cases where the ancient Arabic incorporated, with stronger sound, case-endings with the stem, as in אָבָא, אָבִי, אָבוּ (constr. st. of אָב *father*), the modern uses all three forms without distinction of case. Hence also probably in the Hebrew constr. state אֲחִי, אֲבִי, we have properly a genitive-ending; and in West. Aram., אֲבוּ, in Heb. מִתּוּ (in prop. names as מְתוּשֶׁאֲל and מָחוּשַׁלַח (שְׁמוּאֵל), פְּנוּ (פְּנוּאֵל), a nominative-ending, so that we can better understand how פְּנִיאֵל occurs along with פְּנוּאֵל, and אֲחִימַלֶךְ with אֲחִימֶלֶךְ.

§ 91.

THE NOUN WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In connecting the noun with pronominal suffixes, which in this case stand for the genitive of the pronoun and therefore necessarily are appended to the construct state of the noun (§ 33, 2, *b*), we have, as in the verb (§ 57 etc.), two things to notice, viz. the form of the suffixes themselves and the changes in the form of the noun. Here we take up chiefly the first, as the second will be treated of under the inflection of nouns in § 92. A general view of the suffixes is given also in Paradigm A. We exhibit the suffixes, first, as appended to the singular, and then as appended to the plural and dual of the noun.

1. The suffixes to the singular Nouns are these:—

Singular of Pronoun.		*Plural of Pronoun.*	
1. *com.* י—	*my.*	1. *com.* נוּ, נוּ—	*our.*
2. *m.* ךָ, הָ—, in *pause* ֶךָ; *f.* ךְ, הְ—	*thy.*	2. *m.* כֶם, כֶם—; *f.* כֶן, כֶן—	*your.*
3. *m.* הוּ, וֹ, הוּ—; ֹה, וֹ—	*his.*	3. *m.* הֶם, ם—, poet. מוֹ—; *f.* הֶן, ן—	*their.*
f. הָ, ה—, ָה—	*her.*		

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms here than when they are attached to the verb, and their use is as follows:—

a) The forms without a union-vowel are joined to the few nouns which in the *constr. st.* end with a vowel, as אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיהוּ and אֲבִיהָ, אֲבִיו, אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶן, אֲבִיכֶם, אֲבִיכֶן, אֲבִינוּ.

b) The forms with a union-vowel (§ 58, 3, *b*), are joined to nouns ending with a consonant. The union-vowel is usually *a* in the *3rd sing., fem.* ה— (for *aha*), and *3rd plur.* ם—, מוֹ—, ן—; also in *3d sing. masc.* וֹ, ֹה of which the *ô* is contracted from *āhû* (הוּ—) as well as the pausal form of the *2d masc.* ֶךָ (as a half lengthening of original ַךָ—). The forms with *e* are in the above mentioned *pers.* only used with nouns in ה— (from the stem ל"ה) *constr. st.* ה— (contracted from *ay*) e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ *his field* (for *sadaihû* or directly from *sadē-hu*); מַרְאֵהָ from *marajhā* = *marăhā* with the rejection of *Yôdh* and the half lengthening of *ă* to *Seghôl* in the accented open syllable; but שָׂדָהּ *her field* from *sāda*[*j*]*hā*. Outside of these ל"ה forms is found the union vowele, but rarely with *3d pers.* e. g. אוֹרֵהוּ *his light* Job **25**, 3, לְמִינָהּ *after its kind* Gen. **1**, 21, 25; but in *2d sing. fem.* ךְ— and in *1st plur.* נוּ—, are the customary forms, while ךְ—, נוּ— are of rare occurrence; see Rem. 2.—Instead of ךָ—, כֶם—, כֶן— (with *Shewâ mobile*), when the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, we have ַךָ—, ַכֶם—, ַכֶן— as in רוּחֲךָ *thy spirit*, בּוֹרְאֲךָ *thy creator* Is. **43**, 1, רֵעֲכֶם *your friend* Job **6**, 27.

2. Rare forms are—

Sing. 2d pers. *m.*, in pause ָכָה—, in כַּפֶּכָה *thy hand* Ps. **139**, 5; *fem.* ֵיךְ— Ez. **5**, 12, ֶכִי— Ps. **103**, 3, Jer. **11**, 15; once ֶכֵה— in מַלְאָכֶכָה *thy envoys* Nah. **2**, 14, comp. No. 2, Rem. 2; also ָךְ— (כָּלָךְ Is. **22**, 1).—3d pers. ִי, e. g. in the frequent אֶחָלֹה Gen. **9**, 21, **12**, 8, **13**, 3, **35**, 21 (throughout with *Qeri* וְאֶחֱלֹה); קְצֹה 2 K. **19**, 23, *Kethibh*, for which we find קְצֵי in Is. **37**, 24; עִירֹה and סוּתֹה Gen. **49**, 11 (Qeri עִירִי, סוּתִי).

Plur. 1st pers. נוּ—, in *pause* קִרְבָּנוּ Job **22**, 20, comp. Ruth **3**, 2, Is. **42**, 10.—2d pers. fem. כָּנָה Ez. **23**, 48, 49.—3d pers. *m.* ָהֵם—

2 Sam. 23, 6 (from which is contracted the usual form ־ָם). Fem. ־ָהֶנָּה 1 K. 7, 37, Ez. 16, 53; ־ָנָּה Gen. 41, 21, ־ָנָּה Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere mostly in pause; finally ־ַיִךְ as suff. to a noun, only in Is. 3, 17.

2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes must be considered to be appended to the original ending of the *construct state* (־ֵי comp. § 89, 2, Rem.). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2d *fem.* In most cases we find, what occurs in the construct state without suffixes, viz. the contraction into ־ֵי (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2d *masc.* and 3d *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic. suff. ־ֶיהוּ) the *Yôdh*, which has been virtually dropped, is retained orthographically. The preceding *ă* is either lengthened into *ā* (3d *masc. sing.*) or inflected into accented *Seghôl* (2d *masc.* and 3d *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *masc. sing.* see below under letter *b*. Thus we have the following:

Suffixes of Plural Nouns:

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1. *com.* ־ִי	*my.*	1. *com.* ־ֵינוּ	*our.*
2. *m.* ־ֶיךָ	*thy.*	2. *m.* ־ֵיכֶם	*your.*
2. *f.* ־ַיִךְ	*thy.*	2. *f.* ־ֵיכֶן	*your.*
3. *m.* ־ָיו, poet. ־ֶיהוּ	*his.*	3. *m.* ־ֵיהֶם, poet. ־ֵימוֹ	*their.*
3. *f.* ־ֶיהָ	*her.*	3. *f.* ־ֵיהֶן	*their.*

In these forms the original ־ֵי is *a*) contracted in the 3d *sing. masc.* ־ֶיהוּ and throughout the plural, as סוּסֵיהוּ, סוּסֵינוּ etc.; *b*) retained unchanged in the 1st *masc. sing.* סוּסֵי, the real suffix ending י or ־ִי being blended with the final *Yôdh* into ־ִי, and in the 2d *fem. sing.* סוּסַיִךְ (with auxiliary *Chirĕq* after the *Yôdh*); on the other hand *c*) the *Yôdh* of ־ֵי is abandoned and *α*) the *ă* lengthened into *ā* in the 3d *masc. sing.* סוּסָיו i. e. *sûsāw*; *β*) *ă* inflected into accented *Seghôl* in the 2d *masc. sing.* סוּסֶיךָ from *sûsăkhā* and in the 3d *fem. sing.* סוּסֶיהָ from *sûsăhā*.

Rem. 1. The *Yôdh* of these forms (letter *c* above), being only orthographically retained, is occasionally omitted (which in unpointed MSS creates slight confusion with the sing.), e. g. דְּרָכֶךָ for דְּרָכֶיךָ *thy*

ways Ex. 33, 13, רֵעֵהוּ for רֵעֶיהוּ *his friends* Job 42, 10, לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds* Gen. 1, 21. This omission of the *Yôdh* occurs esp. with the *suff.* 3d pers. *m. sing.*, where we very often find וֹ—, which is, however, almost invariably changed in the Q^{e}rî to ו—, e. g. חִצָּו *his arrows* Ps. 58, 8 in Q^{e}rî חִצָּיו.

2. Unusual forms are: *sing.* 2d pers. *fem.* יִךְ— (after the unchanged interjection אַשְׁרֵי *blessed!* Eccl. 10, 17, comp. *Delitzsch*), ֶיכִי— (comp. Syr. ִיכְ—) 2 K. 4, 3 and 7 in K^{e}*thibh*; Ps. 103, 3—5; entirely abnormal is מַלְאָבַכְהּ (so acc. to *Kimchi* Lex.) *thy messengers* apparently for מַלְאָבַיִךְ = מַלְאָבֶיךְ Nah. 2, 14.—3d pers. *masc.* וֹהִי (quite an Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12; 3d *fem.* ֶיהָא— Ez. 41, 15.—*Plur.* 2d pers. *fem.* ֶיכֶנָּה— Ez. 13, 20; 3d pers. *masc.* ֶיהֶמָּה— Ez. 40, 16, *fem.* ֶיהֶנָּה— Ez. 1, 11.

3. On ֶימוֹ— see § 103, 2, Rem.

3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *constr. st.* of the masculine plural. Yet this was so far lost sight of by those who spoke the language, that there arose the strange peculiarity (in fact the inaccuracy) of appending these *suffix*-forms (already embodying the plural-ending ִי—) to the feminine plural in וֹת, as סוּסוֹתַיִךְ, סוּסוֹתַיִךְ, where in reality a double indication of the plural occurs.[1]

NB. This is the rule; yet the bare suffix (as in No. 1) is sometimes appended to the ending וֹת, as עֲדוֹתַי Ps. 132, 12 (if not the *sing.* for עֲדוּתַי acc. to *Kimchi* in the Lex. תַּחֲנוּתַי 2 K. 6, 8, for תַּחֲנוּתַי); מַכַּתְךָ Deut. 28, 59 (acc. to analogy of inf. ל"ה). In the 3d *plur.* this is even the more prevalent mode; e. g. אֲבוֹתָם *their fathers*, oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם; so also שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, תּוֹלְדוֹתָם *their generations*, obviously to avoid the excessively long forms with יהֶם—.

4. We now subjoin, in illustration of the preceding statements, a Table of the *masculine* and the *feminine nouns* with *suffixes;* and choose for the purpose a word whose stem-vowel is unchangeable. It should be remarked however that the *construct*-ending ת— of the *feminine* retains its *Pâthăch* before the *grave* suffixes כֶם, כֶן, but changes it to *Qāmĕṣ* before the *light* suffixes.

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[1] See an analogous case in § 87, 5. Rem. 1. Comp. the double feminine-ending in the 3 *Sing. Perf.* of verbs ל"ה § 75, 4.

		Masculine Noun.		*Feminine Noun.*	
			Singular.		
	Absol. st.	סוּס[1]	a horse	סוּסָה	a mare.
	Constr. st.	סוּס	horse-of.	סוּסַת	mare-of.
Suff. sing.	1. *com.*	סוּסִי	my horse.	סוּסָתִי	my mare.
	2. *masc.*	סוּסְךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
	2. *fem.*	סוּסֵךְ	thy horse.	סוּסָתֵךְ	thy mare.
	3. *masc.*	סוּסוֹ	his horse.	סוּסָתוֹ	his mare.
	3. *fem.*	סוּסָהּ	her horse.	סוּסָתָהּ	her mare.
plur.	1. *com.*	סוּסֵנוּ	our horse.	סוּסָתֵנוּ	our mare.
	2. *masc.*	סוּסְכֶם	your horse.	סוּסַתְכֶם	your mare.
	2. *fem.*	סוּסְכֶן	your horse.	סוּסַתְכֶן	your mare.
	3. *masc.*	סוּסָם	their horse.	סוּסָתָם	their mare.
	3. *fem.*	סוּסָן	their horse.	סוּסָתָן	their mare.
			Plural.		
	Absol. st.	סוּסִים	horses.	סוּסוֹת	mares.
	Constr. st.	סוּסֵי	horses-of.	סוּסוֹת	mares-of.
Suff. sing.	1. *com.*	סוּסַי	my horses.	סוּסוֹתַי	my mares.
	2. *masc.*	סוּסֶיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
	2. *fem.*	סוּסַיִךְ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתַיִךְ	thy mares.
	3. *masc.*	סוּסָיו	his horses.	סוּסוֹתָיו	his mares.
	3. *fem.*	סוּסֶיהָ	her horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ	her mares.
plur.	1. *com.*	סוּסֵינוּ	our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ	our mares.
	2. *masc.*	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם	your mares.
	2. *fem.*	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן	your mares.
	3. *masc.*	סוּסֵיהֶם	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם	their mares.
	3. *fem.*	סוּסֵיהֶן	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן	their mares.

§ 92.

VOWEL-CHANGES IN THE NOUN.

1. The vowel-changes in a noun (often called its *inflection* comp. § 79, 2), are caused—*a*) by a noun following in the

[1] In learning this Paradigm and the others, let the accent be carefully placed on the last syllable, except when it is marked elsewhere (see § 15, Rem. 3).—*Tr.*

genitive,—*b*) by pronominal suffixes,—*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, of the absolute state, as well as of the construct (before the following genitive of a noun or suffix).

2. The tone, in all these cases, is moved forward one syllable or more, or even (*Stat. cons.*) thrown upon the following word. We here meet with three cases, viz.—

a) *When the tone is moved forward only one place,* as is the case in appending the plural and dual endings ־ִים— and ־ַיִם— as well as all the monosyllabic suffixes, or those which have their accent on the 1st syllable. In dissyllabic nouns the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 1st syllable becomes *Sh^{e}wâ* (because it no longer stands before the tone); on the other hand the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable is retained (as being now the pretonic vowel), e. g. דָּבָר *word* (groundform *dăbăr*), plur. דְּבָרִים, with the light suffix, commencing with a vowel: דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֵנוּ, plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֶיהָ, etc.; כָּנָף *wing,* dual: כְּנָפַיִם; also with the unchangeable vowel in the 2d syllable: פָּקִיד *overseer,* plur. פְּקִידִים with the suff. to the sing.: פְּקִידִי, פְּקִידֵנוּ etc.; to the plur. פְּקִידַי, פְּקִידֶיהָ etc.; with the unchangeable vowel in the 1st syllable: עוֹלָם *eternity,* plur. עוֹלָמִים, with the suff. עוֹלָמִי etc. But in participial forms with tone lengthened *ē* (originally *ĭ*) in the 2d syllable, this *ē* is reduced to *Sh^{e}wâ mobile* before the accented suffix e. g. אוֹיֵב *enemy,* plur. אוֹיְבִים, with suff. אוֹיְבִי etc., likewise in the formations analogous to קָטֵל (§ 84, No. 9) e. g. אִלֵּם *dumb,* pl. אִלְּמִים.

b) *When the tone is moved forward two places,* as in the dual and plural *construct,* and when the *grave*[1] *suffixes* are appended to the plural (־ֵיכֶם, ־ֵיהֶם). In this case the tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Sh^{e}wa,* and the vowel of the first syllable which had been

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[1] Nearly all the suffixes are *light*, being so called in distinction from the few that always carry a strong accent or tone, and which hence are called *grave*, namely ־ָם, ־ָן, ־ָהּ, ־ֶיךָ, ־ֵיכִי, ־ֵינוּ, ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶן.

lengthened, as being pretonic, becomes short again, e. g. דִּבְרֵי הָעָם *words of the people,* דִּבְרֵיכֶם *your words,* דִּבְרֵיהֶם *their words* (in which cases the *ĭ* of the 1st syllable is everywhere attenuated from *ă*).

Rem. In the socalled S^{e}ghôlate forms, in the singular the suffix is appended throughout to the groundform (מַלְכִּי *my king,* מַלְכֵּנוּ etc.); on the other hand, before the ending ־ִים, וֹת (partly also bef. ־ֵים) a *Qā'mĕṣ* is inserted as pretonic vowel, before which the vowel of the first syllable disappears (מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת). This *Qā'mĕṣ* is retained also before the light suffixes which are attached to the *pl. masc.*, so that (as with דִּבְרֵי etc. from דְּבָרִים) it has a semblance, as if the suffixes were attached, not to the *constr. state,* but to the *absol. state* (מְלָכֶיךָ, מְלָכַי etc.). On the contrary the *construct state* plural and dual form, according to letter *b* מַלְכֵי, with grave suffix מַלְכֵיכֶם etc.

c) Before the *Sh^{e}wâ mobile* which precedes the suff. הָ when appended to a consonant, the tone-long vowel of the penult is retained (being now in an open syllable before the tone) e. g. דִּמְהָ, דִּבְרָהּ; but before the grave suffixes כֶם and כֶן in the same position it is shortened, thus דִּבַרְכֶם (*d^{e}bărkhèm*) etc. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the 2d syllable in the *constr. sing.* is shortened, the tone going forward to the following word, e. g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; חֲצַר הַבַּיִת (from חָצֵר).

3. The vowel changes in the inflection of *fem. nouns* (§ 95) are not so considerable, the addition of the feminine-ending to the *masc.* having already occasioned similar changes to those produced by appending the light suffix (§ 94).

Besides the above (No. 1 and 2) mentioned vowel changes which take place according to general laws (§§ 25—28) there are other phenomena occasioned by the inflection of nouns, to judge correctly of which, it is necessary to go back to the original forms §§ 84—86. Here belong e. g. the rejection of the ה of the ל״ה stems (comp. § 91, 1, 6), the doubling of the final consonant of the contracted ע״ע stems in cases like חֹק, חֻקִּי etc.

NB. There is this striking difference between the vowel-changes in the verb and the noun, namely, that in the verb the *second* of two movable vowels mostly disappears (קָטַל, קָטְלָה, קָטְלוּ), in the noun the *first* (דָּבָר, דִּבְרִי, דְּבָרִים), comp. § 27, 3.

For greater convenience attention will now be given in the next sections to the Inflections of Nouns, with explanatory remarks (founded on the Paradigms); first the masculines (§ 93), then the feminines (§ 95), the theory as to the vowel-changes in the latter being premised in § 94.

§ 93.

INFLECTIONS OF MASCULINE NOUNS.

Masculine nouns of a simple stem may be most conveniently arranged, with reference to their vowel changes, in four classes, as in the following Table. The necessary explanations are subjoined. We here only remark in general,—

a) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 107, 1, 3) are inflected like masculine nouns (e. g. חֶרֶב *f. sword*, like מֶלֶךְ *m. king*), except that in most cases they take the plural ending וֹת—; so חֶרֶב has *plur. absol.* חֲרָבוֹת, *const.* חַרְבוֹת, which is also the form before *suffixes;* see § 95.

b) That in the plural of the first three classes the lengthened pretonic vowel remains unchanged before the so-called light suffixes, whenever it is found already before the plural-ending ים—. Comp. § 92, 2, *b*, Rem. and Note [1]; also § 91, 1, Rem. 1, *b*, last clause.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
Sing. absol.	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נַעַר	נֵצַח	פֹּעַל
	(king)	(book)	(sanctuary)	(a youth)	(perpetuity)	(work)
„ *constr.*	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נַעַר	נֵצַח	פֹּעַל
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכִּי	סִפְרִי	קָדְשִׁי	נַעֲרִי	נִצְחִי	פָּעֳלִי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכְּכֶם	סִפְרְכֶם	קָדְשְׁכֶם	נַעֲרְכֶם	נִצְחֲכֶם	פָּעֳלְכֶם
Plur. absol.	מְלָכִים	סְפָרִים	קָדָשִׁים	נְעָרִים	נְצָחִים	פְּעָלִים
„ *constr.*	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קָדְשֵׁי	נַעֲרֵי	נִצְחֵי	פָּעֳלֵי
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכַי	סִפְרַי	קָדְשַׁי	נְעָרַי	נִצְחַי	פְּעָלַי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קָדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעֲרֵיכֶם	נִצְחֵיכֶם	פָּעֳלֵיכֶם
Dual absol.	רַגְלַיִם	קִבְצַיִם Pr. N.	מָתְנַיִם	נַעֲלַיִם		
	(feet)	(two heaps)	(loins)	(sandals)		
„ *constr.*	רַגְלֵי		מָתְנֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

I.

	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
Sing. absol.	מָוֶת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יָם	אֵם	חֹק
	(death)	(olive)	(scourge)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(law)
„ *constr.*	מוֹת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יַם, יָם	אֵם	חֻקּ־
„ *with light suff.*	מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פִּרְיִי	יַמִּי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	מוֹתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פִּרְיְכֶם	יַמְּכֶם	אִמְּכֶם	חֻקֵּכֶם
Plur. absol.	מוֹתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	צְבָיִים	יַמִּים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
„ *constr.*	מוֹתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	(gazelles)	יַמֵּי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
„ *with light suff.*	מוֹתַי	זֵיתַי	שׁוֹטַי		יַמַּי	אִמּוֹתַי	חֻקַּי
„ *with grave suff.*	מוֹתֵיכֶם	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יַמֵּיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
Dual absol.		עֵינַיִם	יוֹמַיִם	לְחָיַיִם	כַּפַּיִם	שִׁנַּיִם	
		(eyes)	(two days)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
„ *constr.*		עֵינֵי		לְחָיֵי	כַּפֵּי	שִׁנֵּי	

	II.					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
Sing. absol.	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כָּתֵף (shoulder)	חָצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ *constr.*	דְּבַר	חֲכַם	זְקַן	כֶּתֶף	חֲצַר	שְׂדֵה
„ *with light suff.*	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זְקֵנִי	כְּתֵפִי	חֲצֵרִי	שָׂדִי
„ *with grave suff.*	דִּבְרֶכֶם	חָכְמֶכֶם	זְקֵנְכֶם		חֲצֵרְכֶם	שָׂדְכֶם
Plur. absol.	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זְקֵנִים		חֲצֵרִים	[שָׂדִים]
„ *constr.*	דִּבְרֵי	חַכְמֵי	זְקֵנֵי		חַצְרֵי	שְׂדֵי
„ *with light suff.*	דְּבָרַי	חָכְמַי	זְקֵנַי		חֲצֵרַי	שָׂדַי
„ *with grave suff.*	דִּבְרֵיכֶם	חַכְמֵיכֶם	זְקֵנֵיכֶם		חַצְרֵיכֶם	
Dual absol.	כְּנָפַיִם (wings)	חֲלָצַיִם (loins)	יְרֵכַיִם (thigh)			
„ *constr.*	כַּנְפֵי					

	III.			IV.		
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
Sing. absol.	עוֹלָם (perpetuity)	אוֹיֵב (enemy)	חוֹזֶה (prophet)	פָּקִיד (overseer)	עָנִי (poor)	כְּתָב (writing)
„ *constr.*	עוֹלַם	אוֹיֵב	חוֹזֵה	פְּקִיד	עֲנִי	כְּתָב
„ *with light suff.*	עוֹלָמִי	אוֹיְבִי	חוֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		כְּתָבִי
„ *with grave suff.*	עוֹלַמְכֶם	אוֹיִבְכֶם	חוֹזְכֶם	פְּקִידְכֶם		כְּתָבְכֶם
Plur. absol.	עוֹלָמִים	אוֹיְבִים	חוֹזִים	פְּקִידִים	עֲנִיִּים	כְּתָבִים
„ *constr.*	עוֹלְמֵי	אוֹיְבֵי	חוֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי	עֲנִיֵּי	כְּתָבֵי
„ *with light suff.*	עוֹלָמַי	אוֹיְבַי	חוֹזַי	פְּקִידַי		כְּתָבַי
„ *with grave suff.*	עוֹלְמֵיכֶם	אוֹיְבֵיכֶם	חוֹזֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עֲנִיֵּיכֶם	כְּתָבֵיכֶם
Dual absol.	מֶלְקָחַיִם (tongs)	מֹאזְנַיִם (balance)		שְׁבֻעַיִם (fortnight)		
„ *constr.*		מֹאזְנֵי				

EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Parad.* I comprises the whole circle of the so-called segholate forms (§ 84, 11). In the first three examples with a strong stem, the ground forms, מַלְכ, סִפְר, קֻדְשׁ, have been developed by the adoption of an auxiliary *Seghôl* into מֶלֶךְ (*ă* inflected into *e*) סֵפֶר (*ĭ* lengthened into *ē*) קֹדֶשׁ (*ŭ* lengthened into *ō*). The next three examples show, instead of the auxiliary *Seghôl,* an auxiliary *Pathăch*, on account of the middle (*d, f*) or closing (*e*) gutturals. In all these cases the *constr. st.* agrees entirely with the *absolute.* The singular suffixes are added to the groundform; but in *c* and *f* the original *ŭ* is replaced by *ŏ*, and, in *d* and *f* the guttural demands an echo of the *ă* and *ŏ* in the shape of a *Châṯēph* (פַּעֲלִי, נַעֲרִי); before a following *Shewâ* this *Châṯēph* is changed into a simple auxiliary vowel (*ă, ŏ*) according to § 28, 3; thus נַעֲרָךְ etc. In the plural there is inserted, before the accented ending יִם—, a pretonic *Qāmĕṣ*, according to § 92, *b*, Rem., whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Shewâ.* This *Qāmĕṣ* is again evanescent in the *constr. st.* so that now the short vowel comes to stand after the first stem consonant, in an open syllable (מַלְכֵי not מַלְכֵי). On the other hand the pretonic *Qămĕṣ* of the *absolute state* maintains itself before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *constr. st.* The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground form (as with *a—d* and *h*; comp. however *k*); the *constr. st.* of the *dual* is always the same as that of the *plural* (except in cases like *k*).

The paradigms *g* and *h* give forms with middle ו and י (§ 85, IV, 11); the ground forms מָוְת and זָיִת, with the exception of the *absolute sing.*, have been contracted everywhere into מוֹת and זֵית. Parad. *i* represents one of the numerous forms, in which the contraction of a middle ו or י has been performed already in the *absolute sing.* (ground form *šawṭ*). Parad. *k* is a form from a stem ל״ה (§ 85, V, 11).

The *paradigms l, m, n* are forms of stems ע״ע, therefore contracted out of רַמַם, אַמַם, חָקַק with regular lengthening into

חֹק, אֵם, יָם. These forms take *Dāghē'sh* in the last stem letter before suffixes, e. g. יַמִּי, יַמִּים etc. (s. § 85, II, 10, 11).

REMARKS.

1. To I *a* and *d* (Groundf. קַטָל). In *Pause* there occurs mostly the full lengthening into *ā*, like כָּרֶם *vineyard*, זָרַע, זֶרַע *seed*, and so always with אֶרֶץ *earth*, with the article הָאָרֶץ (comp. also by the LXX the writing Ἀβέλ, Ἰαφέθ for הֶבֶל, יֶפֶת). However there is sometimes found along with the form with *ā* in *Pause* also the simple inflection of *ā* into *è*, e. g. חֶסֶד, together with חָסֶד, and very frequently the form with *Seghol* only, e. g. קֶדֶם *east*, עֶזְרָה *help*, etc.—With two *Seghols* in spite of the middle guttural is found לֶחֶם *bread* (*Pause* לָחֶם) and רֶחֶם *womb* (*Pause* רָחֶם) together with רַחַם (*Pause* רָחַם); before the closing א stands always auxiliary *Seghol* as הֶשֵׂא, פֶּלֶא, פֶּרֶא etc. (also written פֶּרֶה).

The *constr. st.* is almost always like the *absolute*, though there occurs sometimes a removal of the characteristic vowel to the second stem-consonant (v. No. 4) e. g. זֶרַע, חֶדֶר, רֶשַׁע, נֶטַע, also זֶרַע etc.

The so-called ה— local is added to the groundform, thus אַרְצָה, in *Pause* אַרְצָה; however compare also נֶגְבָּה from נֶגֶב *south* and קֶדְמָה (perhaps from a secondary form קֶדֶם).

The suffixes of the singular are added likewise to the groundform in middle gutturals with *Châtēph Păthăch* instead of the *silent Shᵉwâ:* נַעֲרִי etc. (however there is also לַחְמִי, זַנְמִי etc.). With rather a large number of קָטָל forms before suffixes in the singular, as well as in the *constr. pl.* and *dual*, the *ă* of the first syllable is weakened into *ĭ*, as בִּטְנִי *my body*, יִתְרוֹ; the same with שִׁמְשׁ, בֶּצַע, גֶּזַע, זֶבַח and many others. In a few cases of this kind, besides the form with *ă* there may exist another with original *ĭ* in the first syllable; it is certainly thus with רִשַׁע and רָשַׁע, נִצַח and נָצַח etc. With the abolishing of the firm close of syllable is found בִּגְדִי etc. from בֶּגֶד and יִקְבָּהּ Deut. 15, 14 and 16, 13, in both cases plainly through the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *ĕ* for *ĭ:* חֶבְלִי, רֶשָׁעֶךָ, נֶגְדִּי etc.

In the plural there is found sometimes, along with the ending ים— also the ending וֹת, e. g. נְפָשׁוֹת, עֲצָמוֹת, together with נְפָשִׁים (Ez. 13, 20) etc.; construct state נַפְשׁוֹת, אַרְצוֹת. Others have only the ending וֹת e. g. אַרְצוֹת const. אַרְצוֹת from עֶרֶץ. Without *Qă'mĕṣ* before the ending ים— is found רַחֲמִים *entrails* (comp. however also the numbers עֶשְׂרִים, twenty, שִׁבְעִים 70 and תִּשְׁעִים 90).

In the construct plural there is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, a firm close of the syllable, e. g. כַּסְפֵּי Gen. 42, 25, 35 (before suffixes); רִשְׁפֵּי Canticles 8, 6, טַרְפֵּי Ez. 17, 9; צַמְּתֵי Is. 5, 10 (on the other hand, according to the best testimony, *not* in חַסְדֵי Is. 55, 3 al.). Very frequently there occurs also here the weakening of *ă* into *ĭ* (v. above) e. g. זִבְחֵי. Even יִלְדֵי Is. 57, 4 besides יַלְדֵי Hosea 1, 2 al.

In the dual absol. are found with the forms like אַלְפַּיִם *two thousand*, נַעֲלַיִם *sandals*, בִּרְכַּיִם *knees* (*ă* weakened into *ĭ*), with suffix בִּרְכַּי, also forms with pretonic *Qā'mĕṣ* like קָרְנַיִם (also קַרְנַיִם) *horns*, הִרְכַּיִם *double way*.

2. To the paradigms *b* and *e*. By rejecting a final א (which however is preserved orthographically) there is found חֵטְא *sin*.

The first guttural, before suffixes, generally receives *Seghôl* instead of the original *ĭ*, e. g. חֶלְקִי, עֶזְרִי etc.; the same in construct plur. עֶגְלֵי etc.; חֵטְא forms חֲטָאַי 2 Kings 10, 29 etc. by preserving the ־ of חֲטָאִים before weak א.

3. To paradigms *c* and *f*. Without an auxiliary vowel stands קֹשְׁטְ Prov. 22, 21; with middle gutturals פֹּעַל etc., with ה however also אֹהֶל, בֹּהֶן; with a closing guttural גֹּבַהּ, רֹבַע etc., with א however גֹּבָא. Before suffixes reappears sometimes in the singular the original *ŭ*; e. g. גָּדְלוֹ (Ps. 150, 2) and also גָּדְלוֹ from גֹּדֶל *greatness;* סָבְלוֹ (with *Dāghē'sh forte dirimens* and the echo of the *ŭ* in the form of ־) Is. 9, 3.—Corresponding to the form פָּעָלְכֶם *pŏŏl'khèm* stands קָטַלְתָּה Hos. 13, 14 even without middle guttural. In the forms פָּעָלוֹ Is. 1, 31 (instead of פָּעֳלוֹ) and הָאָרוֹ Is. 52, 14 (for הָאֳרוֹ 1 Sam. 28, 14) the lengthening of the original *ŭ* into *ō* is retained even before the suffix; comp. § 63, Rem. 4.

In the same way remains the *ō* before the ה־ local, e. g. יֹרָתָה, הָאֹהֱלָה Gen. 24, 67 (also הָאָהֳלָה 18, 6).

In the *absol. pl.* the original *ŭ* vanishes generally before *Qā'mĕṣ* e. g. בְּקָרִים from בֹּקֶר *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, יְרָחִים *lances;* on the other hand with initial gutturals the *ŭ* remains as *Chateph Qā'mĕṣ*, e. g. חֳדָשִׁים *months*, עֲפָרִים *gazelles*, אֳרָחוֹת *ways*, and the same, without initial gutturals, קָדָשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שָׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qŏdhāshîm* etc. with *ŏ* as the orthographical representative of ־); also before light suffixes קָדָשַׁי etc., whereby however the reading frequently wavers between ָ֫ and ָ֯ (the latter especially after the article הַ֯קָּ); comp. with these forms especially § 9, Rem. 2.

From אֹהֶל *tent* is found אָהֳלִים and אָהֳלִים (after the Syriac; comp. above פֹּעֳלוֹ); with light suffixes אָהֳלַי etc.; so from אֹרַח *way;* אָרְחֹתָיו (also אָרְחֹתַי). It seems that by these different ways of writing, a distinction was to be made between the plural of אֹרְחָה *Caravan* and that of אֹרַח *way;* however there is also found with the former signification אָרְחוֹת (constr. state Job 6, 19) and with the latter אָרְחוֹת (e. g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of *Ben Naphtali* and *Kimchi*).

In the constr. state plur. with original *ŭ* there is only רָכְסֵי Ps. 31, 21; elsewhere like קָדְשֵׁי, אָהֳלֵי etc.

4. Besides the forms treated hitherto there belong here also a series of forms which have the characteristic vowel only after the *second* stem-consonant, as is ordinarily the case in the Aramaic. Thus: *a*) after the form קָטַל (comp. § 84, No. 10): דְּבַשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*, in pause: דָּבָשׁ, מְעָט; גְּבַר *man* Ps. 18, 26 (elsewhere גֶּבֶר and infinitives like שָׁבַב, § 45, 1, *a*);

שְׁכֶם, *ă* being modified into *è* (pause however שֹׁכֶם); *Local* שָׁמָּה, also שֶׁכְמָה, Hos. 6, 9; with suffixes in the usual manner שְׁכָמִי שְׁכָמָה Gen. 19, 33, 35 (as *infinitive* with vocal *Sheʷwâ*, not שְׁכָבָהּ). On the other hand the *ă* is retained in the *plural absol.* before the artificially doubled final consonant; אֲגַמִּים (*constr.* אַגְמֵי) *morasses*, הֲדַסִּים *myrtles*, מְצַדִּים; *b*) after the form קָטֶל: בְּאֵר *well*, זְאֵב *wolf* etc. *Local* בְּאֵרָה, with *Suff.* בְּאֵרִי, *Plur.* זְאֵבִים, זְאֵבֵי, on the other hand בְּאֵרוֹת, construct בֶּאֱרוֹת; *c*) after the form קִטֹּל: בְּאֹשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בָּאְשׁוֹ) perhaps also לְאֹם *Nation*, *Pl.* לְאֻמִּים, and the large number of infinitives, like כְּתֹב with *suffix* כָּתְבוֹ etc.

5. Parad. *g—i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י, *a*) after the form קָטָל with *Wāw* as firm consonant whereby the original *ă* is almost always lengthened into *ā* (Parad. g), thus מָוֶת = *death*, אָוֶן *mishap*, עָוֶל *wrong* תָּוֶךְ *midst;* with final א: שָׁוְא *vainness;* comp. however also רָוַח *width*. In the *constr. state* occurs always a contraction: מוֹת etc. (from the original *mawt*), likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ etc. Exception: עָוֶל as *constr. state* Ez. 28, 18 (according to *Kimchi*) and with *suff.* עַוְלוֹ. The contraction remains throughout the plur. (v. however below letter *c*); *b*) from the form קָטָל with *Yôdh* consonant (Parad. h). With א at the end גָּיְא (גַּי) *constr.* גֵּיא (גֵּי). The uncontracted form (in the absolute state with auxiliary *Chîrĕq*) remains also before *local* ה—, e. g. בַּיְתָה (on the other hand in the *construct state*, e. g. בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף). In the *plur. absolute* there are found uncontracted forms, like עֲרָנוֹת *springs*, תְּדָשִׁים *bucks* etc.; *c*) with the contraction of ו and י already in absolute state sing. (Parad. i). In this manner there rise formations which are throughout unchangeable; thus from the groundform קָטָל: רוֹם (from *yawm*), סוֹס, שׁוֹר (in the plur. however with a stronger formation שְׁוָרִים *cattle*) etc.; with middle *Yodh*: חֵיל (also חַיִל), לַיִל Is. 21, 11 (elsewhere לָיְלָה, in *prose* לַיְלָה); from the groundform קִטָּל: הֵין, שִׁיר, עִיר (v. however § 96); from the groundform קֻטָּל: גּוֹר, רוּחַ etc.

Strong forms in the plur. are יְוָדִים *pots* and שְׁוָקִים *streets*. Finally belong here also forms with א quiescent, like רֹאשׁ *head* (modified from רָאשׁ=רַאְשׁ v. § 96) and צֹאן *flock*.

6. To paradigm *k*, segholate forms from the ל"ה stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned § 85, V, 11, like בֻּכָּה etc. as well as שְׁחוּ (employing the original ו as auxiliary vowel), there are found *a*) from the groundform קָטָל nearly everywhere forms like פְּרִי, בְּכִי, גְּרִי, לְחִי etc.; in *pause* פָּרִי, בָּכִי, לָחִי, on the other hand אֲרֵי Judg. 14, 18; with suffixes פְּרִיוֹ (weakened from *pĕryō*) however also פִּרְיָהּ etc.; before grave suffix פִּרְיָהֶם, but also פִּרְיָכֶם. Plur. גְּדָיִים (constr. גִּדְיֵי v. above No. 2 חֲטָאִי), אֲרָיוֹת and אֲרָיוֹת; with softening of the י into א: פְּתָאִים, צְבָאִים from פְּתִי, צְבִי; *b*) from the groundform קִטְלָ: חֲצִי *half*, in *pause* חֲצִי, with sufffx חֲצִיוֹ etc. Probably belongs here also עֵת *time* (properly *ʿidy*, then with rejection of *Yôdh* and ת *fem.* עֵדֶת, finally

with assimilation of ת=ד (עֵת), with suff. עִתּוֹ, plur. עִתִּים, עִתּוֹת. With stems of middle *Waw* rise formations like אִי (from *'iwy* = אֱוִי), עִי plur. אִיִּים etc.; *c*) from the groundform קָטֶל partly forms like הַחוּ (from *tŭhw*, *bŭhw*), partly like חֲלִי, עֲנִי, and also without initial guttural צֳרִי (also צְרִי Gen. **37**, 25), רָאִי etc.; in *pause* חֹלִי etc., with suffix חָלְיוֹ, plur. חֳלָיִים.

7. To paradigms *l*—*n*, Segholate forms from stems ע"ע (v. § 85, II, 11). *a*) In the *qaṭl* form the *ă* of the contract form is partly lengthened in the *absolute state sing.*, as in יָם (so also in the *constr. state*, except in the combination יַם־סוּף *a weedy-sea;* even before *Măqqēph:* יָם־הַמֶּלַח *a salt-sea*), partly it remains short before *Dāghēsh f. implic.* e. g פַּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations have *Qā'mĕṣ* in *pause* as well as mostly after the article (e. g. הָעָם). In the *constr. state* חֵי *life*, and דֵּי *sufficiency* are contracted into חֵי, דֵּי. הָרָה *mountainwards* Gen. **14**, 10 (v. § 22, 1) has to be noticed as a ה *directive* (also הָהָרָה). However forms like הַר may possibly be derived from the groundform הַרַר, especially as there is also found הָרָרִי Jer. **17**, 3 (v. *Parad.* II). Before suffixes and in the *plur.* there occurs sometimes the attenuation of *ă* into *ĭ*, e. g. פִּתִּי, פִּתִּים etc.—Some nouns (especially in poetical speech) have besides the contracted forms, also the uncontracted ones e. g. חֲרָרִם Gen. **14**, 6 *Plur. constr.* חֲרָרֵי; עֲמָמִים Neh. **9**, 22, Judges **5**, 14, עַמָּמֵי Neh. **9**, 24 (elsewhere עַמֵּי, עַמִּים); *b*) *qiṭl*-forms: אִם, אֵשׁ *fire*, חֵן *favor* etc.; *c*) *qŭṭl*-forms: חֹק, כֹּל *totality*, before *Măqqēph* חָק־, כָּל־, with *suff.* חֻקִּי etc., the *Dāghēsh f.* falling out (according to § 20, 3, *b*) also חָקְקָם; with עֹז *strength* even עָזּוּ etc. also עֻזּוּ.

The *Segholates* with assimilated middle *Nûn* follow likewise the analogy of *Parad. l*—*n* e. g. אַף *wrath* (אַפַּיִם *Dual*) for *'anp;* עֵז *goat* עִזִּים (for *'inz.*)

2. *Paradigm II* comprises all formations with original short vowels as well in the first as in the second syllable; comp. § 84, 1, 2, 12 and the general laws of formation § 92, No. 2.

Rem. 1. To paradigms *a* and *b*, groundform *qăṭăl.* The lengthening of *ă* into *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only with ל"א-forms e. g. צְבָא *army*, צָבָא. For the construct forms חֵלֶב *milk* and לְבֶן־ *white* Gen. **49**, 12, we must adopt, instead of the usual absolutes לֶבֶן, חָלָב, a secondary form לָבָן, חֲלֵב. Sometimes an artificial doubling of the final consonant takes place in order to keep the preceding vowel short e. g. גְּמַלִּים *camels*, קְטַנּוֹת *small ones*, פְּלַגּוֹת *brooks.*—The weakening of the *ă* of the first syllable into *ĭ* does not take place in the *constr. state plur.* nor in some instances with non-gutturals, e. g. זְנָבוֹת *tails*, כַּנְפוֹת *wings*, from זָנָב, כָּנָף.—The *Dual* נַחֲלַיִם from נָחַר *stream*, shows an abnormal remainder of the *ă* before an accented ending.

From ע"ו stems rise according to § 72, 4 formations like קָם (*Part.*

Qăl), רָם *high* with unchangeable *Qāměṣ*.—In the ע״ע the contraction is mostly prevented by the lengthening of the two short vowels, therefore e. g. חָלָל, עָנָן etc. But undoubtedly also contracted adjective forms belong here, like דַּל *low*, קַל *light*, etc. (for דָּלָל, קָלָל). Their inflection follows naturally *Parad. I, l.* Under the influence of a guttural arise forms like רַע, רָעִים, רָעֵי (for רַעִים etc.). On הַר *mountain*, comp. above I, Rem. 7.

The few nouns of the groundform *qĭṭăl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵבָב *heart*, שֵׁכָר *strong drink*, עֵנָב *grape* etc. For שֵׂעָר *hair* is found besides שְׂעָר also the *constr. state* שַׂעַר (שְׂעָר having been treated as a Segholate form); for צֵלָע *rib* is also found צַלַע and even צֶלַע 2 Sam. 16, 13, both probably ancient secondary forms (also in the absolute state) for צֵלָע; comp. also צַלְעִי and צַלְעוֹ, as well as the *constr. state plur.* צַלְעוֹת; also of נֵכָר *strangeness* stands Deut. 31, 16 the *constr. state* נֵכַר־.

2. To *paradigms c—e*, groundform *qăṭĭl*. Here the shortening of the *ē* of the second syllable into *ă* in the *constr. state*, is quite peculiar (except with ל״א, e. g. מָלֵא *full*, מָלְא); comp. however also עֵקֶב Gen. 25, 26 from עָקֵב *heel* and אֵבֶל־ Ps. 35, 14 *mourning*), e. g. זָקֵן, חָסֵר, חָדֵל etc. *Parad. d* represents forms which treat the word פֶּתַח as if it were a segholate, accented upon the first syllable (v. Parad. I Rem. 4) or in other words they convert it into a real segholate; in the same way are formed גֶּבֶר, יֶרֶךְ, from גֵּבֶר *wall*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*.—In the *plur. constr.* the *ē*, lengthened from *ĭ*, is retained with the verbal adjectives of these forms e. g. רְשָׁעֵי, אֲבָלֵי, שְׂמֵחֵי, יְתֵדֹתָיו (under the protection of the secondary tone) from יָתֵד *nail*.—From ע״ו stems come forms like מֵת *dead person* (from *măwĭt*), גֵּר *stranger*, עֵד *witness* with unchangeable *Sērê*, thus מֵתֵי, מֵתִים etc.

Related to this are the forms of the groundform *qăṭŭl*. The latter is according to the rule, lengthened into *qāṭōl*, e. g. עָגֹל *round*, עָמֹק *deep*, אָדֹם *red;* on the other hand before afformatives the *ŭ* comes back again, guarded by the artificial doubling of the following consonant, as עֲגֻלִּים etc.

3. To *paradigm f.* groundform *qăṭăl* from ל״ה stems. With שָׂדֶה is also found the form שָׂדַי, preserving the final *Yôdh* (comp. § 85, V, 2); in the same way the closing ו is preserved in עֲנִיִּים *sufferers*, *constr.* עֲנִיֵּי. The plural of שָׂדֶה is שָׂדוֹת, *constr.* שְׂדוֹת (also שָׂדֵי). Also the word פָּנִים *face*, פְּנֵי, פָּנַי, פְּנֵיכֶם etc. belongs undoubtedly to the category of these forms.

In some forms of this kind the vowel of the second syllable has already been abandoned in the *sing. absolute state;* thus in יָד *hand* (for יָדָה), *constr.* יַד, with *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יֶדְכֶם, *plur.* יָדוֹת, *constr.* יְדוֹת, *Dual* יָדַיִם, יְדֵי, with *suff.* יָדַי, יְדֵיכֶם etc.; in the same way דָּם *blood* (for דָּמָה), *constr.* דַּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דִּמְכֶם (*ă* weakened into *ĭ*), *plur.* דָּמִים, דְּמֵי.

3. *Paradigm III* comprises forms with unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable

has been lengthened from an originally short vowel and is therefore changeable. Here we must distinguish the cases where the originally short vowel has been lengthened, as well *in* as *before* the tone, but vanishes elsewhere, when standing in an open syllable (parad. *a*, to which also examples like אוֹפַנִּים *wheels,* for אוֹפַנִּים must be reckoned) also the cases where the vowel becomes Sh^{e}wâ, even *before* the accent (*parad. b*); finally the entire rejection of the ending in the forms ל״ה which belong here (*parad. c*).

Rem. 1. In the category of עוֹלָם (which however has been modified from *ʿâlăm*) belong in regard to inflection also the following forms of those cited in § 84: No. 14 מִקְטָל with the only difference that the ל״א of this form maintain the *Qāmĕṣ* in the inflection, e. g. מִקְרָא *plur. constr.* מִקְרָאֵי; No. 15 שֻׁלְחָן *table* (*plur.* שֻׁלְחָנוֹת *constr.* שֻׁלְחֲנוֹת), קֻרְבָּן, *constr.* קָרְבַּן, therefore in *constr. plur.* with *suffix* קָרְבְּנֵיהֶם Lev. 7, 38; No. 17 נִקְטָל; No. 35 עַקְרָב *plur.* עֲקָרְבִּים (with the doubling of the final consonant for עַקְרָבִים, compare also קָרְדֹּם, קָרְדֳּמוֹ); § 85, I, No. 14 מַיִם; II, No. 14 מָגֵן, מָגִנּוֹ, where the *ā* of the first syllable maintains itself against the rule, even where it is not pretonic, e. g. מָגִנֵּי; III, No. 14 מוֹשָׁב etc.; No. 27 תּוֹשָׁב.

2. (*Paradigm b.*) Instead of the shortening of the *ē* into the original *ĕ* in forms like אִירְבֶּם it is more frequently shortened into *ĕ*, e. g. רֹצְךָ *thy creator*, and with a closing guttural there are found forms sometimes like שִׁלֵּחַךְ sometimes like בֹּרְאֲךָ. According to the same analogy are inflected: § 84, I. No. 3; No. 9 גֶּבֶן etc. (however there are exceptions, as רִבְעִים, שִׁבְּשִׁים), No. 35 צִפֳּרְדֵּעַ; III, No. 14 מוֹקֵשׁ; VI, No. 2 מוֹפֵת; but also here are found exceptions like מַקְהֲלִים Ps. 26, 12.

3. (*Paradigm c, Part. Qăl* of verbs ל״ה, differing from *Parad.* II, *f.* by the stability of the vowel in the first syllable.) The ל״ה forms of § 85, V. No. 14 and 4 belong here according to their formation.—In some cases, before a suffix commencing with a consonant, the original *ăy* of the ending has been contracted into *ē*, and thus are produced forms that have apparently the *plural suffix;* as מַרְאֵיהֶם *their appearance* Dan. 1, 15, Gen. 41, 21 (on the other hand the examples mentioned farther back from Is. 14, 11, 30, 23, Gen. 47, 17, 1 Sam. 19, 4 are real plurals). Before the plural ending the original ending *ăy* has come back again in מְמָחַיִם Is. 25, 6 (*Part. Pu.* from מָחָה).

4. *Paradigm IV* comprises forms with a changeable (*a, b*) or already vanished vowel (*c*) in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second one. With *Parad. c* are also connected all the forms, which have in both syllables

unchangeable vowels and can therefore (like כָּתָב) not submit to any flectional changes.

Rem. 1. Analogous with פָּקִיד (Groundform *pāqîd*) are: § 84, I, No. 3 גָּדוֹל etc. (with *ô*, not changeable *ō* for *ŭ*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם the *ô* has been inflected from *â* (arab. *sălâm*); No. 5 אָסִיר, אָסוּר etc.; II, No. 15 זָכָרוֹן, *constr.* זִכְרוֹן; IV, No. 35 חֲלָמִישׁ, *constr.* חַלְמִישׁ; § 85, IV, No. 14 מָקוֹם etc.; V, No. 15 כְּלִיוֹן, *constr.* כִּלְיוֹן.

2. עָנִי (groundform *ʿânîj*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which the closing *Yôdh* has been blended in *î;* before formative additions the *Yôdh* under the protection of a *Dâghē'sh forte* becomes again a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable vanishes; comp. § 85, V. No. 5 נָקִי, *Plur.* נְקִיִּים.

3. כָּתָב with unchangeable *â* in the second syllable whilst the *Sh*ᵉ*wâ* comes from a short vowel (arab. *kĭtâb*); *constr. state* כְּתָב־ Esth. 4, 8 (readings like יְקַר Esth. 1, 4, כְּתַב 4, 8, 2 Ch. 35, 4 are simply errors). In a stricter sense belong here the forms numbered § 84, II, No. 13; in a larger sense those which have throughout unchangeable vowels, thus § 84, I, No. 6 (קָטָל, comp. however the anomalies mentioned there), No. 7, 8, partly II, No. 15, and III, No. 23; IV, No. 26, 27, 32, 33; § 85, IV, 27, 31; V, 27.—In opposition to the anomalous abbreviations of the form קָטָל (v. above) there are found elsewhere cases, where the vowels before the accent maintain themselves also in the antepenult (with the secondary accent); comp. above No. 2, Rem. 2 and No. 3 Rem. 3, as well as, of the form קָטִיל (really *qāṭîl*) the examples סָרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שָׁלִישִׁים, whilst the *constr. state sing.* reduces according to the rule the *ā* into *Sh*ᵉ*wâ* סְרִיס and פָּרִיץ. (Forms like עָרִיץ *tyrant*, for עָרִיץ, therefore with unchangeable *Qāmĕṣ*, must not be mistaken for the above.) Of the forms קָטוּל (*qāṭûl*) belong here שָׁבוּעַ *week*, *plur.* שָׁבֻעִים and שָׁבֻעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבֻעוֹת, but with *Mèthĕg* of the secondary tone in the fourth syllable before the last: שָׁבֻעֹתֵיכֶם.

§ 94.

FORMATION OF FEMININE NOUNS.

1. The feminine ending ה֫— appended to the masculine forms (see § 93), effects almost everywhere the same changes, which are produced by adding a light suffix to masculine nouns, as in both cases the tone is removed one place farther forward (v. § 92, 2). In the following summary are kept the same divisions and subdivisions as in § 93; a few special forms are treated in § 95, in connection with the paradigm of the feminine noun.

Parad. I (segholate forms, everywhere with the appending of the feminine ending to the ground form), *a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*,

כַּבְשָׂה and with the weakening of ă into ĭ כִּבְשָׂה *lamb,* חֶזְקָה *strength* (if not belonging to parad. *b*); *b*) סְתָרָה *covering* (masc. סֵתֶר), not to be mistaken for the unchangeable forms of ל"ה stems, created by a prefixed מ, as מִצְוָה *command,* plur. מִצְוֹת; עֶדְנָה *grace, delight* (עֶדֶן); *c*) חֶלְדָּה proper noun (חֵלֶד *mole*), אָכְלָה *food* (אֹכֶל); *d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נַעַר); *e*) בָּאְשָׁה *weed,* טָהֳרָה *purity* (טֹהַר); *f*) עַוְלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה parad *i*); *g*) צֵידָה *game* (contracted from צַיִד, therefore really parad. *i*); *h*) בִּינָה *intellect,* סוּפָה *tempest; i*) אַלְיָה *fat sheep* (as of אֵלִי), שְׁבְיָה (ă weakened into ĭ) *captivity* (שֶׁבִי), לְוְיָה *wreath* (probably an original *qĭtl* form); *k*) חַיָּה *life,* מִדָּה measure (weakened from מַדָּה); *l*) זִמָּה *plan; m*) חֻקָּה *law* (חֹק).

Parad. II. Groundform *qăṭălăt* etc. *a*) נְקָמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *b*) אֲדָמָה *earth; c*) נְבֵלָה *corpse; e*) עֲיֵפָה *languid; f*) יָפָה *beautiful,* קָצֶה *end* (from יָפֶה, קָצֶה). From stems ע"ע arise thus *a*) רַבָּה *many,* with middle gutturals רָעָה *bad;* from ע"ו זָרָה *stranger; c*) עֵדָה (ground form *ʿăwĭd*) *female witness;* from stems middle *o* טוֹבָה *good.* From the ground form *qāṭŭl* עֲמֻקָּה *deep* (masc. עָמֹק), עֲבֻדָּה *servitude.*

Parad. III (unchangeable vowel in first, changeable in second syllable); *b*) יַלְדָּה *puerpera,* but also with reduction of the *ē* (originally *ĭ*) into *Shᵉwâ* יִשְׁבָה *dwelling* Nah. 3, 8; however in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת— (v. below No. 2); *c*) גּוֹלָה *emigrating host* (masc. גּוֹלֶה), but also with the retention of the final *Yôdh* בּוֹכִיָּה *weeping* Lament. 1, 16.

Parad. IV (original changeable vowel in the first, unchangeable in the second syllable); *a*) גְּדֹלָה *great,* חֲסִידָה *stork,* really *pious;* בְּתוּלָה *virgin,* really L. *sejuncta; b*) עֲנִיָּה *wretched.*

2. The feminine ending ת is (except before suffixes) rarely appended, in its original form, to the noun; comp. however forms like בְּכִית *weeping* (masc. בְּכִי § 93, I, *k*), בְּרִית *covenant;* also *fem.* participles of ל"א, as יֹצֵאת, מֹצֵאת, although these forms may have been contracted from יֹצְאֵת like segholate forms (therefore we also have מֹצְאֵת), as בֹּאֵר (§ 93, Parad. I, 4, *b*), comp. § 74, Rem. 3. Besides this, there is found with a simple ת, only יֹלַדְתְּ בֵּן (construct state) Gen. 16, 11; Judges 13, 5, 7, for יֹלֶדֶת (Gen. 17, 19, Is. 7, 14).

The forms which arise by the appending of the ת feminine to the ground form, are, as a rule, developed exactly in the manner of the masc. segholate-forms. Thus rise in I, *a*) from גְּבִרְתּ (masc. גְּבִר = גֶּבֶר § 93, I, 4, *a*) the form גְּבֶרֶת *mistress;* from מְלַכְתּ (מַלְכָּה = מֶלֶךְ) מֶלֶכֶת *queen;* Parad. II, *a*): יָבָם *brother-in-law,* fem. יְבֶמֶת (from יְבַמְתּ); *c*) גֶּדֶר *wall* גְּדֵרֶת (from גְּדֵרְתּ, thus, the general form *constr.* state *masc.* זְקַן is taken as a base; comp. on the other hand חֲמֵשֶׁת as *constr.* state of חֲמִשָּׁה with the lengthening of the original *ĭ* of חֲמִשְׁתּ); of formations with changeable *ō* in the second syllable, belong here נְחֹשֶׁת *brass* (from נְחֹשְׁתּ); Parad. III, *a*) חֹתֶמֶת (from חֹתַמְתּ) masc. חוֹתָם *seal; b*) יוֹנֶקֶת (real sense, *sucking*) *off-spring;* and so mostly the feminines of the participle קֹטֵל, however also here we must admit the ground form קֹטֶלְתּ (יוֹנַקְתּ, יוֹלַדְתּ, v. above); this ground form reappears before suffixes and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. יֹדַעַת, fem. of יֹדֵעַ *knowing;* in a larger sense belongs here also גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *skull,* v. § 95; Parad. IV, *c*) כְּתֹבֶת *scripture,* modified from *kᵉthâb* § 93, Parad. IV, *c.*

As to the ending וֹת and יֹת— v. § 84, No. 16 and § 95 at the end.

§ 95.

PARADIGMS OF FEMININE NOUNS.

Corresponding with the general laws of formation, exhibited § 92, 2, 3, the principal cases that have to be considered, in regard to the inflection of feminines are the following: 1) a tone lengthened vowel retakes its original shorter form by the removal of accent (thus the *ā* of the ending ָה— becomes *ă* again in the ending of the *constr. state* ַת—). On the other hand a long pretonic vowel, although originally short, maintains itself *before* the ending ָה— e. g. צְדָקָה; 2) outside of the accent or foretone every original short vowel becomes *Shᵉwâ;* on the contrary the *ă* which had likewise disappeared in the first syllable, returns again *before* a similarly vanished vowel, although usually weakened into *ĭ*, e. g. צִדְקַת from *ṣădăqăt;* 3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms, before the ending ִים— as well as before the

light suffixes, a pretonic *Qā'mĕṣ* is inserted anew, and the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Shᵉwâ,* but reappears in the *constr. state* and before grave suffixes.

In the following paradigms we present only such of those forms treated in § 94 (besides I, *d*) as require the consideration of some vowel change or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Parad. I, *d*.

Paradigms of feminine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
Sing. absol.	מַלְכָּה (queen)	חֶרְפָּה (reproach)	חָרְבָּה (waste)	חֻקָּה (law)	גְּבֶרֶת (mistress)
„ *constr.*	מַלְכַּת	חֶרְפַּת	חָרְבַּת	חֻקַּת	גְּבֶרֶת
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכָּתִי	חֶרְפָּתִי	חָרְבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבִרְתִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכַּתְכֶם	חֶרְפַּתְכֶם	חָרְבַּתְכֶם	חֻקַּתְכֶם	גְּבִרְתְּכֶם
Plur. absol.	מְלָכוֹת	חֶרְפּוֹת	חָרְבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ *constr.*	מַלְכוֹת	חֶרְפּוֹת	חָרְבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ *with suff.*	מַלְכוֹתַי	חֶרְפּוֹתַי	חָרְבוֹתַי	חֻקּוֹתַי	
Dual absol.		רִקְמָתַיִם (double embroidery)			מְצִלְתַּיִם (cymbals)

II.

	a.	b.	c.
Sing. absol.	צְדָקָה (justice)	זְעָקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)
„ *constr.*	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	שְׁנַת
„ *with light suff.*	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שְׁנָתִי
„ *with grave suff.*	צִדְקַתְכֶם	זַעֲקַתְכֶם	שְׁנָתְכֶם
Plur. absol.	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת
„ *constr.*	צִדְקוֹת		שְׁנוֹת
„ *with suff.*	צִדְקוֹתַי		שְׁנוֹתַי
Dual absol.			שִׂפְתַיִם (lips)
„ *constr.*			שִׂפְתֵי

III.

	a.	b.
Sing. absol.	יוֹנֶקֶת (sprout)	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת (skull)
„ *constr.*	יוֹנֶקֶת	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת
„ *with light suff.*	יוֹנַקְתִּי	גֻּלְגָּלְתִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	יוֹנַקְתְּכֶם	גֻּלְגָּלְתְּכֶם
Plur. absol.	[יוֹנְקוֹת]	גֻּלְגָּלוֹת
„ *constr.*	יוֹנְקוֹת	גֻּלְגָּלוֹת
„ *with suff.*	יוֹנְקוֹתַי	גֻּלְגָּלוֹתַי
Dual absol.		[נִחְשָׁתַיִם (pair of fetters)]

REMARKS.

Rem. 1. *Parad.* I (feminine of Segholate forms). *a*) the form of this class with ה local sounds like גִּבְעָתָה *towards Gib'ā* (*masc.* גִּבְעַ). In some cases, especially with gutturals for the first letter, it cannot be distinguished whether the forms belong to *qăṭl* or *qĭṭl* e. g. חֲזָקָה *strength* (comp. חֲרָפָה under *b*). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (comp. שֶׁבַע *seven*, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms, as דֹּבֶשׁ (§ 93. I. Rem. 4) there is found הֲדַסָּה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form פְּרִי (ל"ה comp. § 93 I, *k*) rise feminines, partly like גַּאֲוָה, שַׂלְוָה, אַלְוָה (v. above § 94, 1, I, *k*) partly like בְּכִירָה (§ 94, 2); sometimes the closing ת before the plural ending, has been retained as if it belonged to the stem, e. g. חֲנִיתוֹת *lances*. Forms like גְּדִיָּה (comp. אֳנִיָּה as a *qŏṭl* form), are derived directly from the masculine forms גְּדִי *kid*, אֳנִי *ship*.—*b*) An example of ע"ן is חִטָּה *wheat* (for חִנְטָה), plur. חִטִּים; analogous with בְּאֵר (§ 93, I, Rem. 4, *b*) are forms בְּרֵכָה *pond* (with unchangeable *Ṣērê*) and שְׁאֵלָה *request*, with suffix שְׁאֵלָתִי, but also שְׁאֵל (=שְׁאֵלָתִי) Job 6, 8, Ps. 106, 15 (on הֵיטֵב etc. comp. below letter *e*);—*c*) the *plural absol.* of עָרְלָה *prepuce* is עֲרָלוֹת (comp. פְּעָלִים § 93, Parad. I, *f*) *construct* עָרְלוֹת.—*d*). As an example of a feminine Segholate form of a stem ע"ע (groundform *qŭṭl*, like חַנָּה of the form *qăṭl*, זְמָה of the *qĭṭl* form) with *ŏ* for *ŭ*, is found חָגָא *fright* Is. 19, 17 (aram. orthog. for חָגָה).—*e*) Segholate forms with ת fem. In the Parad. גְּבֶרֶת (v. § 94, 2, I, *a*) the *ă* of the groundform גְּבַרְתָּ has been sharpened into *ĕ* before the singular suffixes. Plural would be גְּבָרוֹת.—To the same category belong infinitives of פ"ו and פ"ן, which have rejected the feeble consonant, as שָׁבֶת (from יָשַׁב), דַּעַת (from יָדַע), נְשֹׁא (from נָשָׂא), as well as לָקַח (from לָקַח); comp. § 69 Rem. 4 and § 66. The infinitive of פ"ו is however also found in the form יֶדַע, לֶדֶת, צֵאת, also עֵדָה *congregation* (from יָעַד), עֵצָה *advice* (from יָעַץ), שְׁנָה *sleep* (יָשַׁן), *constr.* עֶדַת, שְׁנַת, whilst in the *construct forms* זֵעַת *sweat* Gen. 3, 19, (from יָזַע to flow) and צֵאת *excrement*, Ez. 4, 12, the *Ṣērê* has remained firm, בֹּשֶׁת *shame* (from בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*) must be considered undoubtedly as a *qŏṭl* form of an ע"ו stem, analogous with בָּאשׁ (§ 93, I, Rem. 4 *c*). Of a ל"ה (הָלָה) has been formed after rejection of the closing *Yôdh*, the masculine דַּל and afterwards the feminine דֶּלֶת *door;* plur. דְּלָתוֹת, *constr.* דַּלְתוֹת retains however the final ת (v. above *a* חֲנִיתוֹת). In a similar way has been formed שֹׁקֶת *trough* (from שָׁקָה), of which the *masc.* should be שֹׁק=שָׁקִי; on the other hand, the *plur. constr.* שִׁקֲתוֹת Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent stem consonant) can only be traced back to a kindred form (שִׁקַּת or שַׁקַּת).

2. *Parad.* II (groundform *qătălăt* etc. comp. § 94, I, *Parad.* II *a* and *b*). Analogous with the masculine forms such as קָטָן, *plur.* קְטַנִּים, is found here קְטַנָּה *little* etc.—The *constr.* forms, as צִדְקַת (*ṣid^{e}qăth*) differ by the vocal *Sh^{e}wâ* from the Segholate forms, as כִּבְשַׂת (*kib-săth*). Consequently the *constr. state* בִּרְכַּת (בְּרָכָה *blessing*) is anomalous, and

probably comes from the unused absolute בִּרְכָּה.—Under the influence of a guttural (v. Parad. *b*) the original *ă* of the first syllable comes back again in the *constr. state* (comp. also אַדְמַת *earth*, אַדְמָה); in other places it is modified into *Seghôl*, e. g. עֶגְלָה *chariot*, עֶגְלַת. Frequently with an *absolute state* in ־ָה the *construct* is formed with the ending ת e. g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, *constr.* עֲטֶרֶת (from עֲטָרָתְ); with עֲצָרָה *gathering* is found already in the *absolute state* עֲצֶרֶת; יְבֶמֶת (from יָבָם *brother in law*) has before suffixes יְבִמְתִּי, agreeing completely with גְּבֶרֶת (Parad. I *e*)—אֱמֶת *fidelity*, is found from a ל"ן stem (אֱמֶן) (for אֱמֶנֶת='*amant*) before suffixes אֱמִתִּי etc.—From the *masc.* form קָטָל (*qăṭĭl*) are formed גְּדֵרָה *wall*, נִבְלָה *corpse*, *constr.* נִבְלַת, בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, *constr.* בְּהֶמֶת (for בְּהֵמַת). More frequently however the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the ending *at* of the *constr. state*, thus from נְבָלָה is found once נִבְלָתִי Is. **26**, 19 and always גְּזֵלַת *prey*, טְמֵאַת *unclean*, מְלֵאַתִי *full* Is. **1**, 21 (with *î compaginis* v. § 90, 3.—As a *dual* is found רַכָּתַיִם (comp. רַכָּתוֹ Gen. **49**, 13, from the obsolete רְכֵכָה as feminine to רָכָךְ); the *constr. state* רַכְּתֵי, is thus to be referred to a Segholate form (רַכֵּכָה, comp. רֵכֵךְ as *constr. state* of רָכָךְ).—The forms with simple *feminine* ת are not based on the groundform *qăṭĭl* but on the usual form of the *constr. state* (v. § 92. *Parad.* II, *c* זְקַן of זָקֵן); thus the feminine of חָבֵר *companion* is חֲבֶרֶת, of גְּדֵר besides גְּדֵרָה also גְּדֶרֶת.—The feminine of the form *qăṭăl* of stems ע"ו, as גָּרָה, זָרָה have an unchangeable *a* in the first syllable, as גָּרַת, *constr. plur.* גְּרוֹת, *dual* רָמְתַיִם *double height*. From בָּמָה *mount*, (stem בּוּם, therefore with unchangeable *â* in first syllable) is found in the *constr. state plur.* the pleonastic form בָּמוֹתֵי or *defectively* בָּמֹתֵי (v. § 87, Rem. 1); the Massôrā demands for this everywhere בָּמֵתֵי, which must be read *bām°thê* (not *bŏm°thê*) with the anomalous reduction of the *ô* into (־ֵ); before suffix however בָּמוֹתַי etc.—Besides the forms with the ending ־ָה are found also such with ת; thus with the shortening of *ā* into *ă* are formed Segholates, like נַחַת (*masc.* נָח) *rest*, שַׁחַת *pit*, from נוּחַ and שׁוּחַ.—The feminine of the form *qăṭăl* of stems ע"ע, as רַבָּה, as well as those of the form *qăṭĭl* of ע"י, like מֵתָה *mortua*, עֵדָה *fem. witness* (from רָבַב, מוּת, עוּד) have likewise unchangeable vowels in the first syllable. The feminine of the form *qăṭŭl*, as עֲמֻקָּה (*masc.* עָמֹק) maintains in all cases the original *ŭ* by doubling the following consonant; on the other hand through appending the *fem.* ת are formed *Segholates* like נְחֻשְׁתָּ, before *Suff.* נְחֻשְׁתָּם etc. *Dual* נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם (placed in the Parad. III, *b*); comp. however נְחָשְׁתִּי Lament. **3**, 7.

A few feminines of ל"ה stems (Parad. II, *c*) are found with the ending *âth*, formed by the ejection of the closing *Wāw* or *Yôdh* and the contraction of the preceding *ă* with the *ă* of the ending *ăth*; thus מָנָת *share* (for *mănăjăth* or *mănăvăth*, קָצָת *end*, *plur.* מָנוֹת (*constr. state* Neh. **12**, 47, **13**, 10) and מָנָאוֹת (**12**, 44); קְצוֹת Exod. **38**, 5.—אוֹת *sign* (stem אוּה) comes from אָת and this is contracted from *âyăt*='*ăvăyăt*.

3. *Parad.* III; comp. the enumeration of the different forms § 94,

No. 1, *Parad.* III, and No. 2. The *dual* חוֹמֹתַיִם instead of חֹמֹתַיִם *double wall* is anomalous, taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת.—In a wider sense belong here the feminines of the form קָטָל (§ 84, No. 6), in so far as they shorten the *â* of the second syllable before the ending ת, e. g. דַּלֶּקֶת *burning fever* (from *dallăqt*) טַבַּעַת *signet;* next the form קִטֵּל (§ 84, No. 9), as אִוֶּלֶת *folly* (for *'iwălt*) and all the forms, which are formed with מ preformative and have a changeable vowel in the second syllable (§ 84, No. 14), e. g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom, constr.* מַמְלֶכֶת; מִזְמֶרָה *pruning knife, constr.* מַזְמֶרֶת; מַשְׂכֹּרֶת *reward,* before *suffix* מַשְׂכֻּרְתִּי; comp. also the forms mentioned in § 85, III, as מוֹלֶדֶת *birth* (of לי״א), on the other hand, is מוֹצָאָה *outgoing*), תּוֹלֶדֶת *generation,* תּוֹעֵבָה *abomination, constr.* תּוֹעֲבַת etc. Sometimes the plural of these forms depends on a secondary form e. g. מַחֲרֵשֶׁת *ploughshare, plur.* מַחֲרֵשׁוֹת (as from מַחֲרֵשָׁה), עַשְׁתֹּרֶת *Astarte, plur.* עַשְׁתָּרוֹת (the *ā* no more being inflected into *ē*); on the contrary כֹּתָרוֹת, *capitals* (of columns) and תּוֹכָחוֹת *reproofs* are the regular plurals of כֹּתֶרֶת and תּוֹכַחַת.—In כְּתֹנֶת *coat* the original *ŭ* of the first syllable has maintained itself through the doubling of the following consonant (comp. arab. *qŭṭŭn*) before *suffix* כֻּתָּנְתִּי, the *constr. state* however is כְּתֹנֶת (as already in the *absol. state* Ex. 28, 39); *plur.* כֻּתָּנוֹת, *constr.* כְּתֹנוֹת.—The form mentioned in Parad. III, *b* גְּלֻגֶּלֶת is a *pulpul* form of the stem גָּלַל; comp. קְדֻדְקֹד § 85, II.

4. To the fourth class, for which no parad. is required, belong all those numerous forms, which at present have entirely unchangeable vowels, after the originally short vowel of the first syllable has become *Shᵉwâ*, through the removal of the accent (comp. however בָּגוֹדָה Jer. 3, 7, 10, with an anomalous retention of the *ā*, although the same had been only lengthened from *ă*). Of forms mentioned in § 84 and 85 belong here especially those with ע״ע stems, as מְגִלָּה *scroll,* תְּהִלָּה *praise,* תְּפִלָּה *prayer* § 85, II, as well as the feminines of the participle *Hîphʿîl* of ע״ו, e. g. מְאִירָה *lighting* (from מֵאִיר), principally the feminines of ע״ו stems, which are combined with *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מָנוֹחַ), v. § 85, IV, 14. Thus, in their external shape, all these forms coincide with those which already, as masculines, have throughout unchangeable vowels (v. their enumeration § 93, *Parad.* IV, 3).

5. The feminine ending ־ִית— is based (apart from the ל״ה forms, as בְּכִירִת, § 94, 2), on the appending of the *feminine* ת to the ending ־ִי—, which has been employed to form adjectives etc., v. § 86, 2, 5 and 6. The ending וּת mentioned in the same place and also in § 84, No. 16, is attached in segholate forms partly to the groundform, as עַשְׁתּוּת Job 12, 5 partly to forms with lightly closed syllable, as מַלְכוּת *kingdom;* from ל״ה stems are formed words partly like שְׁבוּת *imprisonment* partly like בְּכוּת *weeping;* the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable also in the *constr. state* and before suffixes. כְּבֻדוּת *difficulty* is formed of a *qăṭîl*-form, and פְּקֻדוּת of a *qăṭṭîl*-form etc.—In the *plural* of these forms we can distinguish a different manner of treatment. In some cases the

ending וֹת is entirely retained, as belonging to the stem (comp. above Rem. 1) e. g. אַלְמְנוֹתַיִךְ from אַלְמָנוֹת; in others this ending is dismembered, as in מַלְכְוֹת Dan. 8, 22 (without doubt for *malkuwôth*), as well as in עֵדִוֹת (*ʿēdᵉwôth*) from עֵדוּת *witness* (only in connection with *suffixes* עֵדְוֹתֶיךָ etc.).

§ 96.

NOUNS OF PECULIAR FORM.

In the following alphabetical list is arranged a collection of much used nouns whose inflections offer more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities are however entirely subordinate to the general laws of sound, and the usual designation of these nouns as *irregular* is therefore not justified, if we only consider rightly the groundforms on which the present forms are based.

אָב (for אַבְהָ, from אָבָה prob. *to procreate*, hence אָב prop. *procreator*) *father*, *constr. st.* אֲבִי, with *suff.* אָבִי (*my father*), אָבִיךָ, אָבִיו or אָבִיהוּ, אֲבִיכֶם; *plur.* אָבוֹת (§ 87, 4) *constr.* אֲבוֹת. The feminine ending of the plural points undoubtedly to an original abstract, indicating dignity; comp. § 108, 2, *b*.

אָח *brother*, (for אַחְהָ, fr. אָחָה) *constr.* אֲחִי, with *suff.* אָחִי (*my brother*), אָחִיךָ, אֲחִיכֶם, *plur. constr.* אֲחֵי, אֲחֵיכֶם. But the *plur. absol.* is אַחִים (with *Dāg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1); hence אַחֶיךָ, אַחֶיהָ, etc. On the form אֶחָיו (which is invariably used instead of אַחָיו), see § 27, Rem. 2, *b*, and so too אֶחָי in *pause* for אַחַי *my brethren*. The doubling of the ח points by no means to another stem (אחח) but serves only as an artificial means of keeping the preceding *Păthăch* short, as in גְּמַלִּים etc. (§ 93, Parad. II, *a*).

אֶחָד *one* (for אַחַד, with *Dāg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, *b*), *constr. st.* and also elsewhere in close connection אַחַד, *fem.* אַחַת *una* (for אַחַדַת, see § 19, 2), in *pause* אֶחָת. In one instance (Ez. 33, 30) it takes (by *aphœresis*, § 19, 3) the form חַד *masc.*, as in Aram. *Plur.* אֲחָדִים *some*, but also *the same*.

אָחוֹת *sister* (from *ʾăchăwăt* or *ʾăchăyăt* with the elision of the ו or י and the modifying of the *â*—arisen from *ăă*—into *ô*), constr. אֲחוֹת, with *suff.* אֲחוֹתִי etc.; however see Num. 6, 7 אֲחֹתוֹ (with *Dagh. f. implic.* in ח). The *plur. absol.* (אֲחָיוֹת) accidentally does not occur, but the *constr.* with *suff.* is found in אֲחָיְתִי etc. (Ez. 16, 52, אַחְיוֹתֵךְ for אַחְיֹתַיִךְ). The forms אֲחוֹתַי Jos. 2, 13 *Kᵉthîbh*, אֲחוֹתַיִךְ Ez. 16, 51, 55, 61, אֲחוֹתֵיכֶם Hos. 2, 3 come from a singular אָחָה (with rejected third consonant).

אִישׁ *man*, either incorrectly lengthened from אֶשׁ (from *'išš* with the assimilation of the *Nûn* of the groundform *'inš* (stem אֲנַשׁ) which has again been attenuated from *'anš*) or a direct softening from *'inš;* in the *plur.* it has very seldom אִישִׁים (Is. **53**, 3, Ps. **141**, 4, Prov. **8**, 3), the usual form being אֲנָשִׁים (from אֲנָשׁ), *constr.* אַנְשֵׁי. Comp. אִשָּׁה.

אָמָה *maid-servant*, with *suff.* אֲמָתְךָ, *plur.* (with ה as a consonant) אֲמָהוֹת, *constr.* אַמְהוֹת. Comp. in Aram. אֲבָהָן *fathers*, also Arab. *'abahât* (fathers), *'ummahât* (mothers).

אִשָּׁה *woman* (for אַנְשָׁה, *fem.* from אֶנֶשׁ, see אִישׁ), *constr. st.* אֵשֶׁת (for *'išt* with ת *fem.* from *'išš* after rejection of *Dāghēsh* and lengthening the *i* into *ē*; comp. חֲמֵשֶׁת as *constr.* of חֲמִשָּׁה *five;* but a direct derivation from אִישׁ would also be possible, the *î* having been reduced to *ē*); with *suff.* אִשְׁתִּי, אִשְׁתְּךָ, *plur.* נָשִׁים (shortened from אֲנָשִׁים), but Ez. **23**, 44 אִשּׁוֹת; *constr.* נְשֵׁי, with *suff.* נְשֵׁיהֶם, נְשֵׁיו.

בַּיִת *house*, *constr. st.* בֵּית, *plur.* בָּתִּים *bâttî'm* or rather *bâtîm*, for the *Dāg. forte* (after firm *Mèthĕgh*) serves only to distinguish this word from בָּתִּים *staying over night* (*Part. Qăl* of בוּת); the former habitual reading *bôttîm* is therefore not at all justified. Comp. Gesenius' Lex. 8th ed. under בַּיִת. To the reasons cited there, the testimonial of the Babylonian vocalization must be added, which leaves no doubt as to the reading *bâtîm*.—*Constr. st.* בָּתֵּי, with *suff.* בָּתֵּיהֶם.

בֵּן *son* (from *bîny* for *bănȳ*=בָּנֶה from בָּנָה *to build*), *constr. st.* בֶּן־, seldom בֵּן־, once בְּנִי (§ 90, 3, *a*) Gen. **49**, 11, and בְּנוֹ (§ 90, 3, *b*) Num. **23**, 18, **24**, 3, 15. With *suff.* בְּנִי, בִּנְךָ; *plur.* בָּנִים, *constr. st.* בְּנֵי, with *suff.* בָּנַי, בָּנֶיךָ, בְּנֵיהֶם.

בַּת *daughter* (from בִּנְיָת=בִּנְיָת *fem.* of בֵּן, comp. § 19, 2), with *suff.* בִּתִּי (for בִּנְתִּי=בִּנְיָתִי); *plur.* בָּנוֹת (comp. בָּנִים *sons* from a sing. בָּנָה), *constr. st.* בְּנוֹת.

חָם *father-in-law*, with *suff.* חָמִיךָ; and חָמוֹת *mother-in-law* with *suff.* חֲמוֹתָהּ. Compare אָב *father*, אָח *brother*, אָחוֹת *sister*.

יוֹם *day*, (Arab. *yaum*) *dual* יוֹמַיִם; but *plur.* יָמִים, (from יְוָמִים with elision of ו) constr. יְמֵי and יְמוֹת (Deut. **32**, 7, Ps. **90**, 15).

כְּלִי *vessel*, from כָּלָה *to hold*, *plur.* כֵּלִים (as if from כֵּל, כֵּלָה), *constr. st.* כְּלֵי, with *suff.* כֵּלַי, כְּלֵיכֶם.

מַיִם (*plur.*) *water* (comp. § 88, 1, Rem. 2), *constr. st.* מֵי, but also doubled מֵימֵי, with *suff.* מֵימָיו, מֵימֵיהֶם.

עִיר *city*, *plur.* עָרִים, *constr. st.* עָרֵי (either syncopated from עֲרָרִים (v. Judges **10**, 4) or from a kindred sing. עָר, which is still found in proper names).

פֶּה *mouth*, acc. to *Gesen.* for פֵּאָה, from פָּאָה *to breathe*. It may however be derived from an original פִּי (*Olsh.*) for פִּוָה, of a stem פָּוָה or פָּוַה. In

this case the *constr.* פִּי would be contracted from *p^{e}wî* or *p^{e}yî* (with *Chî'rĕq compag.*); comp. אֲבִי from אָב for אַבָה, with *suff.* פִּי (for *pîy, my mouth*), פִּיךָ, פִּיהוּ or פִּירוֹ, פִּיהָ, פִּיכֶם, פִּיהֶם; *plur.* פִּים *edges* 1 Sam. 13, 21 (=פִּיּוֹת) and פִּיּוֹת (Prov. 5, 4).

רֹאשׁ *head* (derived from רָאַשׁ=רָאשׁ), *plur.* רָאשִׁים (for רְאָשִׁים, § 23, 2), *constr. st.* רָאשֵׁי, with *suff.* רָאשֵׁינוּ etc., but Is. 15, 2 רֹאשָׁיו.

שָׁמַיִם *plur. heaven* (§ 88, 1, Rem. 2) *constr.* שְׁמֵי.

§ 97.

NUMERALS. I. CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1. The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10 are, in Hebrew, substantives with abstract meaning, like *triad, decate,* πεντάς, and are therefore originally attached in the *constr. state* to the numbered word, e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים *trias filiorum.* However the use of the numerals in apposition was likewise of an early date, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *trias* sc. *filii,* and from this apposition it came to pass that these abstract substantives were conceived as adjectives (§ 120). The words אֶחָד *one,* fem. אַחַת (v. § 96) show already by their form that they are adjectives although here combinations like אֶחָד הֶהָרִים *unus e montibus* are also possible. The consequence of the appositional and finally adjective construction was that, for numbers used in connection with feminine nouns, a special (shorter) form came into use, whilst the original forms with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connection with masculine nouns. Thus in the numbers 3 to 10 arose the semblance as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive and the feminine form with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality there are proper dual forms, with the usual distinction of gender.

The numerals from 1 to 10:—

	With the Masculine.		*With the Feminine.*	
	Absol.	*Constr.*	*Absol.*	*Constr.*
1.	אֶחָד	אַחַד	אַחַת	אַחַת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתַּיִם[1]	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שָׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמֻשֶּׁת	חָמֵשׁ	חֲמֵשׁ
6.	שִׁשָּׁה	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שֶׁבַע	שִׁבְעַ
8.	שְׁמֹנָה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנֶה	
9.	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעַת	תֵּשַׁע	תִּשְׁעַ
10.	עֲשָׂרָה	עֲשֶׂרֶת	עֶשֶׂר	עֲשַׂר[2]

The other Semitic languages exhibit the same peculiarity in respect to the genders, of the numerals from 3 to 10. The full form of the numeral abstracts is now but rarely found in connection with feminine nouns[3]; e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים Gen. 7, 13, Ez. 7, 2 (in K^{e}thîbh), Job 1, 4; in apposition Zech. 3, 9, 4, 2, comp. Jer. 36, 23.

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[1] Shortened from שְׁנָתַּיִם, which would be the regular *fem.* form for שְׁנַיִם. Notwithstanding this, the *Dāghē'sh* in שְׁתַּיִם etc. can by no means be taken for *Dāghē'sh fortè*, risen from an assimilation of the *Nûn*, for in this case we should have at the most שְׁתַּיִם (comp. Arab. *ṯintani*). We rather have to read *štayim, štê* (with *Dāghē'sh lene*=שְׁתַּיִם or אֶשְׁתַּיִם with א prosthetic § 19, 4); comp. Arab. *'iṯnătāni*, another fem. form to *'iṯnāni*, duo.

[2] The simple numerals, from 1 to 10, not only exhibit an essential agreement in all the Semitic dialects; but they also, as pure primitives, awaken the expectation that somewhere a connecting point may be found for establishing a historical affinity between these languages and the Indo-Germanic (see § 1, 3, 4). Thus we may compare: אֶחָד, Sansk. *êka;* שְׁנַיִם (Aram. תְּרֵין) Sansk. *dva*, Lat. *duo;* שָׁלֹשׁ (Aram. תְּלָת) Sansk. *tri*, τρεῖς, *tres;* חָמֵשׁ Sansk. *pañcan*, πέντε; שֵׁשׁ (properly, as the Arab. and Aethiop. show=שֵׁדֵשׁ, grdf. *šidš*) Sansk. *shash*, ἕξ, *sex;* שֶׁבַע Sansk. *saptan*, ἑπτά, *septem*. Meanwhile we should consider that there is a more natural explanation of the Semitic numerals by reference to existing verbal stems which renders these comparisons, as a basis of evidence, extremely doubtful; thus אֶחָד (Arab. also *wāchid*) from the stem יחד, Hebr. יָחַד *to be united;* שְׁנַיִם from שָׁנָה *to fold* hence *double*, i. e. *two folds;* אַרְבַּע from רָבַע *to lie down* (by folding the four paws); חָמֵשׁ, really *the contraction* of the five fingers into the fist, from חָמַשׁ; finally עֶשֶׂר from אָסַר *to bind together=a connection* (comp. קֶשֶׁר).

[3] In the vulgar dialects of the Arabic, and in the Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numerals is used almost exclusively. This form appears in Hebrew

2. The numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed by adding to the *units* the numeral *ten* (in the form עֶשֶׂר *masc.*, עֶשְׂרֵה *fem.*), written as separate words and without the conjunction. As, however, they are both pronounced closely together, the units appear almost entirely in the form of the construct state (without pretonic vowels); comp. in the following table אַחַד and אַחַת in the number 11 and the units in the feminine numbers from 13 upwards. Only the real forms of connection (*constr. st.*) of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשֶׁת etc. are excluded from the combinations with עָשָׂר, as they are really in apposition and not in a genitive relation. Also שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the number 12 are only seemingly in the *constr. st.*, although formed in the same manner and for the same reason of close connection (by contraction of *ay* and elimination of ם in שְׁנֵים, שְׁתֵּים). In שְׁנֵים and שְׁתֵּים the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the ם), unless both forms be considered as the Massoretic *Qᵉrî perpetuum* (§ 17) viz. שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי for the really intended שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם. Accordingly the numbers from eleven upwards are:

	Masc.	*Fem.*
11.	אַחַד עָשָׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה
	עַשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר[1]	עַשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה
	שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

and so on, analogous with the last. These numbers have regularly but the above form. In regard to their syntax comp. § 120, 2 Rem.

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also when speaking of the number as such, in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (Gen. 4, 15, 24).

[1] The enigmatic עַשְׁתֵּי has been lately found in the Assyr. cuneiform inscriptions where it has the form *istin=unus* (v. *Schröder* in der Zeitschr. der D. M. G. Bd. 26 p. 234 ff.). According to this עַשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר would be a combination like Sansk. *êkâdaçan*, ἕνδεκα, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12—19), and serve at the same time in the combination of the fem. numeral eleven, whilst elsewhere the Assyrian has *ichit* (אחת) for *una*. It seems that in Hebr. also the verbal stem for עַשְׁתֵּי

Very rarely the *units* appear in the *masc.* in the constr. st., as in חֲמֵשֶׁת עָשָׂר *fifteen* Judg. **8**, 10, 2 Sam. **19**, 18, שְׁמֹנַת עָשָׂר *eighteen* Judg. **20**, 25.

3. The *tens* from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the corresponding units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten-times* the unit), as שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תִּשְׁעִים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עֶשֶׂר *ten.*[1] They are of *common gender,* and do not admit the *construct state.* When units and tens are written together, the earlier writers commonly (but with many exceptions) place the units first (e. g. *two and twenty,* as in Arabic and German); but in the later writers the order is most commonly reversed (*twenty and two,* as in Syriac, French, English *twenty-two*) e. g. 1 Ch. **12**, 28, **18**, 5. The conjunction (וְ *and,* also וָ before numerals accented on the 1st syllable, וַ before ־, וּ before *Shᵉwâ*) is always used between them.

The remaining numerals are:

100	מֵאָה *fem., constr.* מְאַת, *plur.* מֵאוֹת *hundreds.*
200	מָאתַיִם *dual* (for מְאַתַּיִם).
300	שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת (2 K. **11**, 4. 9. 10. 15 however in *Kᵉthîbh* הַמְּאָיוֹת).
400	אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת etc.
1000	אֶלֶף, *masc. plur.* אֲלָפִים *thousands.*
2000	אַלְפַּיִם (*dual*).
3000	שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים, 4000 אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים, etc.
10000	רְבָבָה, but in later books (Ezr. **2**, 64, Jon. **4**, 11). רִבּוֹת, רִבּוֹא, רִבּוֹ (prop. *multitude,* cf. μυριας).
20000	רִבְתַּיִם[2] (*dual*) Ps. **68**, 18, also שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹת, Neh. **7**, 71.
40000	אַרְבַּע רִבְאוֹת, Ezr. **2**, 64.
60000	שֵׁשׁ־רִבְאוֹת Ez. **2**, 69 (perh. f. רִבְאוֹת, as Dan. **11**, 12).

has been preserved in עֶשֶׂת *work of art* and עֲשָׂתוֹת *thought, opinion.* These two terms may easily be related to the fundamental idea of *connecting, combining* and thus one finds for עֶשְׂתֵּי the idea of *unio, unity.*

[1] The anomalous plural forms עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים, from the Sᵉgholates עֶשֶׂר, שֶׁבַע, תֵּשַׁע, for which we should (according to § 93, 6) expect עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים, are found but very seldom elsewhere as in שִׁקְמִים *mulberry-trees* and רִחְמִים *viscera* from רֶחֶם.

[2] Acc. to *Delitzsch* (Comm. on Ps. **68**, 18) this "is a dual from רִבּוֹת, and

Rem. 1. The dual form occurs in some of the units, with the effect of our ending *-fold*, as in אַרְבָּעְתַּיִם *fourfold* 2 Sam. 12, 6, שִׁבְעָתַיִם *sevenfold* Gen. 4, 15, 24, Ps. 79, 12. Besides its use for the *tens*, we find the plural also in אֲחָדִים [comp. Ger. *einige*, W. *ychydig*] *some, a few*, also *the same* (*iidem*), aud in עֲשָׂרוֹת *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21, 25.

2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with nouns, prop. genitives of the pronoun, though we translate them as in nominative or acc., as שְׁלָשְׁתְּכֶם *you three*, prop. *your triad*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98.

NUMERALS. II. ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination יִ— (§ 86, No. 5), besides which another ־ִי־ also is mostly inserted between the second and third stem consonant. They are as follows, שֵׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי and חֲמִישִׁי, שִׁשִּׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, עֲשִׂירִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by רִאשׁוֹן for רִאְישׁוֹן, from רֹאשׁ *head, beginning*, with the ending וֹן (§ 86, 2, No. 4). The feminine forms have the ending ־ִית—, more rarely יִיָה—, and are employed also for the expression of *fractions* or *parts*, as חֲמִשִׁית *fifth part*, עֲשִׂירִית and עֲשִׂירִיָה *tenth part*. The same meaning is found also in forms like חֹמֶשׁ *fifth part*, רֹבַע and רֶבַע *fourth part;* they are abstracts derived from cardinals.

For the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no separate forms, see in the Syntax, § 120.

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this is either an abstract noun equivalent to רִבּוּת (from which comes the apoc. רִבּוֹ=רִבּוּ) *a myriad*, consequently רִבֹּתַיִם *two myriads* or a contracted plural out of רִבְאוֹת Ezra 2, 69 therefore the dual of a plural". This as *Perowne* suggests would signify *two series* of myriads, as חוֹמֹתַיִם *the double line of walls*, לֻחֹתַיִם *the double series of planks of a ship.—Ed.*

CHAPTER IV.
THE PARTICLES.

§ 99.
GENERAL VIEW.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, and the closer relation of the words or clauses and sentences to each other, are for the most part borrowed or derived from nouns, but a few also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30, 4); on the other hand (aside from a few demonstrative forms, § 100, 4) only in the sense defined in § 81 can any be taken for *primitives*.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be determined with certainty, they are,—1) either *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the verb, noun, or pronoun, are employed as particles, retaining more or less of their original signification, like the Lat. *certo*, *falso*, *partim*, *verum*, *causa*, and the Eng. *except*, *instead*, *away*; or—2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either—*a*) by the *addition of formative syllables*, like יוֹמָם *by day*, from יוֹם (§ 100, 3); or most commonly—*b*) by *abbreviation*, effected in various ways, the degree of mutilation being proportioned to the frequency of their use, so that the original form of some has become entirely unrecognizable.

Compare in Ger., *gen* from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit* from *Seite*; *weil* (orig. a particle of time) from *Weile*=our *while*; in Eng. *sith* and *since* (old Eng. *sithence*).

Such words suffer still greater changes in the Greek and the Latin, and in the languages derived from the latter, as in ἀπὸ, *ab*, *a*; ἐξ, *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*.[1]

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[1] Even short phrases are contracted into one words, e. g. German *zwar* from *es ist wahr* (*il est vrai*), Lat. *forsitan* from *fors sit an*, δηλονότι, δηλαδή, Fr. *peut-être*, E. *prithee* from *I pray thee*. In the Chinese, most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *iù* (*to give*), employed as a sign of the dative; *i* (*to make use of*), hence *for*; *nëi* (*the interior*), hence *in*.

The greatest curtailing of the particle occurs when, having ceased to be an independent word, it has been reduced to a single letter with, in most cases, a very short vowel sound. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26, 4) such particles cannot stand independently but are *prefixed* to the following word (as in the case with the preformatives of the Imperfect, § 47, 1, 2), e. g. the prefix לְ from אֵל (§ 102).

That this shortening of a whole word to a single letter has actually taken place, and is to be regarded as a part of the process in the formation of the language, is evident from the fact, that in the subsequent stages of this process, as exhibited in the later Hebrew, the Aramæan, and all the Semitic dialects, such abbreviations become more and more striking and frequent. Thus אֲשֶׁר was shortened into אש in Phœn., and in Hebr. to שֶׁ, שַׁ and even שְׁ, which prefix forms became more and more customary among the Rabbins; the דִּי of the Biblical Aram. at a later period became דְּ; in modern Arabic we have *hallaq* (now) from *hâlwaqt*, *lêsh* (why?) from *li-ayyi-shaiin*, and many others. This view derives confirmation from the analogy of the Western languages. Yet the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest epochs of the Hebrew language, or at least to the earliest documents in our possession.

3. Particles are formed, less frequently, by *composition:* as in מַדּוּעַ (for מַה־יָּדוּעַ *what known?* τί μαθών;) *wherefore?* בִּלְעֲדֵי (from בַּל and עֲדֵי) *besides;* מִלְמַעְלָה (from מִן, לְ, מַעְלָה) *from above.*

More frequent is the combination of two words without being contracted into one; as כִּי־עַל־כֵּן, אִם־כִּי, אַף־כִּי, אַחֲרֵי־כֵן.

§ 100.

ADVERBS.

1. Of obscure origin though undoubtedly the remainder of some noun is the negative לֹא *not,* and some particles of place and time, as שָׁם *there.*

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which, without any farther change, are used *adverbially,* are—

a) Substantives with prepositions, as בִּמְאֹד (prop. *in strength*) *very, greatly;* לְבַד *alone* (prop. in separation Fr. *à part*

=E. *apart*), with suff. לְבַדִּי *I alone;* מִבַּיִת (prop. *from house*) *within;* כְּאֶחָד (prop. *as one*) *together.*

b) Substantives in the accusative (the *adverbial case* of the Shemites, see § 118, comp. τὴν ἀρχήν, δωρεάν), as מְאֹד (*strength*) *very, greatly;* אֶפֶס (*cessation*) *no more;* הַיּוֹם (*this day*) *to-day;* יַחַד (*union*) *together.* Many of these substantives are but seldom used as such e. g. סָבִיב and in *plur.* form סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת (*circuit*), as adv. *around;* others not at all, as כְּבָר (*length*) *long ago;* עוֹד (*repetition, duration*) *again, further, longer.*

c) Adjectives, especially in the *feminine* (answering to the Indo-Germ. *neuter*), as רִאשׁוֹנָה (*primum*) *at first, formerly* (often בָּרִאשׁ, also לָרִאשׁ); רַבָּה and רַבַּת (*multum*) *much, enough;* נִפְלָאוֹת (prop. *mirabilibus sc. modis*) *wonderfully;* יְהוּדִית *Jewish,* i. e. in the Jewish tongue.

d) Verbs in the *Infinitive absolute,* especially in *Hîphʿîl,* which are also to be regarded as accusatives (§ 131, 2); e. g. הַרְבֵּה (prop. *to do much*) *much,* לְהַרְבֵּה *in quantity* Neh.

e) Pronouns and numerals, as זֶה (prop. *there = at this place*) *here,* הֵנָּה *here, hither,* אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven-times,* 100-*times,* שֵׁנִית *a second time, again* Lev. 13, 5.

See a list of the adverbs most in use, classified according to their meanings, in § 150.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of the formative syllable ם— to substantives, as אֱמֶתְנָם and אֱמֶנָם *truly* (from אֱמֶת *truth*); חִנָּם (*by favor*) *gratis,* (from חֵן *favor*); רֵיקָם *vainly* (from רִיק *empty*); יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם); פִּתְאֹם for פִּתְעֹם (from פֶּתַע *twinkling*) *in a twinkling, suddenly.*

The termination ם— occurs also in the formation of substantives, e. g. סֻלָּם *ladder* (from סָלַל) so that ם—, ם— are like וֹן, ן— (§ 84, No. 15), e. g. פְּדוּיִם and פִּדְיוֹן *ransom,* λύτρον; בְּפִתְאֹם (with prep.) *in a twinkling* 2 Ch. 29, 36; hence these forms may be regarded as denominative nouns used adverbially. But others think that the ם— is nothing else than an obsolete plural-ending of the noun (see § 87, 1, *d*), and that these adverbs are properly nouns in the accusative plural, hence אֱמֶתְנָם like מֵישָׁרִים as adv. in Ps. 58, 2, חִנָּם like Lat. *gratîs* i. e. gratiis.

4. Those forms which are very closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun may most naturally be regarded as *primitive adverbs,* having sprung from a combination of so-called demonstrative sounds. Some of these have since suffered great mutilations, whose extent however can nowhere be determined with certainty. Here belong e. g. אָז *then,* כֵּן *so,* אַךְ *only,* אָכֵן *truly* (on all these adverbs v. Davies' Heb. Lex.), but especially the *interrogative* הֲ, e. g. הֲלֹא *nonne?* הֲגַם *num etiam?* This הֲ as well as the kindred article ה· (v. § 35, Rem. 1) comes undoubtedly from הַל, as still used in Arabic and perhaps also meant in Heb. in Deut. 32, 6.

This *interrogative* ה receives,—1) before non gutturals with firm vowel generally *Chāṭĕ'ph-păthăch,* as הֲשַׂמְתָּ *hast thou set?* see examples in § 153, 2 (except הֵיִיטַב in Lev. 10, 19);—2) usually with *Păthăch* and *Dāghē'sh fortè* (according to the original form הַל, and hence like the article) before a letter that has *Shᵉwâ,* as הֲכִבֵּרְךָ *num in via* Ez. 20, 30, הַלְבָנֹן Gen. 17, 17, 18, 21, 37, 32, or also with the *Păthăch* only, as in הַטָּעַם Gen. 30, 15, 27, 38;—3) with *Păthăch* (and *Dāghē'sh f. implicitum*) before gutturals, as הַאֵלֵךְ *shall I go?* הַאַתָּה (art) *thou?* הַאַתֶּם *num si;* Judg. 6, 31, 12, 5, Neh. 6, 11 must be read הֲאַתֶּם (not הָאַ); with הָאִישׁ Num. 16, 22 the Massora means the article. Comp. Deut. 20, 19, Eccl. 3, 21 and *Delitzsch* on the latter passage;—4) with *Sᵉghôl* before gutturals that have *Qā'mĕṣ* or *Chāṭēph Qā'mĕṣ* as הֶאֱכִי *num ego?* הֶהֳיָתָה *was there?* The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

5. Some adverbs, involving a verbal idea, or at least (though really substantives) inclining to such an idea, admit also of *verbal suffixes,* especially those with *Nûn epenthetic* (§ 58, 4); e. g. רֶשְׁנִי *he (is) existing;* אֵרֶנִּי *I (am) not,* אֵרֶנּוּ *he (is) not,* עֹדֶנּוּ *he (is) yet,* אַיֶּכָּה *where art thou?* אַיּוֹ *where (is) he?* The same applies to הֵן and הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*), with suffixes; as הִנֶּנִּי (in *pause* הִנֵּנִי and הִנְּנִי) *behold me* (prop. *here I am*), הִנְּךָ, הִנֵּהוּ *behold him,* הִנָּנוּ *behold us* (in *pause* הִנֵּנוּ and הִנְּנוּ), הִנְּכֶם, הִנָּם.

§ 101.

PREPOSITIONS.

1. The words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives, and properly:

a) Substantives in the *accusative case* and in the *construct state,* so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and it actually has in Arabic the genitive-ending (compare in German *statt dessen, kraft dessen,* in Greek τούτου χάριν, in Latin *hujus rei causa* or *gratia, montis instar*); as אַחַר[1] (hinder part*) *behind, after;* אֵצֶל (side*) *close by;* בֵּין (intermediate space, midst*) *between;* בְּעַד, בַּעַד (interval of space) *behind, about;* זוּלָת or with *Chireq compag.* זוּלָתִי (removal, want) *besides;* לַעַן (purpose) *on account of;* מוּל (*front-side,* from מָאוֹל v. Ges. Lex. 8th ed.) but usually מוּל *before, over against;* מִן (part) *from, out of;* נֶגֶד (what is in front) *before, over against;* עַד (progress, duration*) *during, until;* עַל (upper part*) *upon, over;* עִם (connection, from the same stem עָמַם comes also עֻמַּת, לְעֻמַּת) *with;* תַּחַת (under part*) *under, in place of.*

b) Substantives in the *construct state* to be conceived however as standing in the genitive depending on *prefix prepositions* (espec. the inseparable): as לִפְנֵי (in the face of) *before;* כִּפִי, לְפִי (to the mouth of, i. e. *the command**) *according to;* בִּגְלַל (in the occasion of) *on account of,* לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of.*

2. Substantives used adverbially, in this manner, are very apt to become prepositions; e. g. בְּבִלְי, בְּאֵין, בְּאֶפֶס (with nought of) *without;* בְּעוֹד (in duration of) *during;* כְּדֵי, בְּדֵי (for the requirement of) *for, according to measure of.*

§ 102.

PREFIX PREPOSITIONS.

1. Of the prepositions given in the preceding section מִן *from, out of,* is frequently written as a *prefix* (§ 99, 2), yet its *Nûn,* assimilated to the following consonant, is still represented by the *Dāghē'sh fortė* in that consonant, as in מִיַּעַר *from a forest.*

[1] In these examples, the signification of the noun is put in parenthesis, and marked with an asterisk when it is still in use.—On a similar use of substantives as prepositions in other languages, see *W. Von Humboldt* über die Kawisprache, Bd. III., p. 621.

Rem. The preposition מִן is used as follows. It stands apart generally only before the article (and always with *Măqq'ēph*), as מִן־הָאָרֶץ, also here and there before softer letters, as מִן־אָז Jer. 44, 18, מִן־בָּנַי 1 Ch. 5, 18, and elsewhere in the later books (like the usage of the Aramæan); there is besides a poetical form מִנִּי (comp. § 90, 3, *a*) and מִנֵּי Is. 30, 11 (comp. אֵלַי and עָלַי § 103). Its form is mostly מִ *prefixed* (as in מִדָּם *from blood*) by means of *Dāghē'sh fortè* which can be omitted only in letters that have *Sh'wâ* (according to § 20, 3, *b*); with a following יְ the מִ is usually contracted into מִי e. g. מִיְּדֵי=מִיַּדֵי or מִיָּדֵי; before gutturals it becomes מֵ (according to § 22, 1), e. g. מֵאָדָם, מֵעָם; but also מַ (w. *Dāgh. f. impl.*) before ח and ה, as in מַחוּץ, מַהֲרוּת, מַחוּשׁ Gen. 14, 23; so sometimes before ר (§ 22, 5, Rem.).

2. There are also three other prepositions, the most common in the language, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99, 2) to a single prefix consonant with *Sh'wâ;* viz.—

בְּ *in, at, on, with,*
לְ *towards, to, for,* L. *ad,*
כְּ *like, as, according to.*[1]

On the pointing of these (inseparable) prefixes it is to be observed that—

a) The *Sh'wâ mobile* with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced has resulted from the disappearance of a short vowel, which therefore according to § 28, 1, 2 must return as soon as another *Sh'wâ* follows. Before simple *Sh'wâ* this vowel is *ĭ*, but before *Chāṭēph*, the vowel of the *Chāṭēph* is taken e. g. לִפְרִי *for fruit*, כַּאֲרִי *as a lion;* and before feeble letters it follows the rules in § 23, 2, and § 24, 1, *a*, e. g. לֵאמֹר for לֶאֱמֹר, לִיהוּדָה.

b) Before the article they usually displace the ה and take its pointing, as בַּגָּן for בְּהַגָּן *in the garden.* See full particulars in § 35, Rem. 2.

c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and words of two syllables that have the tone on the penultima, they take also *Qā'mĕṣ* (prob. as a lengthening of orig. *ă*, comp. § 26, 3), but only in the following cases,—*α*) לָ before the Infinitives which have the above-mentioned form, as לָתֵת *for to give*, לָדִין *for to judge*,

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[1] Contrary to *Gesenius'* and *Rödiger's* learned derivation of בְּ from בַּיִת, Aram. also בֵּי (therefore really *in the house, in*) or from בֵּין *between* (*Ewald,*) *Mühlau* and *Volk* in the 8th ed. of the Lex., following *Böttcher*, have recommended, and without doubt rightly, to regard the בְּ (Arab. *bi*) as a softening of the Arab. *fi* (*in*).—לְ arises first from אֶל and more remotely from a stem which means *appropinquavit, accessit* (Arab. ولى).—On כְּ, orig. a noun meaning *amount, kind* (*instar*) see Lex.

לָשָׂרֵת *for to bear*, except when another word closely follows the Inf. (especially as its subject § 133, 2), placing it in a sort of *constr. st.* as in בְּנָשֵׂת Num. 8, 19, לְשָׁבֵת Gen. 16, 3;—β) before many pronominal forms, כָּזֶה, בָּזֶה, לָזֶה, כָּאֵלֶּה *like these*, but specially always בָּכֶם, לָכֶם, כָּכֶם; and בָּהֶם, לָהֶם, כָּהֶם (see § 103, 2);—γ) לְ before monosyllables or nouns accented on the first syllable, e. g. לְפֵה פֶּה *mouth to mouth* 2 K. 10, 21, לְבֵין מַיִם לָמָיִם *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6, in both cases before the great pause observe in the instructive example in Deut. 17, 8 that the punctuation לְ requires at least the small pause after it; in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the לְ stands in the double repetition before the small and the smaller distinctives.—δ) in certain standing expressions, which have become adverbial as לָעַד *to eternity*, לָרֹב *in multitude*, לָבֶטַח *in security*, לָנֶצַח *to perpetuity*, but לָנֶצַח נְצָחִים *to all eternity* Is. 34, 10.

d) With the *interrogative* מָה we have בַּמָּה *by what?* כַּמָּה *how much?* לָמָּה (Job 7, 20 לָמָּה, 1 Sam. 1, 8, לָמָּה, all *Mil ēl* therefore *ă* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ח, ע לָמָּה (*Milrá'*) is used to avoid hiatus instead of לָמָּה; but before the ח we find also בָּמָּה. Before non-gutturals is found לָמָּה Ps. 42, 10, 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its own original vowels (probably יַהֲוֶה), but those of אֲדֹנָי (see Lexicon under the word), takes the *prefixes* also after the manner of אֲדֹנָי, as לַיהוָה, בַּיהוָה, מֵיהוָה (because the Jews read in these cases לַאדֹנָי, בַּאדֹנָי, מֵאֲדֹנָי).

§ 103.

PREPOSITIONS WITH SUFFIXES AND IN PLURAL FORM.

1. So far as all prepositions were originally nouns in the accusative (§ 101), they are also united with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91, 1, 2), as אֶצְלִי (at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, תַּחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them* (like L. *mea causa, on my account*).

Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת *near, with* (from אָנָה v. Lex. s. v. אָנָה II.), is distinguished from אֵת (the sign of the definite accusative, see § 117, 2) when suffixes are added, by the difference of pointing, the former making אִתִּי, אִתּוֹ, אִתָּם, while the latter retains its original *o* before the so-called light suffixes as אֹתִי *me*, אֹתְךָ, אֹתָךְ *thee*, אֹתוֹ *him*, אֹתָהּ *her*; אֹתָנוּ *us*, but אִתְּכֶם, אֶתְכֶן *you*, אֹתָם and אֶתְהֶם *them*. Yet in later books, particularly in the books of Kings and in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this אֵת *with* is at times incorrectly inflected אֹתִי, אֹתָם.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (st. עִמּ) takes *Qā'mĕṣ* (pretonic) before

כֶם and הֶם, in order that the doubling of the *Mêm* may be distinctly heard, as in עִמָּכֶם, עִמָּהֶם (for which however עִמָּם usually stands). In the first person, besides עִמִּי we find עִמָּדִי.

3. It is but seldom that prepositions take the verbal-suffixes, as תַּחְתֵּנִי 2 Sam. **22**, 37, 40, 48 (for which we find תַּחְתַּי in Ps. **18**, 37, 40, 48), תַּחְתֶּנָּה Gen. **2**, 21, and בַּעֲדֵנִי Ps. **139**, 11 (perh. for the sake of rhyming with רְשׁוּפֵנִי). But in these cases the form of the suffix may perhaps be accounted for in this way, that the idea of *direction whither* is implied, so תַּחְתֵּנִי *under-me-ward* 2 Sam. as above (also תַּחְתַּי *under me*), תַּחְתֶּנָּה *in its place* ('he put flesh in-*to* its place'), בַּעֲדֵנִי *hither around me.*

2. There is a tendency to obviate the extreme brevity and lightness of the forms resulting from the union of the prefix prepositions (§ 102) with the suffixes, especially with the shorter ones, by lengthening the preposition. Hence to כְּ is appended the syllable מוֹ, and מִן is doubled into מִמֶּן (for מִנְמֶן, prop. L. *a parte,* from the side of—), and for בְּ and לְ we have at least בָּ and לָ with full vowel (§ 102, 2, *a* and *c*).

a) לְ with suffixes:

	Sing.		*Plur.*	
1.	לִי *to me.*		לָנוּ *to us.*	
2. *m.*	לְךָ, לָכָה, in pause לָךְ	*to thee.*	לָכֶם, לָכֶן[1]	*to you.*
2. *f.*	לָךְ	*to thee.*	לָכֶן[1]	*to you.*
3. *m.*	לוֹ *to him.*		לָהֶם, לָהֵמָּה, poet. לָמוֹ[2]	*to them.*
3. *f.*	לָהּ *to her.*		לָהֶן[3] לָהֵנָּה	*to them.*

[1] לָכֶן happens not to occur in the O. Testament.

[2] Even Rödiger denies altogether that לָמוֹ may stand also for the sing. לוֹ. But this question must now be decidedly answered in the affirmative, since the Phœnecian suffix of the 3. fem. sing. in ם is generally recognized as analogous to the Hebrew suffixes in מוֹ (comp. *Schröder* Phonïz. Sprache p. 153 f. and p. 154, *Schlottmann's* explanation of this מ). To be sure in places like Gen. **9**, 26, ff. Deut. **33**, 2, Is. **30**, 5, Ps. **73**, 10, לָמוֹ is better explained as *plural* (in reference to collective nouns); but in Is. **44**, 15 and **53**, 8 its explanation as plural would be an extremely forced one. Besides there would remain עָנֵימוֹ Ps. **11**, 7 and כִּפְרֵימוֹ as well as עֲלֵימוֹ, the latter occuring three times, Job **20**, 23, **27**, 23 (also עָלָיו) and especially **22**, 2. In all these places we can avoid the worst exegetic artifices by recognizing simply a singular suffix (=עָנָיו, כִּפְרוֹ, עָלָיו).

[3] The form לָהֵן usually signifies *therefore.*

בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3*d person plur.* we have בָּהֶם, בָּהֶמָּה, also בָּם and the *fem.* בָּהֶנָּה also 15 times בָּהֵן; but only in 1 Sam. 30, 7, Is. 38. 16, Ezek. 42, 14 בָּהֶן.

b) כְּ with suffixes:

	Sing.	*Plur.*
1.	כָּמוֹנִי[1] *as I.*	כָּמוֹנוּ *as we.*
2.	*m.* כָּמוֹךָ, *f.* — *as thou.*	כָּכֶם, seldom כְּמוֹכֶם — — — *as ye.*
3.	*m.* כְּמוֹהוּ *as he.*, *f.* כָּמוֹהָ *as she.*	כָּהֶם [כְּמוֹהֶם כָּהֶם] כָּהֵנָּה [כָּהֵן] *as they.*

c) מִן with suffixes:

	Sing.	*Plur.*
1.	מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in pause מֵנִּי *from me.*	מִמֶּנּוּ *from us.*
2.	*m.* מִמְּךָ, in p. מִמֶּךָּ, *f.* מִמֵּךְ *from thee.*	מִכֶּם, מִכֶּן *from you.*
3.	*m.* מִמֶּנּוּ, poet. in pause מִמֶּנְהוּ, [מִמֶּנָּהוּ or מִמֶּנְּהוּ] *from him.*, *f.* מִמֶּנָּה *from her.*	מֵהֶם, מֵהֶמָּה, poet. מִמֶּהֶם, מֵהֵנָּה, מֵהֶן *from. them.*

Rem. The syllable מוֹ (in Arabic *mâ* מא=Heb. מָה *what*) in כָּמוֹנִי (prop. *according to what I* for *as I*), is in poetry appended to the three simple prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ, even without suffixes, so that בְּמוֹ, כְּמוֹ, לְמוֹ appear as independent words equivalent to בְּ, כְּ, לְ. In this case, poetry distinguishes itself from prose by longer forms; in the case of מִן on the other hand it has adopted the shorter ones, resembling the Syriac.

The above bracketed form כָּהֶם stands only in 2 Kings 17, 15 (in *pause*); כָּהֵן (or כָּהֵן) only in Ez. 18, 14. Comp. *Frendsdorff*, Massora magna, p. 234 ff.—For כָּכֶם (so formerly in this grammar) *as ye*, must be read כָּכֶם according to the express testimony of *Kimchi* (comp. also *Baer* on Job 16, 4).

The preposition מִן (see § 102, 1, Rem.) with *suff.* makes מִמֶּנּוּ *from him*, which comes from מִמֶּנְ־הוּ (according to § 19, 2), and is identical

[1] The use of נִי for ִי— here is simply for euphony, (comp. above No. 1 Rem. 3). כָּמֹנִי written defectively only in the Pentateuch.

in form with מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, which comes from מִמֵּנִּנוּ.[1]—The form מִמֶּנָּה always stands without *Mappîq*, and comes from מִמֵּנִּהָ. The bracketed form מִנֶּהוּ for which *Baer* after *Kimchi* et al. writes מִנָּהוּ is found only in Ps. **68**, 24 and is perhaps rather a *substantive=share* (v. *Delitzsch* in loc.).—מֵיכַן (in printed editions, in MSS. however מֵיכָן) is found only Ez. **16**, **47**, **52**.

3. Several of these prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are properly plural nouns, like the Germ. *wegen* or the Eng. *besides* (for the reason of this, see § 108, 2, *a*),[2] and are therefore joined with the pronominal suffixes, in the form of the plural construct state just like plural nouns (§ 91, 2). Such are—

אַחַר, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after,* with suff. always thus: אַחֲרַי *behind me,* אַחֲרֶיךָ *behind thee,* אַחֲרֵיכֶם, אַחֲרֵיהֶם etc.

אֶל־, poet. also אֵלַי (*regions, directions*) *towards, to,* with suff. always אֵלַי *to me,* אֵלֶיךָ, אֵלָיו, אֵלֵיכֶם, אֲלֵיהֶם (also *defect.* אֲלֵהֶם), for which latter also poet. אֲלֵימוֹ (Ps. **2**, 5).

בֵּין (*interval*) *between,* to which the suff. which have a singular sense are joined, thus: בֵּינִי, בֵּינְךָ, etc. (Gen. **16**, 5 בֵּינֶיךָ but the second *Yôdh* has been rendered critically doubtful by a dot; בֵּינָיו occurs three times, but it is only Massoretic *Qᵉrî* for בֵּינוֹ, which is found e. g. Gen. **30**, 36). On the other hand the suffixes that signify a plural are added to the plur. בֵּינֵי or בֵּינוֹת, thus בֵּינֵינוּ, בֵּינֵיכֶם, בֵּינֵיהֶם, also בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ, בֵּינוֹתָם (ם— also sometimes elsewhere to the plur. noun to avoid too long forms).

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around,* with suffixes always in the plural form, partly *masculine* סְבִיבֶיךָ, סְבִיבָיו etc., partly, and more frequently *feminine* סְבִיבוֹת *surroundings* with suff. סְבִיבוֹתַי *around me,* סְבִיבֹתֵיהֶם, סְבִיבֹתָיו.

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[1] The Babylonian grammarians wanted to distinguish the last from the 3d sing. by writing it מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, but Ibn Ezra justly objected.

[2] Some of these words, which come from stems ל״ה, viz., עֲדַי, עֲלַי, אֲלַי, may certainly be traced back to singular forms like עֲדֵי, עֲלֵי, אֲלֵי; but the analogy of the others makes it more probable that these also should be regarded as plurals.

עַד (*progress, duration,* from עָדָה) *as far as, unto,* plur., עֲדֵי (poet.), but with suff. even in prose always עָדַי, עָדֶיךָ, עָדָיו, עָדֶיהָ, עָדֵינוּ, עָדֵיכֶם, עָדֵיהֶם (with *Qā'mĕṣ* in the secondary tone) Job 32, 12.

עַל־ *upon, over* (*constr. st.* of עָל *what is above,* from עָלָה *to go up*), *plur.* עֲלֵי (poet.), but with suff. also in prose always עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, עָלָיו, עָלֶיהָ, עָלֵינוּ, עֲלֵיהֶם, for which עֲלֵיהֶמוֹ is also often used in poetry. On the use of the latter in the *sing.* see above 2, *a*, Note [2].

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*), in plur. with suff. תַּחְתַּי, תַּחְתֶּיךָ, תַּחְתָּיו, תַּחְתֶּיהָ, תַּחְתֵּינוּ, תַּחְתֵּיכֶם, תַּחְתָּם (see בֵּינוֹתָם above).

§ 104.

CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The conjunctions serve to connect words and sentences, and to express their relations to each other.—Such are

a) Original pronouns, as the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for.*

b) Original substantives, which afterwards became pronouns or adverbs e. g. אֲשֶׁר (s. § 36), which serves partly as general expression of the idea of relation, partly as relative pronoun (=*qui, quae, quod*); farther אַל (*nothing*) *that not;* פֶּן (perhaps literally *turning off,* from פָּנָה) *that not, lest* (the Greek μή *prohibitivum*) etc. Also substantives used adverbially with prepositions e. g. בְּטֶרֶם (in not-yet) *before that* (for which also מִטֶּרֶם). On the combination of two conjunctions to express complicated ideas (e. g. אַךְ־כִּי *to this comes, that=yea more that*) v. § 155, 2.

c) Prepositions, which by the addition of the conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי are reduced to the idea of one conjunction; e. g. יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *because* (from יַעַן *account of*), prop. *on account that,* אַחַר אֲשֶׁר *after that,* כַּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (אֲשֶׁר and כְּ), עֵקֶב כִּי and עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר (*in consequence that*) *because.* The preposition may still be employed in this manner, even when the conjunction is omitted, e. g. עַל (for עַל אֲשֶׁר) *although,* Job 16, 17.

So at least according to the logic of our language; it would however be more correct to say that instead of the intermediate אֲשֶׁר the whole

following sentence has one substantive idea, governed directly by the preposition. In like manner, all prepositions prefixed to the Infinitive may be rendered in English as conjunctions (§ 132, 2) with the finite verb.

2. Even those little words which are no longer in use except as conjunctions, and which are in more or less of obscurity as to their formation, or original signification, may be considered throughout as remainders of original nouns, such as אוֹ (prop. *will, choice,* from אָוָה *to desire,* comp. Prov. **31**, 4) *or,* like Lat. *vel, ve,* from *velle;* of doubtful origin are אִם *when,* also *or* (before the second member of a double question) אַף *also* and others. Even the only *prefix* conjunction וְ (*and*) seems to have come from a stem meaning *to add* or *join;* comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. under יָו.

NB. The pointing of the conjunction וְ is in many respects analogous to that of the *prefixes* בְּ, כְּ, לְ, (§ 102, 2), but as a feeble letter it has some peculiarities:—

a) Usually it has simple *Sh*^{e}*wâ* (וְ).

b) Before words beginning with a guttural and a *composite Sh*^{e}*wâ*, it takes the vowel with which the Sh^{e}wâ is compounded (according to § 28, 2), as וַחֲכַם *and be thou wise,* וַעֲבָדִים *and slaves,* וְעֻזּוֹ *and force,* וְאֹכַל *and eat thou,* וְחֳלִי *and sickness.* But אֱלֹהִים *God,* with וְ is contracted into וֵאלֹהַי, וֵאלֹהִים etc. In cases like וַעֲצַר Job **4**, 2 comp. § 28, 2.

c) Before words whose first consonant has simple Sh^{e}wâ (excepting the cases under *d*), *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū*, as וּלְכֹל *and to all,* and even before a *Chāṭĕph* (under letters not guttural), as וּזְהַב Gen. **2**, 12 (comp. § 10, 2, Rem. *b*). It is also sounded thus (yet with the exception of the cases under *e*) before its cognate labials ב, מ, פ; as וּמַלְכָּה.

d) Before יְ *Wāw* takes *Chîrĕq,* as in וַיְהִי *and he was* (for וְיִהְיִ, according to § 24, 1, *a*); on the peculiar punctuation of ו copulative before forms with initial *Sh*^{e}*wâ* from הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live,* as וְהָיִיתֶם Josh. **8**, 4, וְחָיִיתָ Gen. **20**, 7, comp. § 63, Rem. 5.

e) Immediately before the tone-syllable, it often takes *Qāmĕṣ,* like בָּ, כָּ, לָ (§ 102, 2, *c*), yet chiefly only at the end of a clause, e. g. 2 K. **7**, 4 (וְנָלֹךְ), וְמֵתְנוּ, וְמֵתְנוּ and וְנָמֵתְנוּ), Ruth **3**, 3 (וְסָכְתְּ), Ps. **10**, 15 (וְרָע), 2 Sam. **13**, 26 (וְלֹא), 1 Sam. **9**, 4 (וְאֹזֶן), Ez. **47**, 9 (וְחָי); comp. also (with *Tiphchā*) Gen. **33**, 13, 2 Sam. **15**, 12. Regularly the ו *copulative* stands with *Qāmēṣ,* when it serves to unite two nouns, which have the same generic idea, and thus in their combination present only *one* more comprehensive idea. It is also here however a condition that the ו shall stand immediately before the tone syllable, e. g. תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ

Gen. 1, 2, יוֹם וַלַּיְלָה 8, 22 (see also examples above); זָהָב וָכֶסֶף Ex. 25, 3; כֹּה וְכֹה *so and so*, כָּבוֹד וָעֹז Ps. 96, 7, 10, וָרֶכֶב וָסוּס Ps. 76, 7; even נֹחַ וְשֵׁם־וָחָם וָיֶפֶת Gen. 7, 13, אֱלֹהִים וָמֶלֶךְ 1 K. 21, 10, אִישׁ־וָאִישׁ Esth. 1, 8 (at the end of the verse); also with 3 words as in פַּחַד וָפַחַת וָפָח Is. 24, 17. It is otherwise when the word stands in close connection with the following, e. g. אִישׁ וְאִישׁ רִעֵהוּ בָּהּ Ps. 87, 5. From the same rhythmical reason the וְ (not וָ) stands with certain monosyllabic words, whose nature is to lean upon the following, as וְאֵת, וְזֶה, וְלֹא, וְגַם and others.

§ 105.

INTERJECTIONS.

1. Among the interjections there are (as in all other languages) some merely natural sounds, or as it were, vocal movements, called forth by some impression, or sensation, as אָהָהּ, אָח *ah!* הֶאָח *ho! aha!* הַס *hush!* But חוֹי, אוֹי *woe!* is an original noun and belongs therefore to No. 2.

2. Others, however, were borrowed from other parts of speech, and became interjections only by use in animated discourse, as הֵן or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); רְאֵה[1] *lo!* (prop. *see*, Imp. of רָאָה); הָבָה, *plur.* הָבוּ (prop. *give*, Imp. of יָהַב) for *come on! go to!* (L. *age, agite*); לְכָה (also לֵךְ in Judg. 19, 13), לְכוּ (prop. *go ye*, Imp. of הָלַךְ) *go to! come on!*[1] חָלִילָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*), בִּי (for בְּעֵי *entreaty*) *I beseech, prithee!* (for *I pray thee*), נָא *now!* (cf. Ethiop. *nă â*, prop. *hither*, but also *come on!*) a particle of incitement and entreaty (which is put after the expression it belongs to).[2]

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[1] רְאֵה, הָבָה and לְכָה stand connected, in this form, also with the feminine and with the plural, which shows that they have quite assumed the nature of interjections.

[2] The particle נָא serves to express the most various shades of thought, which are exhibited in various places in the Syntax. A short statement must here suffice. נָא stands—*a*) after the *Imp.* in commanding as well as in entreating (§ 130, 1);—*b*) after the *Impf.* in the first as well as in the third person (§ 127, 3, *b*, and § 128, 1);—*c*) one after the *Perf.* (§ 126, 4 in foot Note);—*d*) after various paticles, as הִנֵּה־נָא *behold now*, particularly with conjunctions, as אַל־נָא *no! pray* (*ne quæso*), אִם־נָא *if now*, εἴποτε, *if*, with a courteous or modest hesitation.—In courteous discourse this particle is used in redundance, as in Gen. 18, 3, 19, 7, 8, 19, 50, 17.

PART THIRD.

SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.

SYNTAX OF THE NOUN.

§ 106.

EXPRESSION OF ADJECTIVES THROUGH SUBSTANTIVES,— THE ABSTRACT FOR THE CONCRETE.

In the Hebrew language, there is a want of adjectives in proportion to the substantives, and some classes of adjectives, such as those of *material*[1], are almost entirely wanting. This deficiency is supplied by substantives, especially in the following ways:—

1. The substantive expressing quality is placed in the genitive after the noun qualified. This is constantly the case in specifying the material, e. g. כְּלֵי כֶסֶף *vessels-of-silver=silver vessels,* אֲרוֹן עֵץ *ark-of-wood=wooden ark,* like the Fr. *des vases d'or;* in like manner אֲחֻזַּת עוֹלָם *eternal possession* Gen. 17, 8, מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *men-of-number* i. e. that can be numbered = *few men* Gen. 34, 30, אֶבֶן חֵן *precious stone* Prov. 17, 8. So likewise even in cases where the language had a corresponding adjective, e. g. בִּגְדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ *garments of holiness=the holy garments* Ex. 29, 29; for the use of the adjective קָדוֹשׁ is restricted

[1] A few adjectives of this kind, in the form of *passive participles*, are אָרִיז (denom. from אֶרֶז) *of cedar*, נָחוּשׁ *of copper*. On the form קָטוּל as expression of inherent qualities, v. § 50, 3, Rem. 2.

to the expression of certain combinations. Compare hence in the N. Test. ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας Luke 16, 8. Comp. Fr. *Un homme de bien.*

Rem. 1. Less frequently the substantive which expresses a quality precedes and the other noun follows it in the genitive, as מִבְחַר עֲמָקֶיךָ *the choice of thy valleys*, i. e. *thy chosen valleys* Is. 22, 7 (comp. 17, 4), 37, 24, Gen. 23, 6, Ex. 15, 4. This is the usual construction with the substantive כֹּל *totality* used for the adj. *all, whole* (see § 111, 1).

2. Instead of an adjective, which ought to stand as the predicate of a sentence, a substantive is sometimes employed; e. g. Gen. 1, 2, *the earth was desolation and emptiness*, Job 3, 4 *let that day be darkness*, Ps. 25, 10, 35, 6, 88, 19, 110, 3, Is. 5, 12, Job 23, 2, 26, 13; in a few of these cases the periphrasis with the aid of a substantive was necessary, as there existed no corresponding adjective. But in all cases the idea of quality is more strongly expressed by a substantive than by an adjective or verb. The same may be said of the examples where the predicate has been expressed by a substantive with a preposition, as in Ps. 29, 4 *the voice of the Lord is* בַּכֹּחַ *with power* i. e. *powerful.*

2. Especially, adjectival ideas, denoting the possession of a thing, quality or condition, and the like, are frequently expressed by circumlocution, viz. by substantives (like *man, lord, son, daughter*) with the genetive of the thing, attribute, etc., in the following manner:—

a) אִישׁ *man*, e. g. אִישׁ דְּבָרִים (prop. *man of words*) *eloquent man* Ex. 4, 10; אִישׁ דַּעַת (prop. *man of knowledge*) *intelligent man* Prov. 24, 5; אִישׁ חֵמָה *wrathfull man* Prov. 15, 18.—*b*) בַּעַל *master, owner*, e. g. בַּעַל שֵׂעָר *hairy* 2 K. 1, 8, בַּעַל הַחֲלֹמוֹת *the dreamer* Gen. 37, 19.—*c*) בֵּן *son* and בַּת *daughter*, e. g. בֶּן־חַיִל *valiant man* 1 K. 1, 52; בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם *an oriental* Gen. 29, 1; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *one year old* Ex. 12, 5; בֶּן־מָוֶת *doomed to death=a child of death* 1 Sam. 20, 31; בַּת בְּלִיַּעַל *worthless woman* 1 Sam. 1, 16; poet. also of a thing without life, as in Is. 5, 1 בֶּן־שֶׁמֶן *fat ground* (of a fruitful hill); comp. בֶּן־לַיְלָה Jonah 4, 10.

A bolder construction, and merely poetic, is the use of the simple abstract in place of the concrete, as בְּלִיַּעַל *worthlessness* for בֶּן־בְּ׳ or אִישׁ־בְּ׳ *worthless*, like L. *scelus* for *scelestissimus*. Comp. § 83, Rem. 1.

Rem. On the contrary, forms of adjectives or concretes, especially in the feminine, often take the abstract signification, as has been shown in § 84, 1, 3, 12, etc.; comp. § 107, 3, *b*.

We here remark, also, that the poets employ certain *epitheta ornantia* alone instead of the substantive to which the attribute belongs; e. g. אַבִּיר *the Strong*, i. e. *God;* אַבִּיר *strong*, i. e. *the ox*, in Jeremiah *the horse*, רֹזֶן *majestic, august*, for *the prince* (comp. נָשׂוּא *elatus*, with the same signification); לְבָנָה *white*, i. e. *the moon.* So also רֹבֵץ *lurking*

i. e. *the lurker*, for *a lurking lion* Gen. 4, 7. In Arabic this use of adjectives and participles for substantives is even far more common. Comp. L. *merum* for *vinum*, ὑγρή i. e. *the sea* in Odyss. 1, 97.

§ 107.

INDICATION OF THE GENDERS OF THE NOUNS.

Whether the Hebrew regarded a substantive as feminine is known partly from its feminine termination in the singular (§ 80, 1, 2), and from the feminine ending of the plural (see however § 87, 4) and partly merely from its construction with a feminine predicate. On the indication or non-indication of the gender, and also on the peculiar Hebrew conception of genders, the following has to be noted in particular.

1. The most natural use of it was the express indication of gender in cases where the physical sex of man or beast comes into consideration. Language shows, however, several gradations, according as this natural distinction is more or less prominent in the mind's view. The former is principally the case—

a) when the female is designated by an entirely distinct word, which, of course, requires no feminine-ending, as *father, mother,* in Heb. אָב, אֵם; אַיִל *ram,* רָחֵל *ewe;* חֲמוֹר *he-ass,* אָתוֹן *she-ass;*

b) when the female is indicated only by the addition of the feminine-ending, as אָח *brother,* אָחוֹת *sister;* עֶלֶם *young man,* עַלְמָה *young woman;* פַּר *ox,* פָּרָה *heifer;* עֵגֶל *he-calf,* עֶגְלָה *she-calf;* the gender is less emphatically distinguished:—

c) when the feminine gender is shown only by the construction (*communia*), like ὁ, ἡ βοῦς, ὁ, ἡ παῖς, as גָּמָל *camel, masc.* in Gen. 24, 63, but *fem.* in 32, 16; בָּקָר *masc.* for *male cattle* in Ex. 21, 37, but *fem.* for *female cattle* in Job. 1, 14;

d) when, without regard to the natural distinction of the sexes, only one form is employed in the same gender to designate both (*epicœna*), as in ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδών; e. g. דֹּב שַׁכּוּל *masc., a bear robbed of his young* Hos 13, 8 (yet

it is construed as feminine in 2 K. 2, 24, Is. 11, 7); אֶלְוָה *masc.*, *ox* in Ps. 144, 14, where however the *cow* is intended.

In cases under a, b, c, the more definite designations of the *fem.* gender, although existing in the language are often replaced by more general expressions which are used elsewhere only for the masculine, e. g. חֲמוֹר as *fem.* for אָתוֹן 2 Sam. 19, 27, and אַיָּל for אַיָּלָה Ps. 42, 2. Compare in German *Gemahl* for *Gemahlin;* on the other hand in Arabic, where the more ancient style avoids the feminine forms e. g. *ba'la mistress*, *'arûsa bride*, which become more and more common in later usage. On the other hand נַעַר *boy*, *youth* being employed also for נַעֲרָה in the Pentateuch, comes from the originally epicene use of נַעַר. But if in Job 1, 19, Ruth 2, 21, נְעָרִים is used for young people (of both sexes) it is because the idea of the male sex, as the nobler one, predominated and included at the same time, the female sex; comp. *Arab.* *'abawāni*, *the two fathers*, i. e. *parents.*

The same sparing use of the designation of sex appears also in other examples; viz. אָמוֹן *m. artificer* Prov. 8, 30 (where *wisdom* חָכְמָה *f.* is meant, like *artifex omnium natura* in Plin. 2. 1); מֵת *m. a dead body*, spoken of the corpse of a woman Gen. 23, 4; אֱלֹהִים for a *goddess* 1 K. 11, 5; comp. Eng. *friend*, *teacher*, also Lat. *auctor*, *martyr.*

Among *epicœne* nouns are found names of whole species of animals, which were regarded as masculine or feminine according as they appeared strong and powerful, or weak and timid; e. g. *m.* כֶּלֶב *dog*, זְאֵב *wolf; f.* יוֹנָה *dove*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, בַּת רַעֲנָה *ostrich*, אַרְנֶבֶת *hare.*

2. The use of the feminine-ending for denoting the feminine gender, is most constant in the adjectives and participles. See § 87, 5.

3. Besides objects properly feminine, there are others (nearly the same as those which in Greek and Latin are *neuter*) indicated in Hebrew by the feminine form viz.—

a) *Things without life*, for which the feminine, as the weaker, seemed to be the most suitable designation, as יָרֵךְ *side* (of the body), *thigh*, יְרֵכָה or יַרְכָה *side* (of a country), *region*, *rear* (of a dwelling); מֵצַח *front* or *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greave* (from some resemblance). As in the two last examples, so the feminine is often used to transfer the signification of an animate object to a kindred inanimate object (especially of art).

b) Hence *abstract ideas*, which decidedly prefer the feminine form, even when the masculine is also in use; as נָקָם, נְקָמָה *vengeance*, עֵזֶר, עֶזְרָה *help* (§ 84, 11, 12). Adjectives when used substantively in a neuter sense (like τὸ καλὸν), commonly take the fem. form, as נְכוֹנָה *right* in

Ps. 5, 10; רָעָה *evil, ill-luck;* so also in the plur. fem. גְּדֹלוֹת *great things* Ps. 12, 4; נִפְלָאוֹת (Part. Niph. *wonderful thing*).

c) At times the feminine form is applied, when a *dignity* or *office* is designated, as כְּנָיוֹת (prop. *surnames, equally named*) *colleagues*, פְּרָעוֹת *princes* (like our *highnesses*). Considered more closely, these feminine forms express really abstract ideas, which afterwards had been transferred to concrete individual persons. Undoubtedly the same is the case with אָבוֹת *fathers* (more exactly something like *paternitas*, indicating dignity). Of a somewhat different kind are cases like קֹהֶלֶת *concionator* (designation of *King Solomon* as the preaching wisdom) where the fem. ending serves in a manner to designate the so named personality as being active in that particular direction; comp. סֹפֶרֶת as a man's name in Neh. 7, 57, Ezra 2, 55. These words are, however, agreeably to their signification construed with the *masc.* This use of words prevails more extensively in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramæan, e. g. in *Chalîpha* (fem. of *chalîph, successor, representative*). Compare in Lat. *magistratus*, Ger. *Herrschaft* (Eng. *lordship*) for *Herr* (Eng. *lord*), *Obrigkeit* for *Oberer; Majesty, Excellency*, Ital. *podestà*[1], etc.

d) *Collectives*, as אֹרֵחַ *wanderer, traveller*, אֹרְחָה *caravan* (prop. *that which wanders* for *wanderers*); גּוֹלָה (from masc. גּוֹלֶה) *a company of exiles;* יוֹשֶׁבֶת Is. 12, 6, Mic. 1, 11, 12, prop. *that which inhabits* for *inhabitants;* אֹיֶבֶת for *enemies* Mic. 7, 8, 10. So in Arabic often. Comp. the poetic בַּת צֹר for בְּנֵי צֹר *sons* (=*inhabitants*) *of Tyre* Ps. 45, 13, בַּת עַמִּי=בְּנֵי עַמִּי *my countrymen*. Comp. τὸ ἱππικόν and ἡ ἵππος for *the cavalry*, ἡ κάμηλος (Herodotus I. 80).

e) But on the contrary the feminine, as the *nomen unitatis* in Arabic, now and then denotes *an individual of a class*, when the masculine is used of the whole class, e. g. אֳנִי *ships, fleet* (1 K. 9, 26, comp. 2 Ch. 8, 18), אֳנִיָּה *single ship* (Jon. 1, 3); שֵׂעָר *hair* (collectively), שַׂעֲרָה *a hair* (see Judg. 20, 16, 1 Sam. 14, 45, Ps. 40, 13); שִׁיר *song* (mostly collective), שִׁירָה *a song*, so also תְּאֵנָה *a fig*, נִצָּה *a blossom* (besides the collective נֵץ Gen. 40, 10), שׁוֹשַׁנָּה *a lily* (besides שׁוֹשָׁן), לְבֵנָה *a brick* Ez. 4, 1 (Arabic *labina*, also collect. *labin*), and other instances, although the difference is partly lost sight of in the Hebrew.

4. Many words (besides certain names of objects properly feminine, No. 1, *a*—*d* in this section) are more or less regarded as feminine, without having the appropriate ending, but taking the syntactical construction, as if feminine. They belong chiefly to the following classes:

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[1] So פֶּחָה (=*pasha*) is *fem.* in form and inflection, but *mas.* in sense and construction.—*Tr.*

a) Names of *countries* and *towns*, contemplated as mothers[1], or nurses (as it were), of the inhabitants e. g. אַשּׁוּר *f. Assyria*, אֱדֹם *f. Idumæa*, צֹר *Tyre;* so also the appellative nouns which denote *country*, *city* or any *locality*, or *limited space*, as אֶרֶץ *earth*, *land*, תֵּבֵל *the world*, עִיר *city*, דֶּרֶךְ and אֹרַח *way*, חָצֵר *court*, מַחֲנֶה *camp*, שְׁאוֹל *the grave*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *north*, תֵּימָן *south*, etc.; at times even מָקוֹם (*place*) is *fem.*, as in Gen. **18**, 24 (referring to Sodom), and 2 Sam. **17**, 12 in *K*^{e}*thibh* (where the *Q*^{e}*rî* gives the *masc.*).[2]

As names of people are commonly masculine, it often happens that the same word is used as *masc.* for the people, and as *fem.* for the country; e. g. יְהוּדָה *m. Jews* Is. **3**, 8, *f. Judœa* Lam. **1**, 3; אֱדֹם *m. Idumœans* Num. **20**, 20 and *f. Idumea* Jer. **49**, 17.

But names are also construed as *fem.*, even when intended for the people, by a metaphorcial use (like the German *die Türkei schliesst Frieden*) Job **1**, 15, 1 Sam. **17**, 21, Is. **7**, 2, **21**, 2.[3]

b) Many *members* and *parts of the body* in man or beast, יָד and כַּף *hand*, אֶצְבַּע *finger*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בֶּרֶךְ *knee*, כָּתֵף *shoulder*, יָרֵךְ *loin*, שׁוֹק *leg*, עַיִן *eye*, אֹזֶן *ear*, זְרוֹעַ *arm*, לָשׁוֹן *tongue*, כָּנָף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*, בֶּטֶן *womb*, probably with reference to their subserviency as mere instruments[4]; and hence also words for *inanimate instruments* and *utensils*, as חֶרֶב *sword*, יָתֵד *peg*, אָרוֹן *ark* or *chest* (but also *masc.*), דַּד *bucket*, עֶרֶשׂ *bed*, נַעַל *sandal*, כּוֹס *cup*, also אֶבֶן *stone*, and many others.

c) *Fem.* too are the words for *light*, *fire*, and other *powers of nature*, as שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (also *masc.*), אֵשׁ *fire* (Eth. *ĕsât*), אוֹר (light Job **36**, 32 elsewhere *masc.*), נֹגַהּ *brightness*, also רוּחַ *wind* and *spirit*, נֶפֶשׁ *breath* and *soul* (both, but rarely, masc.), etc.[5]

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[1] Thus אֵם in 2 Sam. **20**, 19, and on Phœnician coins, stands for *mother-city*, μητρόπολις (comp. μήτηρ, *mater*), and by the same figure the inhabitants were called *sons* of the country, as *sons of Zion* Ps. **149**, 2, *sons of Babylon* Ez. **23**, 15 (like *son of the house*, *son of the womb*).

[2] As this word מָקוֹם is *masc.* everywhere else, so we find also in the others more or less fluctuation in the gender.

[3] This applies also to the poetical personification of nations, countries and cities as female beings e. g. Is. **47**, 1, **50**, 1, **54**, 1 seq., Ez. **16**, 3, Lam. **1**, 1. Therefore also בַּת־צִיּוֹן, בַּת־בָּבֶל used for a city and its people (see above in No. 3, *d*), and the styling of a smaller place in dependence on a city as its *daughter*, as in Josh. **15**, 45.

[4] The *masc.* gender also is found in these nouns in a few cases, as זְרוֹעַ Is. **17**, 5, שׁוֹק Ex. **29**, 27, עַיִן Zech. **4**, 10, לָשׁוֹן Ps. **22**, 16. Only as masculine do we find אַף *nose*, מֵצַח *front*, צַוָּאר *neck*, עֹרֶף *nape of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, עָקֵב *heel*, זָנָב *tail*.

[5] The particulars are to be found in the Lexicons. Some of these words have the feminine-ending, as נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, קֶשֶׁת *bow* (from the root קוּשׁ), עֵת *time* (for עִדָּת), and yet are now and then construed as masculine, from a misconception as to their origin, taking the ת for a stem consonant.

§ 108.

OF THE PLURAL AND COLLECTIVE NOUNS.

1. Besides the proper plural-endings (§ 87, 1, 2), the language employs some other means for the expression of plurality, viz.—*a*) certain words, with a *collective* signification, which have their corresponding *nomina unitatis,* i. e. nouns which designate an individual of the class, as שׁוֹר *an ox,* בָּקָר *oxen,* e. g. חֲמִשָּׁה בָקָר *five oxen* Ex. 21, 37, צאן *small cattle,* viz. *sheep* or *goats* (μῆλα), שֶׂה *a single head of the sheep* or *goats;*—*b*) the feminine-ending (§ 107, 3, *d*);—*c*) nouns which have the proper signification of the singular, but which are also used as collectives, e. g. אָדָם (never pl.) *man, the human race,* אִישׁ *a man,* for *men,* אוֹיֵב *enemy* for *enemies,* עֵץ *tree* for *trees.* These words take the article, when all the individuals of the class are included (§ 109, 1). Comp. also § 108, 4, Rem. 1 on the special signification of the plural of certain collectives.

2. On the other hand, the terminations which properly express *plurality* are employed in the expression of other kindred ideas, so that the Hebrew at times uses plural forms where other languages employ the singular. The plural is thus used to denote:—

a) *Extension of space* or *time;* hence the frequent use of it to express *portions of space, regions* or *surfaces,* their unity being considered as the compound of an immense number of single particles or dots (comp. L. *loca*), שָׁמַיִם *heavens* (§ 88, Rem. 2), מְרוֹמִים *heights* (of heaven) Job 16, 19, מַיִם *water,* רַמִּים poet. for רָם *sea* (as it were the vast surface of the sea), מַרְגְּלוֹת *place at the feet,* מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *place at the head; certain portions of the body,* which are parts of its extension,[1] as פָּנִים *face* (also *surface, front* in general), צַוָּארִים *neck; spaces of time,* as חַיִּים *life,* נְעוּרִים *youth,* זְקֻנִים *old age.* These latter plurals, however, may perhaps be better explained as intensively expressing the qualities and conditions inhering in the idea of the stem, so that זְקֻנִים expresses really the totality of the conditions of a זָקֵן. Such a comprehension into an abstract idea certainly takes place in cases like בְּתוּלִים *virginity,* עִוְעִים *perverseness,* שִׁכְלִים *childlessness,* סַנְוֵרִים *blindness.* Comp. the prepositions of space and time in pl. form, § 103, 3.

[1] Comp. the same use of the *plur.* in τὰ στέρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ τράχηλα, *præcordia, cervices, fauces.*

b) *Might, power* and *greatness.* These so-called *plurales excellentiae* are analogous to the intensive plural treated in *a*); here the plural serves first to form abstract nouns which express the fundamental idea, raised to a higher power (interiorly multiplied). Of this sort particularly is the plural (of אֱלֹהִים) *God.* Even supposing that the use of this plural originated in a polytheistic view, in the language of the Old Testament it has become completely stripped of numerical multiplicity (so far at least as Elohim is used of *one* God) and retains only the conception of a being, who is in the highest degree an object of awe and reverence. So too a few times קְדֹשִׁים *the most Holy* (God) Hos. 12, 1, Prov. 9, 10, 30, 3 (comp. Josh. 24, 19 and Aram. ע�illָיוֹנִין *the Highest* Dan. 7, 18), and תְּרָפִים L. *penates* always in the plural (even when only one image is meant) 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16. Also most frequently אֲדוֹנִים=אָדוֹן *lord,* e. g. אֲדֹנִים קָשֶׁה *a severe lord* Is. 19, 4, אֲדֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land* Gen. 42, 30, 39, 20, specially with *suff.* of 2d and 3d person, as אֲדֹנֶיךָ *thy lord,* אֲדֹנָיו *his lord* (but אֲדֹנִי *my lord,* אֲדֹנָי *the Lord,* God's name, § 121, Rem. 4); so also בַּעַל *master,* with *suff.* often בְּעָלָיו *his master* Is. 1, 3, בְּעָלֶיהָ *her master.* Comp. also עֹשִׂים *creator* (always with suffix) Is. 22, 11, 54, 5 (with בֹּעֲלַיִךְ) Ps. 149, 2, Job 35, 10.[1]

Rem. 1. This use of the plural, according to letter *b*, is very limited, and very seldom extends beyond the above words, which (except תְּרָפִים) are used in the singular as well. On the construction of these plurals with adjectives, see § 112, 1, Rem. 3; with verbs, in § 146, 2.

2. The plurals under *a* are also limited in common prose to few words, but in the language of the poets and prophets they are somewhat more frequent, e. g. חֲשֵׁכִים *tenebræ* (used like our *shades* for dark places), עֲדָנִים and תַּעֲנוּגִים *delights,* אֱמוּנִים *faithfulness,* and many others.

3. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and this compound idea is to be expressed in the plural, it is done—*a*) most naturally by the plural form in the *governing* noun (§ 89, 1), as גִּבֹּרֵי חַיִל *valiant heroes* (prop. *heroes of valour*) 1 Ch. 7, 2, 9; so also in compounds, as בֶּן־יְמִינִי *Benjaminite, plur.*

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[1] Somewhat similar is the use of *we* by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. 1 Mac. 10, 19, 11, 31); but the plurals in the mouth of God (Gen. 1, 26, 11, 7, Is. 6, 8) are to be explained either as collectives (including the surrounding angels) or, and perhaps more justly, as plurals of reflection (self counsel). The Jewish grammarians call such a plural רִבּוּי הַכֹּחוֹת (*pluralis virium* or *virtutum*); the moderns call it *pluralis excellentiæ* or *pluralis majestaticus.* The use of the plural as a form of respectful address, as modern languages have it, is rather remote from the Hebrew usage.

בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 1 Sam. 22, 7;—*b*) in *both* nouns, as גִּבֹּרֵי חֵיָלִים 1 Ch. 7, 5, בָּתֵּי כְלָאִים *prison-houses* Is. 42, 22, and so בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *sons of God* (not *sons of gods*) Ps. 29, 1;—*c*) also in the *governed* noun only, as בֵּית אָב *father's house, family,* בֵּית אָבוֹת *families* Num. 1, 2 foll., בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת *the houses of the heights* 2 K. 17, 29, also בָּתֵּי הַב׳ in 23, 19, בֵּית עֲצַבֵּיהֶם *their idol-houses* 1 Sam. 31, 9. As to this remark, formerly overlooked by the grammarians, compare also Judg. 7, 25 (*the head of Oreb and Zeeb* for *the heads*). Here the two words, by which the compound idea is expressed, are treated just as a compound noun.[1]

When a substantive with suffix is related to a plural, the singular form of the substantive is sufficient because the relation to plurality is sufficiently expressed by the suffix, as פִּימוֹ *their mouth* for *their mouths* Ps. 17, 10, יְמִינָם Ps. 144, 8, where we also can say *their mouth, their right hand.*

4. To the modes of expressing plurality belongs also the *repetition* of a noun, with or without the conjunction. By this is chiefly indicated *the whole, all, every,* as יוֹם יוֹם *day by day, every day,* אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man,* also אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, יוֹם וְיוֹם Est. 3, 4, דּוֹר וָדוֹר *every generation* Deut. 32, 7; elsewhere *distributively,* as עֵדֶר עֵדֶר לְבַדּוֹ *each flock by itself* Gen. 32, 17, Num. 31, 4; also *a multitude* (in groups), even with the plural form, 2 K. 3, 16, גֵּבִים גֵּבִים *ditches in abundance* Joel 4, 14, Ex. 8, 10, also in *constr. st.* with a following genitive, as in Gen. 14, 10 בְּאֵרוֹת חֵמָר *nothing but asphalt-pits,* Judg. 5, 22 (comp. Mark. 6, 39, 40); finally (*with* the conjunction וְ) *diversity, of more than one kind,* just as כֹּל signifies *all* and *of every kind,* e. g. אֶבֶן וָאֶבֶן *diverse* (*two*) *kinds of weights* Deut. 25, 13, Prov. 20, 10; לֵב וָלֵב *a double heart* Ps. 12, 3, 1 Ch. 12, 33.

Not here, but to rhetoric, belongs impassioned repetition of the same noun in exclamations (e. g. Jer. 22, 29, Lam. 1, 16, Ez. 21, 32; also of an adjective, Is. 6, 3), in order to give value, as it were, to its idea in all directions.

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[1] All the three methods occur also in Syriac and Ethiopic. See *Hoffmanni,* Gramm. Syriaca, p. 254; *Ludolfi,* Gram. Ethiopica, p. 139; *Dillmann,* Gram. d. äthiop. Spr., S. 364.

Rem. 1. Coherent substances, materials, etc., are mostly regarded as a *unity*, and therefore occur almost exclusively in the singular, as זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, עֵץ *wood*, יַיִן *wine* (yet מַיִם *water* is expressed by the *plural*, acc. to 2 *a*, but in Arabic it is singular). But when the word is used to express *portions*, separated from the totality, then of course the plur. is used, as כְּסָפִים *pieces of silver* Gen. **42**, 25, comp. verse 35; עֲצִים *ligna* (*timbers* for building or *sticks* for burning) also pl. *trees*. So of grain, as חִטָּה *wheat* (on the stalk), חִטִּים *wheat* (in the grain); the same, שְׂעֹרָה and שְׂעֹרִים *barley;* דָּם *blood* (as organic unity, therefore also the blood of sacrifices collected in a vessel) דָּמִים *spilled blood*, revealing itself by a multitude of blood spots (*Pluralis extensivus*); however, the use of the plural (e. g. Gen. **10**, 4) seems to have been limited to express simply *blood violently spilled* and therefore signifies directly *caedes* or *murder*.

2. In cases where the plural is regarded as poetic, the idea of *plurality* or *extension* is not excluded, e. g. Job **17**, 1 *the graves are my portion* (that is *the grave-yard*, where many graves are together), comp. **21**, 32, 2 Chr. **16**, 14.

3. In some cases the plural designates an indefinite unity; as certainly in Judges **12**, 7: בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד *in one of the cities of Gilead;* probably also Gen. **8**, 4; **13**, 12; **19**, 29.

§ 109.

USE OF THE ARTICLE.

The article (הַ־, הָ, הַ, § 35) was originally a demonstrative pronoun (as in other languages, e. g. the Romance, comp. ὁ, ἡ, τό in Homer); yet its force is so slight at least in the language now before us, that it is used almost exclusively as a prefix to the noun.

Rem. The stronger demonstrative force of הַ־ (*this*) is still found in some connections, as הַיּוֹם (L. *hodie*) *this day, to-day* (in Scotch *the day*), הַלַּיְלָה *this night, to-night*, הַפַּעַם *this time*. To this demonstrative sense is to be referred in particular,—*a*) the fact, that sometimes it stands for the relative before the verb, e. g. הַנִּמְצָאִים *that are found* 1 Ch. **29**, 17, **26**, 28, Josh. **10**, 24, Ezra **8**, 25; likewise according to the view of the Massora Gen. **18**, 21, **46**, 27, Ruth **1**, 22, **4**, 3, Is. **51**, 10, Job **2**, 11; comp. also הַעֲלֵיהָ=אֲשֶׁר עָלְתָה 1 Sam. **9**, 24; —*b*) the case where it is employed, mostly before a participle, to connect and to point back to a subject noun, in order to make it again prominent, as in Ps. **19**, 10 *the laws of the Lord are truth* .... ver. 11, הַנֶּחְמָדִים *they, that are precious:* here the article has nearly the force of הֵמָּה αὐτοί. Comp. with this Ps. **104**, 3 (three times), Is. **40**, 22, 23, **46**, 6, Gen. **49**, 21, Job **5**, 10,

41, 25, etc.; further before a participle with a verbal suffix in Ps. 18, 33 הָאֵל הַמְאַזְּרֵנִי חָיִל *the God that girds me with strength;* comp. ver. 48, Jer. 19, 13, Neh. 10, 38. The article is found with like emphasis before substantives in the absolute: Deut. 32, 4, Ps. 18, 31 (=*he, the God whose*, etc.).

The article is used with a noun to define its application in nearly the same cases as in Greek, German and English, viz., only when *a definite object,* i. e. *one previously mentioned,* is the subject of discourse, e. g. Gen. 1, 3 *God said, Let there be light* (אוֹר), ver. 4 *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאוֹר); 1 K. 3, 24 *Bring me a sword* (חֶרֶב), *and they brought the sword* (הַחֶרֶב), comp. Ec. 9, 15; or *one regarded as already known,* as הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה *the king Solomon;* or *the only one of its kind,* as הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun,* הָאָרֶץ *the earth.* The article is *not* used when the object is thought of as something indefinite, general or yet unknown, e. g. (besides אוֹר and חֶרֶב above) in Ec. 1, 12 *I was king* (מֶלֶךְ) *over Israel in Jerusalem.*

In *poetry* only, where the article is much less used than in prose, even the definite nouns (as above) may dispense with it, e. g. מֶלֶךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ Ps. 21, 2, אֶרֶץ for הָאָרֶץ Ps. 2, 2.[1] In all the cases however where the ה of the article is syncopated after a prefix (§ 35, Rem. 2) the vowel required for the article is in poetry also usually placed after the prefix. Ps. 2, 4 al.

Special cases in which the article is usually employed are—

1. When a generic word is used collectively to denote all the individuals belonging to it, as *the righteous, the unrighteous* Ec. 3, 17, *the woman* for *the female sex* Ec. 7, 26, *the Canaanite* Gen. 13, 7, 15, 19, 20, just as we say *the Russian, the Turk;* so among the Attics ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακόσιος.

2. When a generic word is applied by way of *eminence* to a *particular* object and thus becomes a kind of *proper name,* like ὁ ποιητής (Homer), as הַשָּׂטָן *adversary,* הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary, Satan;* הַבַּעַל *lord,* הַבַּעַל (prop. name of the idol) *Baal;* הָאָדָם *the* (first) *man, Adam;* הָאֵל, הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός, *the*

[1] Certain old words, mostly used by the poets, stand always without the article, as תְּהוֹם, שָׁאוֹל, תֵּבֵל, תּוּשִׁיָּה, שַׁדַּי, שָׁדַי, רֵעַ, אֱלוֹהַּ.

only, true God=יְהוָה (yet אֱלֹהִים is often used thus without the article, because it approaches the nature of a *proper name,* § 110, 1). So too הַנָּהָר *the river,* i. e. *the Euphrates;* הַכִּכָּר *the circuit,* viz. of the Jordan.

3. Hence it is used also with actual proper names of *rivers, mountains,* and of many *towns,* with reference to their original appellative signification (comp. *the Hague, le Havre;* also our names *the Nore* and *the Nase*=*the nose* i. e. the headland), as הַיְאֹר *the Nile* (prop. *the stream*), הַלְּבָנוֹן *Lebanon* (prop. *the white,* i. e. mountain), הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (prop. *the descent,* i. e. rapid current). But its use in connection with names of towns is rare, comp. הָעַי the town *Ai* (prop. *the ruins*), הַגִּבְעָה lit. *the hill,* הָרָמָה *the height* etc. and in poetry is generally omitted. (Comp. § 110, 1).

Rem. 1. If the Hebrew article ever stands for our *indefinite* article, it is because the Hebrews conceived and expressed many ideas definitely, which we are accustomed to put indefinitely. This is most common in the following cases:—

a) *In comparisons,* where the compared object is not conceived of as individual but as generic (see above No. 1), e. g. *white as the wool, as the snow, red as the scarlet* Is. 1, 18, *as the cattle* Ps. 49, 15, *he flings thee like the ball* Is. 22, 18, *the heavens are rolled up like the scroll* Is. 34, 4, comp. Is. 10, 14, 24, 20, 27, 10, 28, 8, 53, 6, Ps. 33, 7, Judg. 14, 6, 16, 9. Yet where the noun compared is already made definite by an adjective, the article does not stand any more than when a genitive follows, e. g. כֵּסֶן Is. 10, 14, but כֵּסֶן מְשֻׁלָּח 16, 2, Job 30, 14, comp. Ps. 1, 4 with Is. 29, 5. Exceptions to the above usage are rare, as כַּגִּבּוֹר Job 16, 14, כָּאָב 31, 18.

b) *In the names of classes or of materials which are generally known,* e. g. *the* gold, *the* silver, *the* cattle, *the* water. Hence Gen. 13, 2 *Abraham was very rich in the cattle, the silver, and the gold* (where other languages would omit the article). Comp. Gen. 41, 42, Ex. 31, 4, 35, 32, Is. 1, 22. So שָׂרַף בָּאֵשׁ *to burn in the fire.*

c) Often also *in the expression of abstract ideas* (like τὸ ἱππικόν, *la modestie*), hence of physical and moral evils, as *the blindness* Gen. 19, 11, *the darkness* Is. 60, 2, *the falsehood* Is. 29, 21.

On these principles, it is easy to explain the use of the article in special cases, as in הָאַרְיֵה *the lion* 1 K. 20, 36 (comp. 1 Sam. 17, 34, Amos 3, 12 and τὸν λύκον in John 10, 12), Gen. 8, 7, 8, 14, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 3. The frequent וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם does not stand simply as referring back to what has been related before (=*the same day*), but also directly for our *one day* (probably on the particular day in which it happened=*a certain day*) 2 K. 4, 18, Job 1, 6, 13.

2. The *vocative* also admits the *article* (as in Greek), and for the most part in those cases where it would usually stand; e. g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ *save, O King* (in the Sept. σῶσον, ὁ βασιλεύς, σῶσον, cf. χαῖρε, ὁ βασιλεύς in John 19, 3), יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *O Joshua, the high priest* Zech. 3, 8, 1 Sam. 24, 9.

§ 110.

The article is regularly *omitted*[1]—

1. Before the *proper name* of a *person* or a *country* (דָּוִד, מִצְרַיִם), and also of a *people*, when it coincides with the name of the founder of the race or the name of the country (יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֲרָם). On the contrary, *gentilic* (p. 211) nouns admit it both in the sing. and plur., as הָעִבְרִים *the Hebrews* 1 Sam. 13, 3, הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite* (collect. § 109, 1).

2. Before substantives, rendered definite by a following genitive or a suffix (§ 111, 1), which renders the use of the article unnecessary; e. g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *God's word*, אָבִי *my father*.

The exceptions, in which the article stands before the *Nomen regens* (*constr. state*) or before a noun combined with a suffix, are either only apparent and are removed by a right syntactical analysis or there may be reasonable doubt whether the Massoretic vocalization be correct. Generally are counted here:

a) The cases, where it is alleged that the demonstrative force of the article should be rendered more prominent. This explanation seems admissible in 2 K. 23, 17, yet even there הַקֶּבֶר is not in *constr. state*, but must be explained: *this grave is* (the grave) *of the man of God*, therefore the same breviloquence (for הַקֶּבֶר קֶבֶר אִ׳) as in examples below, *letter c.*—Also Ps. 123, 4 can be explained: *Our soul is filled with such scorning* (the scorning) *of those that are at ease;* comp. also Ez. 17, 15, Ezr. 8, 29, 2 Chr. 8, 16. Very doubtful are however: Josh. 8, 33; חֲצִיוֹ *the* (other) *half of it* (?), preceded by חֲצִיוֹ; Judges 16, 14, where הַיָּתֵד apparently should be read יָתֵד; 1 K. 14, 24 where the article which stands usually after כֹּל has been placed erroneously before תּוֹעֲבֹת (comp. Jer. 25, 26); in 2 K. 9, 4 the second הַנַּעַר has been

[1] In these particulars (relating to the omission of the definite article, viz., before proper names, before nouns in construction with a genitive or with a possessive pronoun, and before predicates), the usage of our language corresponds to that of the Hebrew. The same is true of the Keltic tongues. In Greek it is quite otherwise, the article being freely used in all these cases, except the last.—*Tr.*

caused by the preceding one; in 1 Chr. 15, 27 the text is evidently corrupt. Jer. 32, 12. הַמְּקֻנָּה is epexegesis (not genitive) to the absolute אֶת־הַמַּטָּה and in cases like הַמַּטָּהוּ Is. 9, 12 we have a verbal suffix, therefore accusative. The articles in the following examples may perhaps be considered as syntactical impossibilities: הָאֲהֳלִי Josh. 7, 21, הֶעָרְכֶךָ (perhaps a dittography of the *Kāph*), Lev. 27, 23, הַדָּבְרוֹ Micah 2, 12 (evidently the ו as copulative to be drawn to the following) לַמַּעֲנֵהוּ Prov. 16, 4.

b) When the genitive is a *proper name* which does not admit the article (according to No. 1), as הַמִּזְבַּח בֵּית־אֵל *the altar of Bethel* 2 K. 23, 17, הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל *the God of Bethel* Gen. 31, 13, הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר *the king of Assyria* Is. 36, 16 (but not in the parallel passage 2 K. 18, 31); comp. Gen. 24, 67, Jer. 48, 32, Ezek. 47, 15 (comp. 48, 1); so also in the *vocative*, as in הַבַּת יְרוּשָׁלִַם *O daughter of Jerusalem* Lam. 2, 13. According to the first example (2 K. 23. 17) the Massora seems to have adopted everywhere the union of the article with the construct state. But here also it may perhaps be more correct to conceive the nouns with the article as *absolutes*, to which the genitive has been added in a loose connection, whilst, in reality, the *nomen regens* should be repeated without the article: e. g. בֵּית־אֵל (אֵל) הָאֵל. This is certainly true of cases:

c) When the connection between the noun and the following genitive is somewhat loose, so that the first forms a perfect idea by itself, while the second conveys only a supplemental qualification, relating chiefly to the material, as הָאֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל *the weight, the leaden one* Zech. 4, 10, הַמִּזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת *the altar of copper* 2 K. 16, 14. But in verse 17 even the Massora seems to recognize such a relation of apposition (v. § 113 and § 116, 5) by vocalizing הַבָּקָר, the same in נְשִׂאֵי הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית Josh. 3, 14.

4. Before the predicate, which from its nature is indeterminate, as in Gen. 29, 7 עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *yet is the day great*, i. e. *it is yet high day* 33, 13, 40, 18, 41, 26, Is. 5, 20 הָאֹמְרִים לַטּוֹב רָע *who call the good evil*, Is. 66, 3.

Yet there are cases where the nature of the predicate requires the article, as in Gen. 2, 11 הוּא הַסֹּבֵב *it is the encompassing*, i. e. *that which encompasses;* 45, 12 כִּי־פִי הַמְדַבֵּר *that my mouth (is) the speaking = it is my mouth that speaketh* Gen. 42, 6, Ex. 9, 27. See another case where the article stands before the predicate in § 109, beginning.

§ 111.

1. When a compound idea, expressed by a noun in the *constr. st.* followed by another in the genitive (§ 106), is to be made definite, it is done by prefixing the article to the

second noun; as אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה *man-of-war* Josh. **17**, 1, but אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה *the men-of-war* Num. **31**, 49; דְּבַר שֶׁקֶר *word-of-falsehood* Prov. **29**, 12, דְּבַר הַנָּבִיא *the prophet's word* Jer. **28**, 9.

Rem. 1. The article is sometimes put in the same way when only the genitive, and not the *nomen regens*, is definite, as חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה *a part of the field* 2 Sam. **23**, 11 (see on the contrary Josh. **24**, 32, Gen. **33**, 19), אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה *a husbandmen* (if not appositional, v. *Delitzsch* in loc.), Gen. **9**, 20 (comp. on the other hand אִישׁ שָׂדֶה Gen. **25**, 27). Yet in this case we usually find another construction chosen in order to avoid ambiguity, see § 115.

2. This explains the use of the article after כֹּל (prop. *totality, the whole*). The article is used after it to express definitely *all, whole* (like F. *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), and is omitted when it is used indefinitely for *of all kinds, any thing*, or distributively for *every* (*tout homme, à tout prix*)[1]; e. g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *all men*, כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole earth*, prop. *the whole of men, the whole of earth;* but כָּל־אֶבֶן *stones of all kinds* 1 Ch. **29**, 2, כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing* Judg. **19**, 19, בְּכָל־יוֹם *in every day* Ps. **7**, 12. Yet also כָּל־חַי *every living thing=all living* Gen. **3**, 20 (in the same way כָּל־עֵץ, כָּל־צוֹם, etc.). In regard to the (appositional) placing behind of כֹּל and the absolute use of הַכֹּל=the collective *all, everybody*, e. g. Gen. **16**, 12, see *Davies'* Hebr. Lex.

3. Even compound proper names may be resolved again into two words, and then the second takes the article; e. g. בֶּן־יְמִינִי *a Benjaminite* (§ 86, 5), בֶּן־הַיְמִינִי *the Benjaminite* Judg. **3**, 15, בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי *the Bethlehemite* 1 Sam. **17**, 58.

2. When the substantive has the article, or (what is equivalent) is made definite by a following genitive or a suffix, then the adjective belonging to it also (including the demonstrative pronoun זֶה, הוּא, § 122, 1), takes the article; as הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great city* Gen. **10**, 12; הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא *that place* **28**, 19; יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand* Deut. **3**, 24; מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל *the great work of God* Deut. **11**, 7.

Not quite rare is the use of the article also—

a) With the adjective alone, and it then serves to make the preceding noun definite, e. g. יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *day the sixth=the sixth day* Gen. **1**, 31 (on the contrary יוֹם שֵׁנִי *a second day* **1**, 8), **41**, 26, 1 Sam. **19**, 22, Is. **7**, 20, Ps. **62**, 4, **104**, 18, Neh. **3**, 6, **9**, 35, Zech. **14**, 10. On the other hand נֶפֶשׁ Gen. **1**, 21, **9**, 10 has already been defined by כֹּל. When the adjective is properly a participle, the omission of the article is the

[1] What is here said of כֹּל applies also to its Greek equivalent, πᾶς; e. g. πᾶσα ἡ πόλις *the whole city* (Mat. **8**, 34)=כָּל־הָעִיר, but πᾶσα πόλις *every city* (Mat. **12**, 25)=כָּל־עִיר.—*Tr.*

general rule as in Jer. 46, 16 חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה *the sword that oppresses;* this omission is quite necessary in cases of inversion as Is. 11, 9. Rarely stands the article

b) With the substantive alone, as in הַגּוֹיִם רַבִּים *the many nations* in Ez. 39, 27, 2 Sam. 6, 3 (where perhaps the article before חֲדָשָׁה has been dropped erroneously before ח). Somewhat more frequently the article is wanting with the pronouns הוּא, אֵלֶּה which are sufficiently definite of themselves, and for the same reason always with זוּ; as בַּלַּיְלָה הוּא Gen. 19, 33, comp. 38, 21, הַהוֹר זוּ Ps. 12, 8, כָּל־הָעָם אֵלֶּה 1 Sam. 2, 23, particularly when the noun is made definite only by a suffix, as in עֲבָדֶיךָ אֵלֶּה 1 K. 10, 8, comp. Ex. 10, 1, Josh. 2, 20, Ez. 43, 12, Ps. 143, 10, Judg. 16, 5, 6, 15. Designedly indefinite is הִבָּהֶם רָעָה *an evil report respecting them* Gen. 37, 2 (הִבָּהֶם הָרָעָה would be *their evil report*), compare Num. 14, 37, 1 Sam. 2, 23; in Gen. 42, 19 אֲחִיכֶם אֶחָד means *one of your brethren*, Gen. 43, 14.

§ 112.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

1. The adjective, which serves to qualify the substantive, stands *after* it, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number* (as אִשָּׁה יָפָה, אִישׁ גָּדוֹל). If the substantive is qualified by an intervening noun in the genitive (§ 114), then the adjective stands after such noun, e. g. עֲטֶרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה *a great crown of gold* Est. 8, 15.—On the setting of the article in this construction, see § 111, 2.

Rem. 1. The cases in which an adjective (according to the usual explanation, on account of special emphasis) seems to stand before its substantive are based almost entirely rather upon an appositional relation; comp. Is. 10, 30 עֲנִיָּה עֲנָתוֹת *Oh! the wretch, Anathoth!* 23, 12: חֳמָעְשָׁקָה בְּתוּלַת בַּת־צִידוֹן *thou disgraced one, virgin daughter of Zidon!* in 28, 21 זָר and נָכְרִיָּה are predicates placed before; 53, 11: צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי *a righteous one, my servant;* Ps. 18, 4 מְהֻלָּל אֶקְרָא יְהוָה *The praised one I call, Jehovah.* On the other hand רַבִּים *many*, is sometimes placed before the substantive in the way of a numeral without any seeming intention to indicate appositional relation; comp. Ps. 32, 10, 89, 15, Neh. 9, 28 (in Ps, 145, 7 רַב is a governing substantive).—Rare and mostly poetic is the form of expression חַלְקֵי אֲבָנִים *smooth ones of stones* for *smooth stones* 1 Sam. 17, 40, Ez. 7, 24, Is. 35, 9, and with a collective noun instead of the plural, אֶבְיוֹנֵי אָדָם *the poor of men=the poor* Is. 29, 19, Jer. 49, 20, Zech. 11, 7, Hos. 13, 2. Similar is the Lat. *canum degeneres.* However in all these cases the adjective treated as *nomen regens* has a great stress and amounts almost to a superlative.

2. When substantives of the feminine gender take *two* adjectives, the feminine form sometimes appears only in the one which stands nearest the substantive; as מְלֵאכָה נְמִבְזָה וְנָמֵס 1 Sam. 15, 9, רוּחַ גְּדֹלָה וְחָזָק 1 K. 19, 11, Ps. 63. 2. Comp. § 147, Rem. 1.

3. In regard to *number*, it is first to be noticed, that the nouns in the dual take the adjectives or participles in the plural, as עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת *lofty eyes* Prov. 6, 17, Ps. 18, 28, Job 4, 3, 4, Is. 35, 3. Comp. § 88, 1. Moreover, the *constructio ad sensum* is frequent; so that collectives are construed with the plural of the adjective or participle in 1 Sam. 13, 15, Is. 9, 1, Jer. 28, 4; but the *pluralis majestatis* (§ 108, 2, *b*) on the contrary with the singular, as אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק Ps. 7, 10, Is. 19, 4 (but with the *plur.* in 1 Sam. 17, 26).

2. An adjective often has its meaning more nearly defined by a substantive, which then follows it in the genitive case, as יְפֵה־תֹאַר *beautiful of form* Gen. 39, 6, נְקִי כַפַּיִם *pure of hands* Ps. 24, 4, אֲנְמֵי נָפֶשׁ *sorrowful of spirit* Is. 19, 10 (comp. L. *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*). In the same manner are often construed the *participles* and *verbal adjectives,* if they are not accompanied by the accusative (as the case belonging to their verb); see § 135.

3. On the adjective as predicate of the sentence, see §§ 144—148.

§ 113.
APPOSITION.

By this is meant the placing together of two substantives, so that one of them (commonly the second[1]) serves to limit or qualify the other, as אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה *a woman* (who is) *a widow* 1 K. 7, 14, נַעֲרָה בְתוּלָה *a damsel* (who is) *a virgin* Deut. 22, 28, אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת *words* (which are) *truth* Prov. 6, 12, 22, 21, Job 20, 29, 27, 13. On cases where the first of the two substantives (before a following *constr. st.*) has the form of the *constr. st.*, see § 116, 5. Elsewhere, substantives which might be expected to be in apposition, stand also in a relation of subordination, e. g. פֶּרֶא אָדָם *a wild ass of a man;* comp. Prov. 15, 20, 21, 20.

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[1] The first only in certain formulas, as הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד like the Ger. *der König David*, Eng. *the king David*, where the arrangement דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ 2 Sam. 13, 39, is of rare occurrence.

Also two adjectives may stand in apposition, in which case the first modifies the sense of the second, as בָּהָרוֹת כֵּהוֹת לְבָנוֹת *pale white spots* Lev. 13, 39, in verse 19 בַּהֶרֶת לְבָנָה אַדַמְדֶּמֶת *a white red* (bright red) *spot.*

See more on apposition in § 116, Rem. *b*, § 118, 3, § 120, 1, 2, § 121, 3.

§ 114.
OF THE GENITIVE.

1. It has been shown above (in § 89), that the Hebrew regularly expresses the genitive-relation by making the noun in the genitive (*nomen rectum*) dependent upon, and closely connected with, the *nomen regens* in the *constr. st.* A genitive is regularly dependent upon only one governing noun.[1] The language avoids, also, letting a noun in the *constr. st.* be followed by several genitives connected by *and* (וְ), and prefers in that case to repeat the *nomen regens;* e. g. Gen. 24, 3 אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וֵאלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of the heavens and the God of the earth,* Jer. 8, 1. But there may be formed a chain of construct states by one governed noun becoming again the governing noun of a genitive depending on it. Even then the repetition of the *constr. st.* has indeed often been avoided by means of a circumlocution (see § 115), however comp. יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבוֹתַי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers* Gen. 47, 9 שְׁאָר מִסְפַּר־קֶשֶׁת גִּבּוֹרֵי בְּנֵי־קֵדָר *the residue of the number of the bows of the heroes of the sons of Kedar* Is. 21, 17.

In these examples (comp. also Is. 10, 12, Job 12, 24 and others) all the nouns except of course the last genitive are in the *construct state.* Yet we find also examples where a genitive in the midst of a chain stands in the absolute forming together with its governing noun a compound idea, from which (but principally from the governing noun) depends the following genitive. Thus, in Is. 28, 1 גֵּיא שְׁמָנִים חֲלוּמֵי יָיִן *the fat valley* (prop. *valley of fatness*) *of the smitten of wine,* 1 Ch. 9, 13, Ps. 68, 22.

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[1] It would be quite unusual to say בְּנֵי וּבְנוֹת דָּוִד *the sons and daughters of David,* which ought to be expressed by בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבְנֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters.* But see Ez. 31, 16, Is. 11, 2 *knowledge* (of Jehovah) *and fear of Jehovah* (compare the Biblical Greek in Mat. 6, 33 τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ).

2. The governing noun may be followed not only by the so-called *subjective* genitive, indicating possessor, originator, etc., but also by the so-called *objective* genitive, e. g. Ez. 12, 19 חֲמַס הַיֹּשְׁבִים *the wrong which the inhabitants did,* but otherwise in Obad. verse 10 חֲמַס אָחִיךָ *the wrong against thy brother*[1] (comp. Gen. 16, 5, חֲמָסִי *the wrong done to me*), Prov. 20, 2 אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ *the dread of a king*, יִרְאַת יְהוָה *the fear of the Lord*, זַעֲקַת סְדֹם *the cry concerning Sodom* Gen. 18, 20, שֵׁמַע צֹר *the report about Tyre*, שְׁלַל אֹיְבֶיךָ *the spoil of* (taken from) *thy foes* Deut. 20, 14; further, דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ *way of* (i. e. *to*) *the tree* Gen. 3, 24, Prov. 7, 27, Job 38, 20; דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם *way of* (*by*) *the sea* Is. 8, 23, זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים *sacrifices of* (*pleasing to*) *God* Ps. 51, 19, שְׁבֻעַת יְהוָה *an oath of* (i. e. *sworn by the name of*) יְהוָה 1 K. 2, 43.

3. The genitive construction stands also frequently in place of apposition (§ 113), as נְהַר פְּרָת *river of Euphrates;* אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן etc. see more in § 116, 5.

Rem. 1. Between the noun in the *constr. st.* and the following genitive an insertion of a word seems to occur in Hos. 14, 3 (תִּשָּׂא after כָּל־), 2 Sam. 1, 9 and Job 27, 3 (עוֹד after כָּל־). In truth, however, in all these three examples the construct state has been abolished by *hypallage* (for עוֹד כָּל־ etc.) and therefore 2 Sam. 1, 9 may for instance be explained thus: *for as a totality my soul is still in me = my whole soul.*

2. As the genitive always gives a closer definition of the noun standing in the construct state, proper nouns cannot really stand in *stat. constr.* because by nature they are already defined. Combinations in which nevertheless proper nouns stand in *constr. st.* are based on breviloquence which suppresses the appellative idea contained in the proper noun. So especially with geographical names, as in אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים *Ur* (*city*) *of the Chaldees* Gen. 11, 28, אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם *Aram* (*the region*) *of the two rivers* = *Mesopotamia*; so also יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah of hosts* for יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah* the God *of hosts* (2 Sam. 5, 10 *et al.*) comp. § 116, Rem.

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[1] In Latin the genitive is similarly used after *injuria* (Cæs. B. Gall. 50, 30), *metus* (like *metus hostium*, *metus Pompeii*), *spes*, and other words. Comp. Aul. Gell. 9, 12. In Greek compare εὔνοια τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ 1 Cor. 1, 18.

§ 115

EXPRESSION OF THE GENITIVE BY CIRCUMLOCUTION.

Besides the indication of the genitive-relation by the *construct state* (see in § 89, and § 114), there are certain *periphrastic expressions,* chiefly by means of the preposition לְ, which among others denotes the idea of *belonging to,* and this corresponds to the genitive relation. Accordingly, we find—

1. אֲשֶׁר לְ, used principally for the genitive of *possession,* as הַצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ Gen. **29**, 9, **47**, 4 *the flock of her father* (prop. *the flock which to her father* belonged); and also where there would be several successive genitives (to avoid the repetition of the *constr. st.*, but see § 114, 1), as אַבִּיר הָרֹעִים אֲשֶׁר לְשָׁאוּל *the chief of the herdsmen of Saul* 1 Sam. **21**, 8, שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה *the song of songs of Solomon* Cant. **1**, 1 (an obvious effort to retain the usual juxtaposition of the two words שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים) 2 Sam. **2**, 8, 1 Chron. **11**, 10 and for reasons given § 114, Note, Gen. **40**, 5. (Hence came the Rabbinic sign of the genitive שֶׁ לְ=שֶׁל comp. Cant. **1**, 6, **3**, 7; in Aramaic, the simple relative דִּי or דְ serves as sign of the genitive.)

2. לְ (without אֲשֶׁר), which also denotes the genitive of *belonging to* and of *possession,*[1] as הַצֹּפִים לְשָׁאוּל *the scouts of Saul* 1 Sam. **14**, 16. This is used particularly,—*a*) when the governing (or first) noun is expressly regarded as *indefinite*, e. g. בֶּן לְיִשַׁי *a son of Jesse* 1 Sam. **16**, 18 (whereas בֶּן־יִשַׁי signifies *the son of Jesse*), כֹּהֵן לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן *a priest of the most high God* Gen. **14**, 18, **41**, 12, שְׁנֵי עֲבָדִים לְשִׁמְעִי *two servants of Shimei* 1 K. **2**, 39, אֹהֵב לְדָוִד *a friend of David* (was Hiram) 1 K. **5**, 15, מִזְמֹר לְדָוִד *a psalm of David* (i. e. belonging to him as the author), and eliptically לְדָוִד *of David* Ps. **11**, 1, **14**, 1; cases like לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר (e. g Ps. **24**, 1) cannot be considered simply as an *hypallage*, but מ is an *epexegesis* to the generic word, omitted before לְדָ. Altogether the introduction of the author, poet, etc. by the so-called ל *auctoris* is also customary in the other Semitic dialects, especially in the Arabic.—*b*) when several genitives depend on one substantive, e. g. חֻלְצַת חֲשָׂרָה

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[1] Philologically considered, the Gascon says no less correctly *la fille à Mr. N.*, than the written language *la fille de* —; the former expresses the idea of *belonging*, the latter that of *descent.* The Arabians distinguish a twofold genitive, viz. one which has the force of לְ, and one which has that of מִן. We have the latter conception of this relation in the *de* of modern languages, that are derived from the Latin (the Romance languages). In Greek we may compare the so-called σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (see Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88).

לְבֹעַז *the portion of the field of Boaz* Ruth 2, 3, 2 K. 5, 9, סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel* 1 K. 15, 31, רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְמַטּוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Josh. 19, 51, where the sets of more closely-connected nouns which form one conception (*chronicles, kings of Israel, heads of families*, etc.) are joined by means of the *constr. state*, while the לְ stands between the sets to indicate a looser connection (yet comp. § 114, 1);—*c*) after specifications of number, e. g. בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the seven and twentieth day of the month* Gen. 8, 14, 7, 11.

§ 116.

FURTHER USE OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

The *construct state*, so far as it serves to put one noun in close connection with the following word or combination of words is, in the flow of speech, used not only for the genitive-relation, but also—

1) Before prepositions, particularly in the more elevated style, and oftenest when the governing word is a participle, e. g. before בְּ, as שִׂמְחַת בַּקָּצִיר *the joy in the harvest* Is. 9, 2 (v. also verse 1), 5, 11, 19, 8, Ps. 2, 12; before לְ, as מִצְפּוֹן לָעִיר *on the north of the city* Josh. 8, 13, אֹהֲבֵי לָנוּם Is. 56, 10, 30, 18, Ez. 1, 27, Ps. 58, 5, Lam. 2, 18, Job 18, 2, 24, 5; before אֶל Is. 14, 19; before מִן, as גְּמוּלֵי מֵחָלָב *weaned from milk* Is. 28, 9; before עַל in Judg. 5, 10; before the *Nota Accus.* Jer. 33, 22.

2) Before the relative pronoun (or more correctly in genitive relation with the whole phrase introduced by אֲשֶׁר, see No. 3), e. g. מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *the place where*—Gen. 39, 20, 40, 3, Lev. 4, 24, 33, 2 Sam. 15, 21, 1 K. 21, 19, Jer. 22, 12.

3) Before relative clauses with the אֲשֶׁר understood, e. g. קִרְיַת חָנָה דָּוִד *the castle where David pitched his tent* Is. 29, 1, מְקוֹם לֹא יָדַע אֵל *the place of him who knows not God* Job 18, 21, 29, 2, 1 Sam. 25, 15, Ps. 90, 15. Comp. § 123, 3, Rem. 1.

4) Rarely even before *Wāw copul.*, as חָכְמַת וָדַעַת Is. 33, 6, 35, 2, 51, 21, Ez. 26, 10.

5) In appositions (viz., as far as an actual genitive-relation does not take place, as in § 114, 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁה בַּעֲלַת אוֹב *a woman, mistress of a soothsaying spirit* (comp.

παιδίσκη ἔχουσα πνεῦμα πύθωνος Acts 16, 16; so also in בְּתוּלַת בַּת צִיּוֹן *virgin daughter of Zion* Is. 37, 22, comp. 19, 11; 23, 12, Gen. 14, 10; Deut. 33, 19, 2 Sam. 20, 19, 2 K. 10, 6, 17, 13 *Qᵉrî* Ja. 14, 17, 46, 9, Ps. 78, 9.

Partly at least those places may also be explained in the following manner. There exists a real genitival relation, but the first *constr. state* has been left in suspense, in consequence of the insertion of a permutation in its place; elsewhere (Ps. 68, 34, Job 20, 17) probably there takes place a direct leaning on the following construct state.

6) Also in other cases of closer connection in the expression; thus, at times (even with small distinctives) we have אַחַד *one* for אֶחָד 2 Sam. 17, 22, Zech. 11, 7, Gen. 48, 22, Is. 27, 12. Compare besides the *constr. st.* in the numerals from eleven to nineteen (§ 97, 2).

Rem. When in the above cases the *absolute st.* could in general stand quite as well as the *construct*, there are yet other constructions where the *constr. st.* might be expected rather than the *absolute*. Thus, for example—

a) In geographical names like אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה *Ābēl Bêth-Maʿᵃchā*[1] (i. e. Abel of Beth-Maᵃcha, to distinguish it from other places called Abel). Comp. on the contrary, § 114, Rem. 2.

b) In some other cases, seemingly, where the connection is not close enough for the genitive-relation, so that the second noun must rather be considered as in apposition (§ 113) to the first. Here belongs Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה not *wine of reeling*, but rather *wine* that causes *reeling*, Ez. 47, 4 מַיִם בִּרְכַּיִם *water up to the knees;* Is. 30, 20 מַיִם לָחַץ *water of affliction*, i. e. *water in affliction* (in prison). Comp. 1 K. 22, 27, Is. 3, 24 and the thorough explanation of this specially Semitic locution by Fleischer in the treatise: „Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab. (Berichte über die Verhandl. der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1862, S. 10 ff.).

c) In the expression אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת *God hosts*, elliptical for אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת *God (the God) of hosts*, אֱלֹהִים having here the value of a proper noun; so also the same ellipsis in יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (comp. § 114, 3, Rem. 2).

§ 117.

INDICATION OF THE OTHER CASES.

1. Since the Hebrew language has lost the living use of case-*endings* (§ 90), we must inquire what substitutes it

[1] So in English, *Bedford Street*, *Covent-garden*, for *near* Covent-garden. But in Latin the genitive is used in such cases, as *Augusta Vindelicorum*.

adopted for expressing the various case-relations of nouns in a sentence. The *nominative* is always to be known (as generally in English and always in Welsh) only from the syntactical construction. So also the *vocative,* which is really identical with it. On the modes of expressing the *genitive,* see §§ 114—116. Of the other cases for which the Indo-germanic languages have either throughout (as the Sanscrit) or at least in part, special forms of inflection, the *dative* is periphrastically indicated by לְ (*to*),[1] the *ablative* by מִן (*from, out of*), the *locative* and *instrumental* mostly by בְּ (*in, at, by*); but the Shemite regarded the nouns dependent on these prepositions as *genitives,* because the particles were themselves originally nouns; and in Arabic they have also the genitive-ending. Comp. § 101, 1.

On the use of the dative particle לְ, so far as it serves to express also our genitive, see § 115, 1, 2.

2. The *accusative,* when expressing *direction* or *motion* to a place, has still frequently its ending ה— (§ 90, 2). Else it is, like the nominative, to be known only from the structure of the sentence. Yet we may often know it by the אֶת־ or אֵת (before suffixes also אֹת or אוֹת), put before it, which, however, is used only when the noun in the accusative is made definite by the article, the construct state, a suffix, or otherwise (Gen. 6, 2, 2 Sam. 13, 17, 18, 18), or is a proper name. Such is the usage in prose, but not so much in poetry; e. g. Gen. 1, 1 אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ (on the contrary, אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם Gen. 2, 4), 2, 24, 6, 10.[2]

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[1] Just as the Lat. preposition *ad* in the Romance tongues (Ital. *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Span. *á*) and *to* in Eng. are used to indicate periphrastically the dative.

[2] אֹת or אוֹת (this form prob. used only before the so-called light suffixes, § 103, 1, Rem. 1), אֶת־ (without the accent in close connection with the following word) and אֵת (with a tone-long *ē*), Phœnician איתּ (prob. *iyath*, the Punic also pronounce *yth*), Arab. before suff. *'iyyâ*, Aram. *yâth, yăth,* was originally a substantive, which signified *essence, substance, self* (like the Syr. ܝܬ, ܠܝܬ, comp. Heb. אוֹת *a sign*), but in construction with a following noun or suffix it stands for the pronoun *ipse,* αὐτός (comp. a similar usage in § 124, Rem. 3). But in common use it has so little stress, that it only points out a definite object. Its force is here as feeble as that of the oblique cases αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ, αὐτόν; *ipsi, ipsum;* Germ. *desselben, demselben, denselben;* and the Hebrew אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν

Rem. The cases are rare in which אֵת stands before an indefinite noun, but more are found in the loftier style, where the article also may be omitted before a noun that is definite according to the sense (§ 109), as Prov. **13**, 21 אֶת־צַדִּיקִים, Is. **50**, 4, Job **13**, 25, Ezek. **43**, 10; very few occur in prose, like 1 Sam. **24**, 6 (where, however, the noun is made definite by the context), Ex. **2**, 1 where perhaps the proper name (Jokhèbed) has been dropped after אֵת־.

§ 118.
USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE.

The accusative is employed—1) as the object of the transitive verbs (§ 138); but serves also—2) for what are rather adverbial expressions, where it is no longer governed immediately by the verb.

The second of these usages is undoubtedly derived from the first, and to this still belong several constructions in which the accusative is commonly supposed to be used adverbially (§ 138, 1, Rem. 3). But we are not therefore authorised at all to reject the adverbial use of the accusative.

Accordingly, the accusative is employed—

1. In designations of *place* (*accusativus loci*);—*a*) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion, as נֵצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה *let us go out into the field* 1 Sam. **20**, 11, לָלֶכֶת תַּרְשִׁישׁ *for to go to Tarshish* 2 Ch. **20**, 36, Ps. **134**, 2, Ex. **4**, 9;[1]—*b*) in

(comp. αὐτὴν Χρυσηΐδα Il. i. 143) *it, the heaven*, is not stronger than τὸν οὐρανόν.—That אֵת may denote also the nominative, is from its original signification (see above) not of itself inconceivable, and it seems to occur so in Hag. **2**, 17, Dan. **9**, 13 (hardly however Eccl. **4**, 3). Elsewhere (1 Sam. **17**, 34 *and with the bear*) the preposition אֵת *with* is rather meant, and in Josh. **22**, 17, Neh. **9**, 32 (both times after an idea of want) as well as 2 Sam. **11**, 25, it may be considered as a loosely governed accusative, which it certainly indicates when connected with the passive (comp. 2 K. **18**, 30) see § 143, 1, *a*.—The accusative actually precedes in Ez. **35**, 10; **44**, 3 (in both cases אֵת has the sense of the Lat. *quod attinet ad*).—In Ez. **47**, 17, 19 (comp. **43**, 7) אֵת stands for זֹאת and ought rather to be so emended in the text; comp. ver. 20; but the LXX already, which only in v. 18 have ταῦτα, know hardly any other reading than אֵת, and this, therefore, in all these cases has to be considered as *Nota accus.*, dependent on some word, which must be supplied, as *ecce* (LXX **43**, 7: ἑώρακας) **47**, 17 ff. perhaps as much as: *there hast thou.*

[1] So in the Greek, but only poetically, Il. i, 317 κνίσσῃ δ' οὐρανὸν ἶκεν; Lat. *rus ire, Romam profectus est*, and generally so in Sanskrit.

answer to the question *where?* after verbs of rest, as בֵּית אָבִיךָ *in the house of thy father* Gen. 38, 11, Is. 3, 6, פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל *in the door of the tent* Gen. 18, 1. Then also—*c*) with reference to *space* and *measure,* in answer to the question *how far?* Gen. 7, 20 *the water rose fifteen cubits.*

In the cases *a* and *b*, especially the first, the accusative-ending ה֫— is often appended, on which see § 90, 2. The first relation may also be expressed by אֶל (as it commonly is with reference to persons), and the second by בְּ; but we are by no means to suppose that, where these particles are omitted, they must be supplied.

2. In designations of *time;*—*a*) in answer to the question *when?* as הַיּוֹם *the day* i. e. *on the day, then;* or *on this day, to-day* or *by day* (=יוֹמָם); עֶרֶב *at evening* (=לָעֶרֶב); לַיְלָה *by night;* צָהֳרַיִם *at noon* Ps. 91, 6; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעֹרִים *at the beginning of barley harvest* 2 Sam. 21, 9 (*K*^{e}*thîbh*);—*b*) in answer to the question *how long?* שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה *twelve years* (*long*) Gen. 14, 4; שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים *six days* (*long*) Ex. 20, 9; עוֹלָמִים *for eternal ages* 1 K. 8, 13; also with the article and אֵת in Deut. 9, 25 אֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם וְאֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַלָּיְלָה *the* 40 *days and the* 40 *nights* (*long*).

3. In other adverbial expressions, where we say *in regard* or *respect to,* etc. as Job 41, 7 *in the manner of a closed seal,* Gen. 41, 40 רַק הַכִּסֵּא אֶגְדַּל מִמֶּךָּ *only in respect to the throne will I be greater than thou* (accus. of measure); 2 Sam. 21, 20 *four and twenty* מִסְפָּר *in number* (comp. τρεῖς ἀριθμόν); Job 1, 5 *he brought burnt-offerings* מִסְפַּר כֻּלָּם *according to the number of them all;* 1 K. 22, 13 פֶּה אֶחָד *with one mouth* i. e. *with one voice* (acc. of instrument); comp. Zeph. 3, 9 *they served God* שְׁכֶם אֶחָד *with one shoulder* i. e. *with one mind;* Job 24, 7 עָרֹם *naked* (acc. of condition) *thy lodge.* With a following genitive, יִרְאַת שָׁמִיר *for fear of thorns* (accus. of cause) Is. 7, 25. Here belong also cases like מִשְׁנֶה־כֶּסֶף *the double in money* Gen. 43, 15, שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים *two years' time* Gen. 41, 1; on the other hand אֵיפָה שְׂעֹרִים *an ephah of barley* Ruth 2, 17 may rather be taken as a case of apposition (§ 113).

Similar cases of a more free use of the accusative in connection with verbs are explained in § 138 and § 139. By the same process, carried still farther, many substantives have come to be distinctly recognised as adverbs (§ 100, 2, *b*).

Rem. Similar reference to place, time, etc., may be denoted by a noun when it is connected with כְּ (*as, according to, after the manner of*), this prefix being originally a substantive, comp. the Lat. *instar*. Thus,—*a*) of *place;* כִּדְבָרָם *as in their pasture* Is. **5**, 17, **28**, 21; כְּמוֹ לְבוּשׁ *as in attire* Job **38**, 14; כַּחֲלֹמוֹת *as in a dream* Is. **29**, 7, comp. **23**, 15;—*b*) of *time*, especially in the forms כְּיוֹם *as the day=as in the day* Is. **9**, 3, Hos. **2**, 5; כִּימֵי *as in the days of*—, Hos. **2**, 17, **9**, 9, **12**, 10, Amos **9**, 11, Is. **51**, 9;—*c*) with another reference, as in Is. **1**, 25 *I will purge away thy dross* כַּבֹּר *as with lye;* Job **28**, 5 כָּמוֹ אֵשׁ *after the manner of fire=as by fire;* כְּאֶבֶן *after the manner of the stone*, i. e. *as into stone* (the water is gathered in freezing) Job **38**, 30; **29**, 23 כַּמַּטָּר *as for the rain* (they waited for me).

Rarely a preposition is used after such a כְּ, e. g. כְּבָרִאשֹׁנָה Is. **1**, 26, 1 Sam. **14**, 14.

In all the above cited cases the כְּ must be considered as an adverbial accusative; however a substantive with כְּ may, by virtue of the substantive signification of the latter stand either for the accusative or for the nominative relation.

§ 119.

HOW TO EXPRESS THE COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.[1]

1. The *comparative* is expressed by the adjective followed by the particle מִן (מ·) *from* prefixed to the word with which the comparison is made, e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 גָּבֹהַּ מִכָּל־הָעָם *taller than* (lit. *tall* in distinction *from*) *all the people,* Judg. **14**, 18 מָתוֹק מִדְּבַשׁ *sweeter than honey;* so also after verbs, especially those denoting an attribute, as וַיִּגְבַּהּ מִכָּל־הָעָם *and he was taller than all the people* 1 Sam. **10**, 23; אָהַב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו *he loved Joseph more than all his* (other) *sons* Gen. **37**, 3, Job **4**, 17, **7**, 6.

Upon the same signification of מִן (referring originally to space indicating the starting point, and a separation from something) is

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[1] There exists in Arabic a special form of the adjective for the comparative and superlative, which would be like אַקְטָל. Perhaps of this origin are אַכְזָר *cruel,* אַכְזָב *deceptive* (of a drying up brook), and its opposite אֵיתָן (contr. from *'aithan*) *constant, perennial.* However these forms are also used without any perceptible emphasis and might, at most pass for isolated remainders of a former comparative and superlative formation, in the same way as the Lat. comparative disappears in the Italian, and still more in French, and its place is supplied by circumlocution (with *più, plus*).

based also its use in expressions like בָּחַר מִן Job 7, 15, יִתְרוֹן מִן *pre-eminence over* Ec. 2, 13; comp. Deut. 14, 2, which the Hebrew conceived as a separating *from*, marking *out*. (Compare the Latin ablative with the comparative, also the etymology of the Latin words *eximius*, *egregius*, and in Homer ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα Il. iv. 96, and simply ἐκ πασέων xviii. 431). Hence the signification *more than* connects itself with the fundamental signification *out from*.

The adjective upon which מִן logically depends must sometimes, by virtue of a pregnant use of the מִן, be supplied from the connection, e. g. Is. 10, 10 פְּסִילֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַם *their idols* are more numerous (mightier) *than* those in *Jerusalem*, Micah 7, 4 מִמְּסוּכָּה (sharper) *than a thornhedge*, Job 11, 17 מְצָהֳרַיִם clearer *than noon*.

The correlative comparatives, such as *greater, less*, are expressed simply by *great, little*, Gen. 1, 16.

2. The several modes of expressing the *superlative*, amount all to this, that, in all of them the *positive form*, by means of the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive, is made to designate an *individual* as preeminently *the* possessor of the quality expressed (comp. Fr. *le plus grand*); e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 (הַצְּעִרָה), 17, 14 *and David was* הַקָּטָן *the small* (*one*), i. e. *the smallest, and the three great* (*ones*), i. e. *the greatest*, etc., Gen. 42, 13, Jon. 3, 5, מִגְּדֹלָם וְעַד קְטַנָּם *from the greatest among them.* (lit. *their great one*), *even unto the least among them* (lit. *their little one*), 2 Ch. 21, 17 קְטֹן בָּנָיו *the youngest of his sons;* prob. also Gen. 9, 24.

Rem. To the periphrasis of the superlative belongs also the connecting of a noun with the following partitive genitive of the same word in the plural as: קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים *the holiest of all*, prop. *holiness of holinesses;* שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים *the song of songs* (*the choicest song* i. e. the Canticles). Comp. Gen. 9, 25 (*the lowest servant*) Num. 3, 32 the same with a participle Jer. 6, 28 and with the gen. sing. Hos. 10, 15. So sometimes an adjective combined with a partitive genitive has a superlative signification; comp. Judges 5, 29, 1 Sam. 9, 21, Job 30, 6 (=*in the most frightful valleys*) 41, 22. Comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 1.—Finally belongs here the placing together of two substantives, being related either etymologically, or at least by sound, as Ez. 6, 14; 33, 29, Nah. 2, 11, Zeph. 1, 15, Job 30, 3.

§ 120.

SYNTAX OF THE NUMERALS.

1. The numerals from 2 to 10 (originally abstract substantives, § 97, 1), may be connected with substantives in three different ways. They may stand either,—*a*) in the *constr. st. before* the substantive (the object numbered being accordingly in the genitive), שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *three days,* prop. *triad of days,* שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים *the two men;* or—*b*) in the *absol. st. before it* (the thing numbered being then considered as in apposition), שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *three sons* (prop. *a triad* viz. *sons*), שְׁנַיִם אֲנָשִׁים *two men;* or—*c*) in the *absol. st. after* it, as in apposition with the object numbered e. g. בָּנוֹת שָׁלוֹשׁ *three daughters* 1 Ch. 25, 5; the latter especially in the later books, because the substantive conception of the numeral yielded more and more to the adjective.

Accordingly, the constructions מֵאַת שָׁנָה (Gen. 17, 17) and מְאַת שָׁנָה (25, 7, 17) *hundred years*, are equally common.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 are joined, with very few exceptions (e. g. 2 K. 22, 1) with the plural. But the tens (from 20 to 90) when they precede the substantive, are generally joined with the singular (in the accusative), and when they follow it in apposition, they take the plural, e. g. Judg. 11, 33 עֶשְׂרִים עִיר *twenty cities*; on the contrary, אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits* 2 Ch. 3, 3, seq. The plural *may* be used in the first case (Ex. 36, 24, 25), but the singular never occurs in the second case, which is altogether rarer.

Rem. The numerals from 11 to 19 are generally joined to the singular form (in the accusative) only with certain substantives, which there is frequent occasion to number, as יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, שֵׁבֶט *tribe*, also בָּקָר collective *cattle*, etc. (comp. our *four year old, a thousand man strong*); e. g. אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם prop. *fourteen day* Ex. 12, 6 (comp. however Deut. 1, 23, Josh. 4, 2). With this exception, they are joined to the plural; and then, especially in the later books they stand after the substantive (Num. 7, 87, 1 Ch. 4, 27, 25, 5).

3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21 or 62) take the object numbered either after them in the singular (in the accusative), as שְׁתַּיִם וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה *two and sixty years*

Gen. 5, 20 (according to No. 2, שָׁנָה having special reference to the preceding *tens*); or before them in the plural, as especially in the later books (Dan. 9, 26); or the object is repeated, with the units in the plural (acc. to No. 7), with the tens (acc. to No. 2) and hundreds in the singular, as in Gen. 12, 4 חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה *seventy-five years*, Gen. 23, 1 מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשֶׁבַע שָׁנִים *one hundred and twenty-seven years;* comp. Gen. 5, 6.

4. The *ordinals* beyond 10 have no peculiar forms, but are expressed by those of the cardinals, which then stand either before the object numbered, or after it, as בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the seventeenth day* Gen. 7, 11; בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה *in the 40th year* Deut. 1, 3, 2 K. 25, 27 with the repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K. 6, 1, or בִּשְׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וָשֶׁבַע *in the year twenty-seven* 1 K. 16, 10. In the latter case, the word שָׁנָה is likewise frequently repeated, as in Gen. 7, 11, 2 K. 13, 10.— In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are used frequently also instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם *in the year two,* בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלוֹשׁ *in the year three* 1 K. 15, 25, 2 K. 18, 1 בְּתִשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the ninth of the month,* בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first of the month* Lev. 23, 32, Gen. 8, 13.

Rem. 1. The numerals take the article when they stand without immediate connection with the thing numbered, referring back to a preceding substantive, as הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה *the three* 1 Ch. 11, 20, 21 comp. 25, 19 *the twelve;* (with the tens) Gen. 18, 29, 31, 32. Such a case as שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים *the seven days* (Judg. 14, 17) is to be explained on the principle stated in § 111, 1.

2. Certain substantives employed in designations of *weight, measure,* or of *time,* are commonly omitted after numerals; e. g. Gen. 20, 16 אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף *a thousand (shekels) of silver;* so also before זָהָב *gold* 1 K. 10, 16; Ruth 3, 15 שֵׁשׁ שְׂעֹרִים *six (Ephah) of barley;* 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֲשָׂרָה *ten (loaves) of bread.* Thus יוֹם is omitted in Gen. 8, 5, and חֹדֶשׁ in 8, 13.—The number of *cubits* is often stated thus, מֵאָה בָאַמָּה *a hundred cubits,* prop. *a hundred by the cubit* Ex. 27, 18.

5. Distributives are expressed either by repetition of the cardinals, as שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two by two* Gen. 7, 9, 15. Comp. שֵׁשׁ וָשֵׁשׁ *six by six* 2 Sam. 21, 20 or periphrastically by a following לְ, אֶחָד Deut. 1, 23, comp. Is. 6, 2 (לְאֶחָד after the

repetition of the words *six wings*). *One time, once,* is expressed by פַּעַם אַחַת (prop. *a tread*), comp. הַפַּעַם *this time*, פַּעֲמַיִם *two times, twice,* שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים *thrice* (also שְׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים *three times* Num. 22, 32). The same may be denoted also by merely the *fem.* forms of the cardinals, as אַחַת *once,* שְׁתַּיִם *twice,* שֶׁבַע *seven times,* comp. also בְּאַחַת *once* Num. 10, 4. The ordinals too are employed in the same way, as שֵׁנִית *second time* Gen. 22, 15, Jer. 13, 3. Comp. L. *tertium consul.*

CHAPTER II.

SYNTAX OF THE PRONOUN.

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§ 121.

USE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.

1. When a personal pronoun is the subject of a sentence, like a noun in the same position, it does not require for its union with the predicate a distinct word for the copula (§ 144), e. g. אָנֹכִי הָרֹאֶה *I* (am) *the seer* 1 Sam. 9, 19, כֵּנִים אֲנַחְנוּ *honest* (are) *we* Gen. 42, 11, תְּמִים אַתָּה *upright* (wast) *thou* Ez. 28, 15, כִּי עֵירֻמִּים הֵם *that naked they* (were) Gen. 3, 7, חֲלוֹם אֶחָד הוּא *one dream it* (is) Gen. 41, 26.

2. The pronoun of the *third* person frequently serves to connect subject and predicate, and is then a sort of *substitute* for the copula; to speak more exactly: the predicate is joined in the form of an independant nominal sentence (§ 144, *a*), e. g. Gen. 41, 26 *the seven cows* הֵנָּה שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים *seven years* (are) *they,* Ec. 5, 18 זֹה מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים הִיא *this a gift of God it* (is). Sometimes such a pronoun in the *third* person refers to a subject which is of the *first* or *second* person, e. g. Deut. 32, 39: *see now* כִּי אֲנִי הוּא *that I, I* (am) *he;* Ps. 102, 28 (*thou art the same*); 1 Chron. 21, 17; comp. the French: *c'est moi, c'est vous.* Of a different kind however are cases like: אַתָּה

הוּא מַלְכִּי *thou art my king* Ps. **44**, 5, where הוּא at the same time points to the predicate and makes it prominent (prop. *thou* art *he, my king*); comp. Is. **43**, 25, Neh. **9**, 6, 7, and in Aram. Ezr. **5**, 11.

3. To the general rule (§ 33, 1), that the *separate pronouns* are in the *nominative* and the *suffixes* in the *oblique cases,* there is but one seeming exception, viz. when the personal pronoun in an oblique case is to be repeated for the sake of emphasis (*me, me; thy, thy*), it is expressed the second time by the separate form of the same person. But this stands by no means in the oblique case, but is to be considered as the subject of an independent phrase, whose predicate may be completed from the connection. Thus to strengthen the *accusative* suffix of the verb, Gen. **27**, 34 בָּרֲכֵנִי גַם אָנִי *bless me, even me,* really: *also I want to be blest,* comp. Zech. **7**, 4, Prov. **22**, 19; and even by placing the separate pronoun before, Gen. **49**, 8; more frequently to strengthen the *genitive* suffix of the noun, e. g. אֶת־דָּמְךָ גַּם אַתָּה 1 K. **21**, 19 *thy blood, yea thine* (prop. *sanguinem tui, utique tui*), Num. **14**, 32, 1 Sam. **20**, 42, Ez. **34**, 11, Prov. **23**, 15, Ps. **9**, 7. In the same way the separate pronoun may strengthen a suffix which is governed by a preposition (i. e. standing in the genitive, according to § 101, 1), as Hag. **1**, 4 לָכֶם אַתֶּם *for you, you,* 1 Sam. **25**, 24 בִּי אֲנִי *in me, me,* 1 Sam. **19**, 23 עָלָיו גַּם הוּא *also on him;* 2 Chr. **35**, 21 לֹא עָלֶיךָ אַתָּה *not against thee.* On the same principle is to be explained Gen. **4**, 26 לְשֵׁת גַּם הוּא *to Seth, even to him,* (not גַּם־לוֹ) Gen. **10**, 21.

4. The *suffix to the verb* is properly always in the accusative (§ 33, 2, *a,* § 57), and is the most common form of expressing the accusative of the pronoun governed by a verb (see however Rem. below). In certain cases, however, it is used through an almost inaccurate brevity of expression for the dative, as Zech. **7**, 5 הֲצַמְתֻּנִי *did ye fast for me?* i. e. to my advantage, for הֲצַמְתֶּם לִי; Job **31**, 18 גִּדַּלַנִי כְאָב *he* (the fatherless) *grew up to me as to a father,* Is. **44**, 21, Ez. **29**, 3, comp. verse 9.

Rem. The accusative of the pronoun *must* be indicated by אֵת (§ 117, 2),—*a*) when the pronoun, for the sake of emphasis, precedes

the verb, as אֹתְכָה הָרַגְתִּי *thee had I killed* Num. 22, 33;—*b*) when the verb has two pronouns in the accusative, only one of which can be a verbal suffix, as וְיַרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ *and he will make me see it* 2 Sam. 15, 25; it is found, also in other cases, as in Gen. 4, 14, (where הַכֹּתוֹ alone might signify: *that he might not smite*) 15, 13.

5. The *suffix to nouns,* which are properly *genitives* (§ 33, 2, *b*) and supply the place of *possessive pronouns*[1], express, like nouns in the genitive (§ 114, 2), not only the subject but also the object; e. g. חֲמָסִי *my wrong* (i. e. done to me) Jer. 51, 35, Gen. 16, 5, Job 20, 29, 23, 14 and 34, 6, יִרְאָתוֹ *his fear* (i. e. caused by him) Ex. 20, 20.

6. When one noun in the *constr. st.* is so connected with another in the genitive, as together to express periphrastically an adjective by means of the second substantive (§ 106, 1) then the suffix which really refers to this complex idea is appended to the second of the two nouns (compare the analogous position of the article, § 111, 1), e. g. Ps. 2, 6 הַר קָדְשִׁי *the mount of my holiness,* i. e. *my holy mount,* עִיר קָדְשֶׁךָ *the city of thy holiness* (i. e. *thy holy city*) Dan. 9, 24, אֱלִילֵי כַסְפּוֹ *his silver idols* Is. 2, 20, 31, 7, צַעֲדֵי אוֹנוֹ *his firm steps* Job 18, 7.

Only seeming exceptions are constructions like מִזִּמָּתֵךְ in Ez. 16, 27 *thy conduct,* (thy) *lewdness,* or *thy conduct in lewdness* (זִמָּה being in apposition or in adverbial accusative), Ps. 35, 19 אֹיְבַי שֶׁקֶר *my enemies for a falsehood* i. e. *without real cause* (שֶׁקֶר adverb. acc., cf. שִׂנְאֵי חִנָּם in parallel clause). Comp. Ps. 71, 7, 2 Sam. 22, 33, Prov. 23, 29.

Rem. 1. Through a certain inaccuracy, which probably passed from the colloquial language to that of books, *masculine* pronouns are sometimes used in reference to *feminine* substantives, Gen. 31, 9; 32, 16; 41, 23, Exod. 1, 21; Amos 4, 1 (comp. in regard to the masc. as the more common gender, § 107, 1, Rem.).

2. The accusative of the pronoun, as object of the verb, is often *omitted,* where it can be easily supplied from the context, specially the accusative *it,* after verbs of saying as וַיַּגֶּד *and he told* (*it*) Gen. 9, 22; but also after other verbs, e. g. Gen. 38, 17 *till thou send* (*it*), 24, 12 *let* (*it*) *meet me.*

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[1] The possessive pronoun may be expressed by circumlocution, after the manner of the Aramæan, as in Ruth 2, 21 הַנְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי *the youths who* (are) *to me,* i. e. *my servants;* especially after a substantive, which is followed by another in the genitive, as in 1 Sam. 17, 40 (comp. the analogous circumlocution for the genitive, § 115).—In this case there is sometimes a pleonastic use of the suffix, as מִטָּתוֹ שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה prop. *his palanquin, Solomon's,* Cant. 3, 7, comp. 1. 6.

3. There is, on the contrary, a redundancy of expression, when the noun, for which the pronoun stands, is itself employed in apposition after it, e. g. Ex. **2**, 6 *she saw him, the child*, 1 Sam. **21**, 14, Prov. **5**, 22. Similar are the cases in which, to a nominal suffix is joined its corresponding substantive (with or without the article) as an explaining permutative, e. g. Ez. **10**, 3 בְּבֹאוֹ הָאִישׁ *when he went in, the man*, Is. **17**, 6, Prov. **13**, 4; **14**, 13. So also Gen. **2**, 19 נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה . . . לוֹ *to them, the living creatures;* and with repetition of the preposition Josh. **1**, 2. Of another kind are the cases where the permutative with its own suffix is, in a certain way, a correction to the preceding suffix, e. g. Is. **29**, 23: *when he*, or rather, *his children see;* comp. Ps. **83**, 12, perhaps also Job **29**, 3.

4. In some instances the force of the nominal suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak, that it has almost ceased to be felt; e. g. אֲדֹנָי *my Lord* (prop. *my lords*, see § 108, 2, *b*), namely in addressing God (Gen. **15**, 2, **18**, 3, Ps. **35**, 23), but then without regard to the pronominal suffix, *the Lord*, meaning God[1] (always with *Qāměṣ* to distinguish it from אֲדֹנַי *my Lord*, yet never,—on account of its original signification,—with the article). A similar rigidity of the suffix signification is seen in יַחְדָּו (prop. *his* or *its conjunctions=he, it together*), e. g. כָּל־הָעָם יַחְדָּו Ex. **19**, 8, then even after the *first* person, without regard to the suffix, as אֲנַחְנוּ יַחְדָּו 1 K. **3**, 18, comp. Is. **41**, 1, after the *second* person in Is. **45**, 20. Thus we find in 1 K. **22**, 28, Mic. **1**, 2 *hear, ye nations* כֻּלָּם; and sometimes even by placing כֻּלָּם before, Job **17**, 10.

§ 122.

OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The *personal* pronoun of the third person הוּא, *fem.* הִיא, *plur.* הֵמָּה, *fem.* הֵנָּה (L. *is, ea, id* or *ille* etc.; *ii, eæ, ea* or *illi* etc.) is also used as a *demonstrative pronoun*. In connection with a definite substantive it has then (by virtue of its adjectival use, § 111, 2) regularly the article (see exceptions § 111, 2, *b*), הָאִישׁ הַהוּא *that man*, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *in that day* (on the other hand: הוּא הַדָּבָר *this is the word, which* etc. Gen. **41**, 28). — הוּא stands sometimes almost *enclitic*, to emphasize the interrogative pronoun (like זֶה No. 2, Rem.) e. g. מִי הוּא זֶה *who indeed is this* king of glory? Ps. **24**, 10.

[1] See *Gesenii* Thesaurus Linguæ Hebrææ, p. 329. Comp. the Phœnician name of the idol *Adonis* (אֲדֹנִי), also the French *Monsieur, Monseigneur, Notre Dame*, Eng. *Our Lady* (the virgin Mary).

The demonstrative הוּא is to be distinguished from זֶה; for זֶה=ὅδε, L. *hic*, always points to a (fresh) person or thing present, but הוּא= αὐτός, *is, ille*, ἐκεῖνος indicates (like the article, § 109) a person or thing already mentioned or known. The distinction is clearly seen in Judges 7, 4, *of whom I say to thee, „this* (זֶה) *shall go with thee", that one* (הוּא) *shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say to thee, „this* (זֶה) *shall not go with thee", that one* (הוּא) *shall not go.* Hence הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, means the day in which any one speaks or writes (Gen. 26, 33), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא (*that day*) means the day or time, of which the historian has just made mention (Gen. 15, 18, 26, 32), or the prophet just predicted (Is. 5, 30, 7, 18. 20), and goes on to relate or to predict.

2. The *demonstrative* זֶה (also זוֹ, זוּ) occurs in poetical speech, also (זוּ even habitually) for the relative אֲשֶׁר, as in English *that* for *which;* e. g. Prov. 23, 22 *hearken to thy father* זֶה יְלָדֶךָ *that begat thee;* Ps. 104, 8 *to the place* זֶה יָסַדְתָּ לָהֶם *which* (prop. *this* which) *thou hast appointed for them.* זֶה may in such a case be still more nearly defined by a following pronominal suffix (like אֲשֶׁר, § 123, 1); e. g. Ps. 74, 2 *Mount Zion* זֶה שָׁכַנְתָּ בּוֹ *in which thou dwellst* (prop. *this thou dwellest in it.* Comp. Luther's *da du auf wohnest*); for the plural, Job 19, 19.

The Aram. דִּי, דְּ, which corresponds in sound to זֶה is always relative.

זֶה is used adverbially,—*a*) in reference to place, *there*, Ps. 104, 25 זֶה הַיָּם *the sea there;* הִנֵּה זֶה *see there!*—*b*) in reference to *time*, for *now*, as זֶה פְּעָמִים *now* (already) *twice* Gen. 27, 36, Zech. 7, 3 עַתָּה זֶה *by this time; c*) to emphasize words of interrogation of all kinds e. g. מִי זֶה Job 38, 2: *who darkeneth there . . . .*, מַה־זֶּה (also מַה־זֹּאת Gen. 12, 18) *what there?*, Gen. 27, 20 *how is it that?* (Judges 18, 24); לָמָּה זֶּה *why then?;* comp. also Gen. 27, 21 הַאַתָּה זֶה *whether thou be my son Esau or not.* (Analogous to the מִי זֶה etc. is the enclitic use of *nam* in *quisnam;* comp. likewise *quis tandem*).

3. The *interrogative* מִי *who?* is used in reference to *persons* (male or female Cant. 3, 6), to a *singular* or to a *plural*, as מִי אַתֶּם *who are ye* Josh. 9, 8, מִי אֵלֶּה Gen. 33, 5, Num. 22, 9 (for which, however, מִי וָמִי is also used in Ex. 10, 8), also in reference to *things*, yet only when the idea of persons is implied, e. g. מִי שְׁכֶם *who are the Shechemites?* Judg. 9, 28, 13, 17; comp. Gen. 33, 8, and already bolder, with the repetition of a personally used מִי 1 Sam. 18, 18, 2 Sam. 7, 18.—מִי may also stand in the genitive, as בַּת מִי אַתְּ *whose daughter*

art thou? Gen. **24**, 23, 1 Sam. **17**, 55, 56, 58, דְּבַר מִי *whose word?* Jer. **44**, 28, 1 Sam. **12**, 3; in the accusative, as אֶת־מִי *whom?* 1 Sam. **28**, 11, Is. **6**, 8; and with prepositions, as בְּמִי 1 K. **20**, 14; לְמִי Gen. **32**, 18, אַחֲרֵי מִי 1 Sam. **24**, 15.—מָה, מַה־, מֶה *what?* stands as nominative and as accusative (see examples in § 37), as genitive (Jer. **8**, 9), with prep. e. g. עַל־מָה *upon what?* Job **38**, 6; עַד־מָה *till when?* Ps. **74**, 9.—Both מִי and מָה stand in a direct and in an indirect question (according to the Ind.-Germ. logic of the language, for acc. to the Semitic that distinction does not exist) and at times also as *indefinite* pronouns *whoever* and *whatever* (Lat. *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), as in Judg. **7**, 3, 2 Sam. **18**, 12, מִי placed after = *whoever it be;* likewise מָה = *anything else* Job **13**, 13, 2 Sam. **18**, 22. 23, comp. דְּבַר מָה Num. **23**, 3 *whatever*. For the neuter *quidquam, anything whatever,* the language has besides the word מְאוּמָה.

§ 123.

RELATIVE PRONOUN AND RELATIVE CLAUSES.

1. The indeclinable אֲשֶׁר[1] often serves merely as a *sign of relation,* i. e. to give a relative sense to adverbs or pronouns; e. g. שָׁם *there,* שָׁם—אֲשֶׁר *where;* שָׁמָּה *thither,* שָׁמָּה—אֲשֶׁר *whither;* מִשָּׁם *thence,* מִשָּׁם—אֲשֶׁר *whence.* In the same manner, the Hebrew mostly forms the *oblique cases* of the relative pronoun, *who, which,* viz.—

Dative, לוֹ *to him,* אֲשֶׁר לוֹ *to whom;* לָהֶם, לָהֵן *to them,* אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם, אֲשֶׁר לָהֵן *to whom.*

Accusative, אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ *him, her;* אֲשֶׁר אֹתוֹ, אֲשֶׁר אֹתָהּ *whom.*

With *prepositions,* בּוֹ *in him* or *in it,* אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ *wherein,* מִמֶּנּוּ *from him* or *from it,* אֲשֶׁר מִמֶּנּוּ *wherefrom.*

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[1] אֲשֶׁר is probably a substantive (comp. Arab. *'atar,* Aram. אֲתַר *trace, place;* according to others it is really a demonstrative, or a composition from several pronominal roots. Comp. *Sperling* „Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen" Lpz. 1876), but at present it serves as *Nota relationis,* or (as sometimes also זוּ, זֶה § 122, 2) directly a *relative pronoun,* often even including the demonstrative (v. No. 2). By virtue of its original sign character (as simple *nota relationis*) אֲשֶׁר may relate to persons as well as to things.

Genitive, אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁנוֹ *whose language* Deut. 28, 49.

The accusative *whom* (Lat. *quem, quam*) may, however, be expressed by אֲשֶׁר alone, as in Gen. 2, 2.

Rem. 1. The Hebrew is able in this way, to give a relative sense to the pronoun of the first and second persons in the oblique cases; e. g. Gen. 45, 4 אֲשֶׁר אֹתִי, Num. 22, 30 אֲשֶׁר עָלַי, Is. 41, 8 *Jacob* אֲשֶׁר בְּחַרְתִּיךָ (*thou*) *whom I have chosen,* Hos. 14, 4. In the nom. of the 1st and 2nd persons, this is admissible also in German, e. g. *der ich, der du, die wir,* where *der* stands for *welcher,* and (like the Heb. אֲשֶׁר) receives its definite sense from the following pronoun.

2. The word אֲשֶׁר is commonly separated by one or more words, from the pronoun or adverb to which it gives a relative sense, as אֲשֶׁר הָיָה שָׁם *where was* Gen. 13, 3. Only seldom are they written closely together, as in Deut. 19, 17, 2 Ch. 6, 11.

2. The pronoun אֲשֶׁר often includes the demonstrative which in our construction precedes the relative as *who* for *he who* or as *qui* in Lat. stands for *is qui;* e. g. Num. 22, 6 וַאֲשֶׁר תָּאֹר *and* (he) *whom thou cursest,* Is. 52, 15 אֲשֶׁר לֹא שֻׁמְּעוּ (that) *which they have not heard.* This is almost always the case where a preposition stands before אֲשֶׁר, the preposition being then construed with the supplied pronoun, and the relative taking the case which is required by the following part of the sentence; e. g. לַאֲשֶׁר (Lat. *ei qui, quæ, quod,* or *ei quem, quam,* etc., and *iis qui, quæ, quæ,* etc.) *to him who,* or *to them who;* מֵאֲשֶׁר *from him who, from those who* or *which;* כַּאֲשֶׁר prop. *according to that which;* but also according to the circumstance that, hence: *as just as* (as conjunction before the verb at the head of comparative clauses, § 155, 2, *h*); אֶת־אֲשֶׁר *him, her who, that which,* or *those who,*[1] comp. finally, cases like בְּיַד־אֲשֶׁר *in the hand of him, whom* (thou hatest), Ez. 23, 28.

To the relative sense lying in אֲשֶׁר sometimes the idea of place or time is also to be supplied; as בַּאֲשֶׁר *in* (that place) *where;* מֵאֲשֶׁר *from* (that time) *when.* On אֲשֶׁר as conj. v. 155, I, *e.*

3. In all the cases treated under No. 1 and 2 the relative can be expressed also, without אֲשֶׁר by a simple addition (subordination) of the relative clause (comp. the English,

[1] Very rare are the examples in which a preposition is connected immediately with אֲשֶׁר as a relative pronoun, viz. עִם אֲשֶׁר Gen. 31, 32 (Sept. παρ' ᾧ) for אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ *with whom* (44, 9, 10); בַּאֲשֶׁר Is. 47, 12, for אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם *in which.*

the friend I met, the book I told you of). This omission (most frequent in poetry) takes place, when the אֲשֶׁר would stand,—

a) As a pronoun in the nominative or accusative; e. g. Gen. **15**, 13 בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם *in a land* (which belongs) *not to them*, Ps. **7**, 16 וַיִּפֹּל בְּשַׁחַת יָפָעַל *and he falls into the pit* (which) *he makes*, Gen. **39**, 4 כָּל־יֶשׁ־לוֹ *all* (which) *was* i. e. *belonged to him* (comp. vs. 5, where אֲשֶׁר is inserted), Ec. **10**, 5 (comp. **6**, 1, where with the same words אֲשֶׁר is employed), Job **31**, 12.[1]

b) As a sign of relation, e. g. Ps. **32**, 2 *happy the man,* לֹא יַחְשֹׁב יְהוָה לוֹ עָוֹן *to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity,* Job **3**, 3, Ex. **18**, 20, Is. **41**, 2. 3, Ps. **49**, 14. Frequently in specifications of time, when it would mean *when,* 2 Ch. **29**, 27 בְּעֵת הֵחֵל הָעוֹלָה *at the time* (when) *the sacrifice began,* Jer. **36**, 2 מִיּוֹם דִּבַּרְתִּי אֵלֶיךָ *from the day* (when) *I spoke to thee,* Ps. **4**, 8 עֵת דְּגָנָם וְתִירוֹשָׁם רָבּוּ *in the time* (when) *their corn and their new wine are abundant,* Ps. **49**, 6, **56**, 10 בְּיוֹם אֶקְרָא *in the day* (when) *I call,* in v. 4 יוֹם אִירָא *the day* (when) *I fear,* Ex. **6**, 28 בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר יְהוָה *in the day* (when) *the Lord spoke;* Ps. **18**, 1; with the utmost brevity in Is. **51**, 1 *look to the rock* חֻצַּבְתֶּם (from which) *ye were hewn.*

c) Also as including the antecedent personal or demonstrative pronoun (No. 2); e. g. Is. **41**, 24 תּוֹעֵבָה יִבְחַר בָּכֶם *an abomination* (is) *he who chooses you,* Job **30**, 13 (they) *to whom there is no helper,* Job **24**, 19 *Sheol* (snatches away) חֲטָאִוּ (those who) *sin,* comp. v. 9. The pronoun thus omitted may include the idea of place or time, as 1 Ch. **15**, 12 אֶל־הֲכִינוֹתִי לוֹ *to* (the place which) *I have prepared for it* (comp. however Ex. **23**, 20); Job **38**, 19.

Rem. 1. The substantive governing such a simply subordinate relative clause may, as with אֲשֶׁר (No. 2 at the end) stand in the *constr. st.* so that the relative clause stands virtually in the genitive e. g. Ex.

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[1] The Arabic omits the relative when the substantive to which it refers is indefinite, as above; but inserts it when the substantive is definite. In the latter case, the Hebrew commonly inserts it in prose (see Jer. **23**, 29, Ex. **14**, 13); though it is sometimes omitted (Ex. **18**, 20), especially in poetry (Ps. **18**, 3, **49**, 13, 21, Deut. **32**, 17, Job **3**, 3).

4, 13 בְּיַד תִּשְׁלַח *by the hand* (of him whom) *thou wilt send,* Hos. 1, 2 תְּחִלַּת דִּבֶּר־יְהוָה *the beginning* (of that which) *God spoke,* Ps. 81, 6 שָׂפָה לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *the speech* (of one whom) *I knew not* 65, 5, Job 29, 16, Lam. 1, 14, Jer. 48, 36. Comp. § 116, 3.

2. Relative clauses are joined on also by means of the *copula* (וְ), e. g. Job 29, 12 *the orphan* וְלֹא עֹזֵר לוֹ *and he that hath no helper,* if it ought not to be translated: *and the* thus *helper-less orphan;* comp. Ps. 72, 12.

§ 124.

HOW TO EXPRESS THOSE PRONOUNS FOR WHICH THE HEBREW TONGUE HAD NO PROPER FORMS.

1. The *reflexive pronoun, se, sibi, myself, thyself, himself,* etc., is expressed,

a) by the conjugations *Nĭphʿăl* and *Hĭthpăʿēl,* see § 51, 2, § 54, 3;

b) by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. (specially after prepositions),[1] e. g. Judg. 3, 16 וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ אֲהוּד חֶרֶב *and Ehud made for him* (himself) *a sword,* Gen. 22, 3 *Abraham took two of his servants* אִתּוֹ *with him* i. e. *with himself,* Gen. 8, 9 (אֵלָיו), 33, 17, 1 Sam. 1, 24 *she took him up* עִמָּהּ *with her,* for *with herself;* Jer. 7, 19 אוֹתָם *themselves,* Ez. 34, 2, 8, 10; also apparently pleonastic as a so-called *Dativus ethicus* Job 12, 11; 13, 1.—In the like manner is the pronoun *suus, sua, suum* expressed by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. with the noun, since סוּסוֹ signifies either *equus suus* (prop. *sui,* genit.) or *equus ejus;*

c) partly by suffixes, אוֹתִי, אוֹתְךָ, אוֹתָם (comp. under *b* above). partly by circumlocution with substantives, especially נֶפֶשׁ, e. g. לֹא אֵדַע נַפְשִׁי *I know not myself* (prop. *my soul*) Job 9, 21, Jer. 37, 9; בְּקִרְבָּהּ *within herself* (prop. *in her inner part*) Gen. 18, 12. Comp. Rem. 3.

As קֶרֶב in the last example, so also נֶפֶשׁ is nowhere (not even Is. 46, 2 נַפְשָׁם *themselves*) a merely idle circumlocution, but points towards the mental substratum of the personality, which is affected by the actions, thoughts, etc. springing from it. The Arabic, in a similar manner, expresses the idea *self* by *soul, spirit,* and so the Sanskrit

[1] So also often in Luther's Bible, where *ihm, ihr,* stand for *sich,* and in the English Bible, where *him, her* stand for *himself, herself.*

(*âtman*); the Arabic also by *eye;* the Rabbinic by עֶצֶם, v. below Rem. 3, גֶּרֶם *bone*, גּוּף *body;* the Ethiop. and Amharic by רֹאשׁ *head;* the Egyptian by *mouth, hand,* etc. Comp. middle High German *mîn lîp, dîn lîp.*

2. The *personal* or *demonstrative* pronoun is generally included (comp. § 123, 2) in אֲשֶׁר in all the cases, both singular and plural. The use of the interrogative מָה with a similar sense is based on a further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מָה (§ 122, 3 at the end) and is already more like the Aramaic, as מַה־שֶּׁ *that which* Ec. **1**, 9, **3**, 15 (Syr. ܡܐ ܕ).

Rem. 1. *Each, every one,* with reference to a person, (and even to animals Gen. **15**, 10) is expressed by אִישׁ *a man* Gen. **42**, 25, Num. **17**, 17, sometimes repeated אִישׁ אִישׁ Ex. **36**, 4, אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. **87**, 5; with reference either to persons or things, by כֹּל (§ 111, 1); by repetition of the substantive as בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר *every morning;* also by the plural לַבְּקָרִים *every morning* Ps. **73**, 14, Job **7**, 18 (with so-called לְ *distributive*).

2. *Any one, some one,* is expressed by אִישׁ Ex. **16**, 29, Cant. **8**, 7; and by אָדָם Lev. **1**, 2; *anything, something* (especially in connection with a negation) by כָּל־דָּבָר, דָּבָר without the article, Gen. **18**, 14; Lev. **5**, 2; Num. **31**, 23; after a negative Gen. **19**, 8; Eccl. **8**, 5; comp. אֵין־דָּבָר Num. **20**, 19=*nothing.* Comp. also § 122, 3.

3. *Self* is expressed (besides the way in No. 1, *c*, above), in reference to persons or things, by הִיא, הוּא, as אֲדֹנָי הוּא *the Lord he,* i. e. the Lord *himself* Is. **7**, 14, הַיְּהוּדִים הֵמָּה *the Jews themselves* Est. **9**, 1.—*The same* is הִיא, הוּא with the article; e. g. הָאִישׁ הַהוּא Job **1**, 1 *the same man,* בָּעֵת הַהִיא *at the same time* (but this signifies also *that man, at that time,* comp. § 122, 1). In reference to things the noun עֶצֶם prop. *bone, body* (in this case fig. for *essence, substance*) is also employed as a periphrasis for the pronoun; e. g. בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *on the self-same day* Gen. **7**, 13, Josh. **10**, 27, Ez. **24**, 2, Ex. **24**, 10 כְּעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם *as the very heavens,* בְּעֶצֶם תְּמוֹ *in his very prosperity* (i. e. in the midst of his prosperity) Job **21**, 23.

4. *The one—the other* (*alter—alter*) is expressed by repeating זֶה (Is. **6**, 3) or אֶחָד (2 Sam. **14**, 6, cf. 1 Sam. **14**, 10), or by אִישׁ one with אָחִיו *his brother* or with רֵעֵהוּ *his friend;* and where the feminine is required, by אִשָּׁה *woman* with אֲחוֹתָהּ *her sister* or רֵעוּתָהּ *her friend;* both the *masc.* and *fem.* forms are used also with reference to inanimate things. See the Lex. under these words. The same form is used to express *one another,* as Gen. **13**, 11 *and they separated* אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו *the one from the other* (i. e. *from one another*), Ex. **26**, 3 *five curtains shall be joined* אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחוֹתָהּ *to one another.*

5. *Some* is often expressed simply by the plural form, as יָמִים *some days* Gen. **24**, 55; **40**, 4, Is. **65**, 20, Dan. **8**, 27; שָׁנִים *some years* Dan. **11**, 6, 8; and sometimes by יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר (ἔνιοι=ἔστιν οἵ, L. *sunt qui*) Neh. **5**, 2—4, or by אֲחֵרִים Gen. **27**, 44.

CHAPTER III.

SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

§ 125.

USE OF THE TENSES IN GENERAL.[1]

From the poverty of the Hebrew language in the means of expressing the absolute and relative divisions of time (§§ 40, 48), we may naturally expect some *vagueness* in their use.

We are not to infer from this, however, that there was scarcely any well-defined and regular use of the two existing tenses; on the contrary, each of them has its distinct sphere, as already intimated in Note [2] on page 118, and as will be explained more in detail in the following sections. Besides this the Imperfect is especially used in a modified form (see § 48) for expressing the relations of the Optative, the Jussive, and the Subjunctive (v. § 128). We must further add the peculiarity of the Hebrew diction already mentioned in § 49, viz. that of joining by means of *Wāw consecutive,* Imperfects to a Perfect and Perfects to an Imperfect (§ 126, 6, § 129).

As examples where the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* stand in plainly expressed opposition of time, we refer to Josh. **1**, 5 כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם מֹשֶׁה *as I was with Moses* (so) *will I be with thee* v. 17; Is. **46**, 4 אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי וַאֲנִי אֶשָּׂא *I have done it, and I will* (still) *bear* (you), and v. 11 דִּבַּרְתִּי אַף אֲבִיאֶנָּה יָצַרְתִּי אַף אֶעֱשֶׂנָּה *I have spoken it, and will bring it to pass; I have purposed, and will accomplish it;* Ex. **10**, 14, Deut. **32**, 21, 1 K. **2**, 38, Joel **2**, 2, Ec. **1**, 9.

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[1] Comp. *Driver,* A Treatise on the use of the tenses in Hebrew (Oxf. 1874), with the criticism on it by *A. Müller* in the Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol. 1877, I, S. 198 ff.

§ 126.
THE USE OF THE PERFECT.

The Perfect stands—

1. In itself and properly, for *absolutely* and *fully* past time (*Præteritum perfectum*), e. g. Gen. **40**, 8 חָלַמְנוּ חֲלוֹם *we have dreamed a dream,* Gen. **3**, 10, 11 מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *who has declared to thee?* v. 13 *why hast thou done this?* Comp. verses 14, 17, 22. Hence it is used in reports and narrations of past things, Job **1**, 1 אִישׁ הָיָה בְּאֶרֶץ עוּץ . . וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ הַהוּא *there was a man in the land of Uz . . . and this man was,* etc., v. 4 *and they went* (וְהָלְכוּ) . . *and made* (וְעָשׂוּ) *a feast;* Dan. **2**, 1 *in the 2d year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed* (חָלַם) *dreams,* Ruth **4**, 7, Judg. **6**, 3.

In this narrative style, the Perfect is commonly followed by the Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive*, see § 129, 1.

2. For an action completed in the past (the *Pluperfect*). So especially (as a matter of course) in relative clauses preceded in the governing clause by a tense relating to the past (*perfect* or *imperfect consecutive*) the *Pluperfect,* e. g. Gen. **2**, 2 *and he rested* מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *from all his work which he had done,* v. 5 *the Lord had not yet caused it to rain* **7**, 9, **19**, 27, **20**, 18, **27**, 30, **29**, 10, **31**, 19, 1 Sam. **6**, 19.

3. For our abstract *Present,* where this denotes,—*a*) a condition or attribute already long continued and still now existing, as יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have discerned*) Job **9**, 2, **10**, 13; לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gen. **4**, 9 (yet also, acc. to No. 2, with a reference to the past, *I knew not* Num. **22**, 34); שָׂנֵאתִי *I hate*[1] Ps. **31**, 7; צָדַקְתִּי *I am righteous* Job **34**, 5; גָּדַלְתָּ *thou art great* Ps. **104**, 1; קָטֹנְתִּי *I am little* Gen. **32**, 11; or—*b*) a past but still ever recurring action (often in statements of general experience) e. g. אָמַרְתִּי *I say* (*I mean*) Ps. **31**, 15, Job **7**, 13; Ps. **1**, 1 *happy the man who walks* (הָלַךְ) *not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stands* (עָמַד) *in the way of sinners, nor sits* (יָשַׁב) *in the seat of scorners.* **10**, 3, **119**, 40;—*c*) a present

[1] Similar in Latin are *novi, memini, odi;* in Greek οἶδα, μέμνημαι, δέδορκα, ἔοικα, κέκραγα, etc., in N. Test. ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.

action to which the idea of firm assurance is attached (comp. No. 4 below) e. g. נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Jer. **22**, 5, הֲרִימוֹתִי *I raise* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gen. **14**, 22.

Here (in the sphere of our Present) the Perfect and the Imperfect meet together and are used with equal propriety, according as the speaker views the action or state expressed by the verb as already existing before, but still continuing or perhaps just now ended, or as then first about coming to pass, in progress, or perhaps occurring at the instant (comp. § 127, 2). Accordingly, we find in nearly the same sense לֹא כָלִיתִי (Ps. **40**, 13) and לֹא אוּכַל (Gen. **19**, 19, **31**, 35). In such cases the two tenses often stand side by side as interchangeable, e. g. Is. **5**, 12, Prov. **1**, 22, Job **3**, 17, 18.

4. Even for our *Future,* in *protestations* and *assurances,* in which the mind of the speaker views the action as already accomplished, being as good as done. In German and English the Present is often used, in this case, for the Future. So in stipulations or promises in the way of a contract, Gen. **23**, 11 *I give* (נָתַתִּי) *to thee the field,* v. 13 *I give* (נָתַתִּי) *money for the field;* particularly in promises made by God, Gen. **1**, 29, **15**, 18, **17**, 20. Also in confident discourse (*Perfectum confidentiæ*) especially when God is said to be about to do something (with reference to the divine counsel, where it is already present as an accomplished fact), e. g. פָּדִיתָה אוֹתִי יְהוָה *thou deliverest me, O Lord* (Ps. **31**, 6); hence frequently used in lively representations of the future, and in *prophecies* (*Perfectum propheticum*), e. g. Is. **9**, 1 *the people who walk in darkness see* (רָאוּ) *a great light,* **5**, 13 *therefore my people goes into captivity* (גָּלָה).

The Arabs likewise employ the Perfect, generally made still stronger by the particle قَدْ, in emphatic promises, etc. They say, *I have already given it to thee,* meaning, it is as good as done.[1]—A similar usage is that of the Lat. *perii,* Gr. ὄλωλα, διέφθορας Il. 15, 128.

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[1] The assurance that something will happen, can also serve to express the wish that something may happen. So Gen. **40**, 14 וְעָשִׂיתָ־נָּא עִמָּדִי חָסֶד וְהִזְכַּרְתַּנִי וגו׳ *and do thou a kindness, I pray, with me* (prop. thou surely doest kindness with me, I hope), *and make mention of me to Pharaoh.* The addition of נָא makes this sense of the Perf. here unquestionable. In Arabic, likewise, the Perf. is employed in wishes and obtestations. In Heb. further, Job **21**, 16 עֲצַת רְשָׁעִים רָחֲקָה מֶנִּי *the counsel of the wicked be far from me!* **22**, 18. Comp. the use of the Perfect consecutive when following the Imperative, in No. **6**, c.

5. For the so-called *relative tenses,* in which the past is the principal idea, viz.—*a*) for the *Imperfect* or *Pluperfect subjunctive* (for which the Imperfect too can stand, § 127, 5), as in Is. 1, 9 *except the Lord of Hosts had left* (הוֹתִיר) *unto us* לַעֲמֹרָה דָּמִינוּ (הָיִינוּ) כִּסְדֹם *as Sodom were we, to Gomorrah were we like,* Gen. 21, 7 מִי מִלֵּל *who would have said?* (Quis dixerit?); —*b*) Num. 14, 2 לוּ מַתְנוּ *would that we had died!* (לוּ with the Imperfect would be, *would that we should die!* § 136, 2), Judg. 13, 23, 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הֵכִין) Job 3, 13, 10, 18, 19 כַּאֲשֶׁר לֹא הָיִיתִי אֶהְיֶה *I should be as if I had not been,* 23, 10, Ruth 1, 12, *if I thought,* etc.;—*c*) for the *Future Perfect* (*futurum exactum*) e. g. Is. 4, 4 אִם רָחַץ *if he shall have washed away,* prop. *if he has washed away,* 6, 11.—Gen. 43, 14 כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי *as I am bereaved* (for, if I shall be, *ubi orbus fuero*) *then I am bereaved* (the language of despondent resignation), Est. 4, 16.

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6. In all the foregoing cases we have considered the Perfect independently of logical connection with preceding verbs. Not less diversified however is the use of the so-called *perfectum consecutivum* which is joined to a preceding clause by וְ (*Waw consecutive of the Perfect*); it is then coordinate with another *perf. consec.,* or represents a consequence from such actions as have preceded in the *Imperfect* or any of its equivalents (*Imperative, Participle*). The consequence may be an immediate and necessary one (consecutive in the stricter sense) or merely external, based upon the simple succession of time (v. examples). On the distinction in the form of the *perf. consec.* through the shifting of the tone v. § 49, 3.

This exchange of the *perf.* with the *impf.* or its equivalents, and vice-versa, the *impf.* with the *perf.* is a prominent peculiarity of the Hebrew *consecutio temporum.* It not only offers a certain compensation for the lack of tenses and moods, but it also yields to the Hebrew style, the charm of an important articulation, the action which is going on, coming soon to a quiet stop in the perfect, and later again continuing anew. The regularity of this change, it is true, belongs rather to the higher style, and even there it depends more upon the view of the speaker, viz. whether he considers an action as the logical consequence of the preceding one, or simply as coordinate. (In the latter case he would use the same tense).—The former custom of giving to the *Wāw*

consecutive the designation of *Wāw conversive* (v. p. 118 Note 2) misinterprets the real nature of the Hebrew tenses. It is not the transformation of a preterite into a future, or vice-versa, but a logical sequence. Therefore a *perf. consec.* may belong to the sphere of *our* present or past (v. below, letter *d*).

The perfect consecutive represents:

a) Future actions or conditions as consequences of actions that have preceded in the imperfect (in the sense of our future), e. g. Gen. **24**, 40 *the Lord will send his angel* וְהִצְלִיחַ דַּרְכֶּךָ *and prosper thy way* (prop. *and thus he prospers = that he may prosper;* comp. v. 7, *that thou mayest take*), Judges **6**, 16, 1 Sam. **17**, 32, Job **22**, 30. Likewise after a *participle* (as equivalent to the imperfect) Gen. **41**, 29 ff., 1 Kings **2**, 2, Ruth **3**, 2 ff.

b) Actions conceived as possibly occurring in the future (*conjunctions praesentis* or *imperfecti*) after imperfects of a similar signification, comp. § 127, 3; e. g. Gen **3**, 22 פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וְלָקַח וְאָכַל *lest he put forth his hand and take and eat* (prop. *and thus takes and eats*) **19**, 19, **32**, 12, Num. **15**, 40, 2 Sam. **15**, 4, Is. **6**, 10, Ez. **14**, 13, 14.

c) Commands in connection with a preceding *Imperative* and as a further sequence from the same, e. g. Gen. **6**, 21 קַח־לְךָ . . . וְאָסַפְתָּ *take for thyself . . . and gather* (prop. *and thou gatherest*) Gen. **27**, 43, 44, 1 K. **2**, 36. As with the announcement under letter *a*, so here the command passes over into a description of that which is to be done.

d) Present or past actions after *Imperfects* (or their equivalents) moving in that sphere of time, e. g. Gen. **2**, 6, 10, 1 Sam. **2**, 19, Amos **5**, 19, Nahum **3**, 12; after participles e. g. John **6**, 13.

Rem. 1. The equivalent of an *Imperfect* which then is followed by a *Perf. consec.* may consist also in an abruptly stated expression of time, e. g. Ex. **16**, 6, 7 עֶרֶב וִידַעְתֶּם *at even* (prop. *when it will be even*) *ye shall know*, Ex. **17**, 4 *yet a little while* וְסָקְלוּנִי *they will stone me*, 1 Sam. **20**, 18, 1 K. **2**, 42, Ez. **39**, 27, Prov, **24**, 27.

The *Perf. consec.* stands likewise as logical sequence for our *fut.*, or in the sense of an *Imperative*, or *Optative* after antecedent clauses which imply,—*a*) a cause, or—*b*) a condition. Comp. for letter *a*, Num. **14**, 24 *because another spirit is with him* וַהֲבִיאֹתִיו *and* (*therefore*) *I will*

bring him; Gen. **20**, 11 *there is no fear of God in the place* וַהֲרָגוּנִי *and* (*therefore*) *they will kill me* (i. e. there is etc., *so* they kill me), **45**, 12, 13, Ex. **6**, 6. Comp. Ps. **25**, 11 *for thy name's sake* וְסָלַחְתָּ *so forgive* (or *thou wilt forgive*). For letter *b*, Gen. **33**, 10 *if I have found favour* וְלָקַחְתָּ *then take;* and without the conditional particle (§ 155, **4**, *a*), Gen. **44**, 22 *should he leave his father* וָמֵת *then he* (the father) *would die*, verses 28, 29; **33**, 13, **42**, 38, 1 K. **3**, 14.—Also to other very various specifications of the present we find appended those of the future by means of וְ with the *Perf.* (e. g. Judg. **13**, 3 *thou art barren* יְלַדְתְּ וְהָרִית *but thou shalt conceive and bear*, 1 Sam. **9**, 8 *here is the fourth part of a shekel* וְנָתַתִּי *and I give it*), or commands and wishes (e. g. Ruth **3**, 9 *I am Ruth* וּפָרַשְׂתָּ *and spread thou*), or also of interrogation (e. g. Ex. **5**, 5 *the people are many in the land* וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם אֹתָם *and will you let them rest?* Gen. **29**, 15, 1 Sam. **25**, 10, 11).

2. A very frequent formula in prophetic language (like וַיְהִי *and it came to pass* in the historic style) is וְהָיָה *and it will come to pass.* This is found as well in coordination with other consecutive perfects, as after imperfects (or their equivalents, see Rem. 1), especially when a particular time is named, as Is. **7**, 18 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִשְׁרֹק.

§ 127.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT.

Although the signification of the Imperfect is almost more comprehensive still than that of the Perfect, yet the language has here a more definite expression for certain modal relations which lie in the sphere of the *Imperfect,* inasmuch as it has (as shown, in § 48) a shortened and a lengthened form of the Imperfect, the former as the *Jussive* and the latter as the *Cohortative* (see § 128). The *Wāw consecutive* also has a very extensive and important influence on this tense (§ 129). Yet the shortening, as has been shown in treating of the verb (§ 48), is not obvious, at least orthographically, in all the forms; and in other respects, also, there is some uncertainty, so that the common form occurs occasionally in almost all the relations, for which the shortened form is especially designed.

The Imperfect forms, in general, the contrary of the Perfect, and expresses, accordingly, what is unfinished or just incoming, what is taking place and future, but also what re-

peatedly happens and is continued at any point of time, even of the past (see Note [2] on p. 118).

Hence the Imperfect stands—

1. For *future time* simply Gen. 9, 11 לֹא־יִהְיֶה עוֹד מַבּוּל *there shall not again be a flood,* Ex. 4, 1 הֵן לֹא־יַאֲמִינוּ לִי וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ בְקֹלִי כִּי יֹאמְרוּ *lo! they will not believe me nor hearken to my voice, for they will say,* etc.; Gen. 6, 1, 9, 5, 1 K. 1, 13, 24, 30 וּמָלַךְ אַחֲרַי *he will* (or *shall*) *reign after me.* Also in speaking of the future from some point of view in the past, as 2 K. 3, 27 *the first-born who was to reign* (*regnaturus erat*), Gen. 43, 25 *they had heard that they should eat* (יֹאכְלוּ) *there,* Ps. 78, 6 *so that* בָּנִים יִוָּלֵדוּ *sons who* (in the future) *should be born* (*qui nascituri essent,* at the same time with the secondary idea of an action repeated in the future) *should know it.* For *Fut. Perfect* only in connection with a Perf. in the same sense (§ 126, 5, *b*) Is. 4, 4, 6, 11.

2. For *present time* (very often), comp. § 126, 3, Rem. e. g. 1 K. 3, 7 לֹא אֵדַע *I know not,* Is. 1, 13 לֹא אוּכַל *I cannot bear,* Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35, 37, 15 מַה־תְּבַקֵּשׁ *what seekest thou?* Gen. 44, 7, Ex. 5, 15, 1 Sam. 1, 8, Ps. 1, 2, 3.—In almost all these examples the *Imperfect* presents at the same time an action lasting to the present; this idea of an action continuing or constantly recurring is still stronger when permanent facts are concerned which take place now and always shall take place, or generally recognized experiences, e. g. Gen. 43, 32 *the Egyptians may not eat with the Hebrews,* Job 4, 17 *is man just before God?* 2, 4, Prov. 15, 20 בֵּן חָכָם יְשַׂמַּח אָב *a wise son gladdens a father;* and very often so in Job and Proverbs. Comp. also the phrase לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה כֵן *it is not the custom to* (must not) *be done so* (v. No. 4, *d*), Gen. 29, 26, 34, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 12. More rarely also the *perfect* stands in the above cases. § 126, 3, *a*, *b*.

In the same formula we find at one time the Perfect and at another the *Imperfect*, but not necessarily without difference of meaning, e. g. Job 1, 7 מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou?* (because here the coming is conceived as being still in its latest stadium; on the other hand) Gen. 16, 8 אֵי־מִזֶּה בָּאת *whence art thou come?*

3. For a number of relations which in Latin are expressed by the *Subjunctive,* especially by the *Present Subjunctive.* In this way is expressed what is future or what is expected to occur, according to a subjective view such as the will of the individual or according to some other presupposition. It stands—

a) For the Subjunctive in cases like Job **10**, 18: אֶגְוַע *I should have given up the ghost,* etc.; vs. 19, אֶהְיֶה *I should have become.* Then frequently after particles signifying *that, that not* (*ut, ne*), as אֲשֶׁר, specially לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר and לְמַעַן (without אֲשֶׁר), also יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *that, in order that,* thus in consecutive and final clauses;[1] e. g. Gen. **11**, 7 אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ *that they may not understand,* Num. **17**, 5 לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקְרַב *that there come not near,* Deut. **4**, 1 לְמַעַן תִּחְיוּ *that ye may live,* Ps. **78**, 6, Ez. **12**, 12 יַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִרְאֶה *that he see not;* and after פֶּן *that not, lest* e. g. פֶּן יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ Gen. **3**, 22. Also after a simple ל, e. g. Lam. **1**, 19 *they sought for themselves food* וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם *that they might sustain their life.*

b) For the Optative. As a rule this is expressed by the *cohortative* (in the first person) or *Jussive* (2d and 3d person) § 128, 1, and to the latter word belong also all those examples in which the form of the *Jussive* is not distinguished from the usual form of the *Imperfect.* Sometimes the optative signification may be known then from the added particle נָא[2] (§ 128, 1, 2); e. g. Ps. **7**, 10 יִגְמֹר־נָא *O that might cease—!* Gen. **44**, 18 יְדַבֶּר־נָא עַבְדְּךָ *might thy servant speak!* i. e. *let me speak,* v. 33 וְיֵשֶׁב־נָא *may he now abide!* Yet, at times, the full form is employed, even when the shortened one might have been possible, e. g. תֵּרָאֶה *let appear* Gen. **1**, 9 (and so frequently with the Imperfects ל״ה, comp. **41**, 34), תָּשִׁית Prov. **22**, 17.

c) For the Imperative, as soon as it would have to be joined to a negation (which acc. to § 46, 1 is impossible), there-

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[1] When these particles have causal signification, the Perfect takes the place of the Imperfect; e. g. יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *because* with the *Perf.* in Judg. **2**, 20, אֲשֶׁר *because* in Gen. **34**. 27.

[2] The particle נָא (§ 105) gives to the optative the force of a modest request. On its use with the first person, see § 128, 1.

fore to express negative commands (prohibitions) then *either* לֹא is joined with the pure imperfect in the sense of a certain expectation (comp. Ger. *das wirst du nicht thun!* "*that wilt thou not do!*" as the strongest form of command) therefore especially with divine commands, e. g. לֹא תִגְנֹב *thou shalt* (prop. *wilt*) *not steal* Ex. 20, 15 (also verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10); or אַל with the *Jussive* in the sense of disuasion or of deprecatory wish, or (with the third person) opinion that something ought not to occur, as אַל־תִּירָא *fear not* Gen. 46, 3. As in this example, so also elsewhere, the *Jussive* after אַל coincides frequently with the usual form of the Imperfect (comp. above, letter *b*); however also here occurs sometimes the shortened form after אַל especially after verbs (ל״ה) e. g. אַל־תַּעֲשֵׂה 2 Sam. 13, 12; with the third person to express a negative wish Job 3, 9 אַל־יִרְאֶה; however also אַל־תֵּבֵיט Gen. 19, 17; אַל־רָנּוּם Ps. 121, 3 (comp. § 128, 2, *b*).—Finally belong here the cases in which the *Impf.* in the 1st person expresses an obligation or necessity of the action as Job 9, 29 אֶרְשָׁע *if I* (needs must) *be wicked;* 12, 4 אֶהְיֶה comp. 8, 15, 19, 16.

d) For the so-called Potential, where we use *may, can, might, could, ought,* etc.; e. g. Gen. 2, 16 אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל *thou mayest surely eat,* Gen. 3, 2, 3, Prov. 20, 9 מִי יֹאמַר *who can say?* Gen. 43, 7 הֲיָדֹעַ נֵדַע *could we really know?* Gen. 20, 9 אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵעָשׂוּ (deeds) *that may* (or *should*) *not be done;* comp. with this No. 2 above, at the end.

4. Even within the sphere of the *past* the Imperfect has scope; and it is so used chiefly in these cases:—

a) After the particles אָז *then,*[1] טֶרֶם *not yet,* בְּטֶרֶם (*in not yet*) *before;* e. g. Josh. 10, 12 אָז יְדַבֵּר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *then spake Joshua,* Ex. 15, 1, Num. 21, 17, 1 K. 3, 16, Gen. 2, 5 טֶרֶם יִהְיֶה *there was not yet,* 19, 4, 24, 45 (on the other hand, verse 15 *Perfect*) 1 Sam. 3, 7, everywhere in the sense of our *Pluperfect;* 37, 18 for our *Imperfect;* בְּטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא *before thou camest forth* (*priusquam exires*) Jer. 1, 5 (compare the use

[1] After אָז signifying *then* in respect to future time, the Imperfect has the force of our Future (Ex. 12, 48, Ps. 2, 5).

of the Perf. and Impf. in the same sentence after טֶרֶם in 1 Sam. 3, 7).

b) Often also of constantly repeated actions, of what is customary and habitual, like the Imperfect of the Latin and French. Repeated or customary action, as it involves the conception of something ever recurring or unfinished, is fitly expressed by the Imperfect; Job 1, 5 *thus did* (יַעֲשֶׂה) *Job continually,* 22, 6, 7, 29, 12, 13, Ex. 1, 12, Judg. 6, 4, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 1, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 18 *for so the king's daughters used to clothe themselves* (תִּלְבַּשְׁנָה), 1 K. 5, 25, Ps. 42, 5, 78, 40, Job 23, 11. No less belong here cases where the *Impf.* represents the longer duration of an action in the past, etc., e. g. Gen. 2, 6: *there went up* (continually) *a mist* (יַעֲלֶה); Judges 2, 1 (אֶעֱלֶה); Is. 6, 4 (יִמָּלֵא); Ps. 32, 4 (תִּכְבַּד), 18, 31 (אֲרַדֹּף); Job 15, 8 (תִּשְׁמַע).

c) Of momentary actions, where the Perfect might be expected. This takes place, especially in poetry, on the same principle as we employ the Present tense in lively representations of the past (v. above letter *b*), e. g. Is. 51, 2, Job 3, 3, 11, 4, 12, 15, 16, 10, 10, 11, 15, 7, Ps. 18, 7; in prose probably 1 K. 3, 4 (יַעֲלֶה).

5. For the Lat. Imperfect (or Present) Subjunctive, especially in conditional sentences (the *modus conditionalis*), in both the protasis (antecedent clause) and the apodosis (consequent clause), or only in the latter, Ps. 23, 4 . . . . גַּם כִּי־אֵלֵךְ לֹא אִירָא *even if I should go . . . . I should not fear,* Job 5, 8 *I would apply unto God* (were I in thy place), 9, 20 אִם אֶצְדַּק *if I were just,* 3, 13, 16, 14, 14, 15, 23, 13, Ruth 1, 13 (after perfects in the antecedents, v. 12). However the imperfects of the examples will have to be taken in part as jussive forms. Comp. § 128, 2, c.

§ 128.

USE OF THE COHORTATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

1. The Imperfect as lengthened by the ending ה— (the *Cohortative*, § 48, 3) is used almost exclusively in the first person; and is expressive of *resolve* or *endeavour*. Hence this form is employed,—

a) to express excitement of one's self, or a determination, spoken with some degree of emphasis; Ps. 31, 8 אָגִילָה וְאֶשְׂמְחָה *let me be glad and rejoice!* 2, 3. נִנָּתְקָה (*come!*) *let us break asunder,* Gen. 11, 3. With less emphasis, in soliloquy and simple expressions of will; Ex. 3, 3 אָסֻרָה־נָּא וְאֶרְאֶה *I will turn aside now and see,* Gen. 18, 21, 32, 21;

b) to express a wish, a request (for permission); Deut. 2, 27 אֶעְבְּרָה *let me pass through,* Num. 20, 17 נַעְבְּרָה־נָּא *let us, pray, pass through;*

c) when a purpose is expressed, the tense being then commonly joined by וְ to a preceding Imperative; Gen. 27, 4 *bring it hither* וְאֹכְלָה *and I will eat*=that I may eat, 29, 21, 42, 34, Deut. 32, 1, Job 10, 20, Ps. 2, 8, 39, 14;

d) less frequently it stands in conditional sentences with *if, though,* expressed or implied, Job 6, 10, 16, 6 *though I speak . . . . and* (though) *I forbear;* 11, 17, 19, 18, 30, 26, Ps. 139, 8; so perhaps also אֶרְדְּפָה 2 Sam. 22, 38: *when I pursued,* but comp. Ps. 18, 38;

e) moreover, it stands, frequently after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2).

2. The shortened Imperfect (the *Jussive,* § 48, 4) stands principally,—

a) in the expression of command, wish and request, as תֹּוצֵא *proferat* Gen. 1, 24 (on the contrary, as Indicative תּוֹצִיא *profert* Is. 61, 11), יָקֻם *stabiliat* Jer. 28, 6, Num. 6, 25, 26, Gen. 33, 9 יְהִי לָךְ *be it to thee,* לוּ יְהִי *utinam fiat* Gen. 30, 34; also joined to a preceding Imper. by וְ (comp. No. 1, *c*), as in Ps. 27, 14 חֲזַק וְיַאֲמֵץ לִבֶּךָ *take courage and let thy heart be strong,* Ex. 8, 4 *intreat the Lord* וְיָסַר *and may he take away*=that he may take away, 10, 17, Judg. 6, 30, 1 Sam. 7, 3, 1 K. 21, 10, Prov. 20, 22, Est. 7, 2 וְתֵעָשׂ *and it shall be done;*

b) with a negative in prohibition, etc. Generally after אַל, acc. to § 127, 3, *c*, e. g. אַל־תָּשֶׁת Ex. 23, 1; in the tone of entreaty: אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת *destroy not* Deut. 9, 26, אַל־תָּשֵׁב אֶת־פָּנַי *turn not away my face* 1 K. 2, 20, Ps. 27, 9, 69, 18, or of warning, as אַל־יַאֲמֵן *let him not trust* Job 15, 31, אַל־תְּהִי

be thou not Prov. 3, 7; sometimes in the sense of a negative assurance, the contents being put as something that must not happen e. g. Is. 2, 9, Ps. 41, 3, 50, 3, 121, 3, Prov. 3, 3, 25, Job 5, 22, 20, 17. Rarely the *Jussive* stands also after לֹא (Gen. 24, 8, 1 K. 2, 6), the strict command as originally intended having been softened subsequently by the *Jussive* (for לֹא with the *Indic. Impf.*, comp. § 127, 3, *c*); *c*) frequently in conditional sentences (like the Arabic usage) in both the protasis and the apodosis (comp. § 127, 5); thus in Ps. 45, 12 (יִתְאָו *desires he . . . then*), 104, 20 (תָּשֶׁת and וַיְהִי *settest thou darkness . . . then it becomes night*), Hos. 6, 1 (רָפָה), Is. 41, 28 (וְאֵרֶא), Gen. 4, 12 (לֹא־תֹסֵף), Ex. 7, 9 (וְיִהִי), Lev. 15, 24 (תִּהִי . . . אִם), Job 10, 16, 13, 5, 22, 28.

Undoubtedly the use of the *Jussive* in conditional sentences is based on its original signification of volition: something may be so and so, then this and that must occur as consequence. Examples however as Job 9, 33: *there is no arbiter between us who may lay* (יָשֶׁת being plainly a subject=*qui ponat*) show that in such cases the voluntative has been weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and thus the *Jussive* serves to express such facts as may *eventually* occur. To this must be added frequent cases where the *Jussive* stands without any secondary meaning instead of the usual *Imperfect* and this occurs not only in the place where a mistaking of the form may spring from the defective writing (Ps. 25, 9, 47, 4, Job 13, 27, 20, 23*b*, 27, 22) but also in shortened forms as וְיִהִי Job 18, 12, 20, 23, 28 (יִגַּל). This use of the *Jussive* can hardly come from a poetical license, but rather from rhythmical reasons. All the above cited examples show the *Jussive* at the head of the sentence (i. e. the farthest removed from the principal tone), others immediately before the principal pause (Job 24, 14, 29, 3, 40, 19), even *in* the pause (Job 23, 9, 11) as a pure shortening of sound in consequence of the intense attraction of the tone.—Moreover as the *Jussive* in numerous cases does not differ from the usual from of the *Imperfect* (§ 48, 4. § 127, 3, *b. c*) it is frequently doubtful which of the two the author has intended.

§ 129.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2), stands only in close connection with something preceding. Most commonly a narrative begins with a *Perfect,* and then goes

on in the *Imperfect* with *Wāw consecutive;* e. g. Gen. **4**, 1 *and Adam knew* (יָדַע) *Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare* (וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד) *Cain,* **6**, 9, 10, etc., **10**, 9, 10, 15, 19, **11**, 12—15, 27, 28, **14**, 5, etc., **15**, 1, 2, **16**, 1, 2, **21**, 1, etc., **24**, 1, 2, **25**, 19, 20, etc., **36**, 2—4, **37**, 2.[1]

If there be, however, any connection however loose with an earlier event, the *Impf.* with *Wāw cons.* may even begin a narrative or a section of one; in which case we find a most frequent use of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) *and it happened* Gen. **11**, 1, **14**, 1, **17**, 1, **22**, 1, **26**, 1, **27**, 1.[2]

Representing a temporal or logical sequence the *Impf. consec.* may be placed after quite various antecedent clauses. Thus it stands—*a*) after a causal clause, e. g. 1 Sam. **15**, 23 *because thou hast rejected the Lord's word* וַיִּמְאָסְךָ *so he too rejected thee,—b*) after an absolute noun, e. g. 1 K. **12**, 17 *as to the children of Israel,* בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹשְׁבֵי עָרֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיהֶם רְחַבְעָם *so Rehoboam reigned over them,* **9**, 21, Jer. **6**, 19, Dan. **8**, 22.[3]

The *Imperfect* with לְ stands purely as a consecutive also after interrogative sentences like the following: Ps. **144**, 3 *what is man* מָה־אָדָם וַתֵּדָעֵהוּ *that thou takest knowledge of him!* (comp. Ps. **8**, 5, where כִּי is used), Job **7**, 17, Is. **51**, 12 *who art thou* וּמִבֶּן־אָדָם חָצִיר יִנָּתֵן וַתִּירְאִי *that thou shouldest be afraid?*

2. As to the relations of time indicated by this *Imperfect of consecution,* we may remark that, in accordance always with the preceding tense, it may refer—

a) to the present time, as being a sequent, and continued representation of actions and conditions reaching down from the past (lasting in their effects), often with the secondary idea of an intended sequence. Thus after a

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[1] The preceding *Perf.* is, at times, only implied in the sense, particularly in specifications of time, e. g. Gen. **11**, 10 *Shem* (was) 100 *years old* וַיּוֹלֶד *and he begat,* **10**, 1. So also in Gen. **22**, 4 *on the third day* בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִשִׁי וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת־עֵינָיו *then* (prop. *and*) *he lifted up his eyes,* which in full would be, *it happened on the third day that*—, 1 Sam. **4**, 20, Is. **6**, 1, **37**, 19.

[2] This connection is customary when a specification of time is to be made, e. g. Gen. **22**, 1 וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְהָאֱלֹהִים נִסָּה אֶת־אַבְרָהָם *and it happened after these things, that God tried Abraham,* וַיְהִי כִּי אָרְכוּ לוֹ שָׁם הַיָּמִים וַיִּשְׁקֹף, **39**, 13, 15, 18, 19; Judg. **15**, 16, 25. See the numerous passages in *Gesenius,* Thes. Ling. Hebr. p. 372. Comp. וְהָיָה used of futurity (§ 126, Rem. 2).

[3] On the sentences which begin with the *Infinitive* or *Participle,* and then proceed with this *Imperfect of consecution,* see § 132, Rem. 2, and § 134, Rem. 2.

Perfect, Gen. 19, 9 (*to judge continually*), Is. 27, 8, Ps. 7, 16, 16, 9, 29, 10, 33, 9, Job 7, 9, 14, 2; or an *Imperfect* (as a *Present*), Ps. 3, 5, 42, 6, Job 4, 5, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 29; or a *Participle* 2 Sam. 19, 2, Amos 9, 6, Nah. 1, 4, Job 12, 4; or after other equivalents of the present, as in Ps. 144, 3, Job 10, 22, Is. 51, 12; v. above No. 1, Rem.;

b) less frequently to futurity, when preceded by a *Perfect consecutive* or prophetic (in the sense of a *Future*), Is. 5, 15, 16, 9, 10, 13, 22, 7, 8, Joel 2, 23, Mic. 2, 13, Ps. 120, 1; *unto Jehovah I call* (קָרָאתִי) *and he hears me* (וַיַּעֲנֵנִי), comp. Job 9, 16 *if I had called* (אִם־קָרָאתִי) *and he had answered me* (וַיַּעֲנֵנִי); also joined to a clause without a verb, e. g. Gen. 49, 15, or to an absolute noun, e. g. Is. 9, 11, or to introduce such future events as will result necessarily from facts just described, Is. 2, 9.

In the apodosis after לוּלֵא *utinam* stand וַיְהִי Is. 48, 18, 19 ff. *so that were* (=*so will be*); in a conditional clause וָאֹמַר Ps. 139, 11 *and* (if) *I should say* (prop. *did I speak in consequence*); Ex. 4, 23 *now if I speak to thee* (וָאֹמֵר) . . . . . *and thou refusest* (וַתְּמָאֵן) *behold I shall,* etc. comp. § 127, 5.

§ 130.

THE IMPERATIVE.

1. The Imperative expresses not only command in the strict sense, but also exhortation (Hos. 10, 12), entreaty (then with נָא 2 K. 5, 22, Is. 5, 3), wish (with לוּ as a more urgent form, instead of the Perf. or Impf. Gen. 23, 13), permission (2 Sam. 18, 23, Is. 45, 11). It is employed especially in *assurances, strong promises* (comp. *thou shalt have it,* which sounds like a command) Ps. 128, 5 *thou shalt see* (וְרְאֵה) *the prosperity of Jerusalem,* Gen. 45, 18, Is. 37, 30, 65, 18.[1]

Rem. Very frequently, the Imperative is enlivened in expression by the addition of the particle נָא *now! pray!* (§ 105); this serves as well to soften a command, and to put it rather in the form of an entreaty

[1] Analogous to these assurances in the form of the imperative is the form of menace in the comic writers, *vapula* Phorm. V. 6, 10, *vapulare te jubeo* Plaut. Curculio, IV. 4, 12.

(v. above) Gen. **12**, 13, **24**, 2 as to strengthen an exhortation uttered in the form of rebuke or menace e. g. Num. **16**, 26, **20**, 10. In the sense of ironical permission we have עִמְדִי־נָא *only persist!* Is. **47**, 12, comp. Job **40**, 10.

2. The above mentioned use of the Imperative for the expression of firm assurances occurs especially also in those clauses where an Imperative with וְ is joined to another, not in a mere coordination (as Is. 56, 1) but rather so that the first one imposes a condition, and the second announces a result of the fulfilled condition (like the Lat. *divide et impera*), e. g. *a*) with assurances Gen. **42**, 18 זֹאת עֲשׂוּ וְחְיוּ *this do, and* (ye shall) *live,* Prov. **20**, 13 *keep thine eyes open* (be wakeful, active), *have* (i. e. *then shalt thou have*) *plenty of bread*, Ps. **37**, 3, 27, Prov. **4**, 4, **7**, 2, **9**, 6, 2 K. **5**, 13, Job **22**, 21, Is. **36**, 16, **45**, 22, Amos **5**, 4, 6; likewise after an Imperfect (Jussive or Optative) Gen. **20**, 7, Job **11**, 6, Ruth **1**, 9; even after an Imperfect in a deliberative question 2 Sam. **21**, 3;— *b*) where, a threat is expressed, the first Imp. ironically permitting an act, while the second denounces the consequences, Is. **8**, 9 רֹעוּ עַמִּים וְחֹתּוּ *rage, ye people, and be ye* (i. e. *ye shall surely be*) *dismayed,* Is. **29**, 9. Instead of the second Imp. the Impf. stands when the 3d person is introduced Is. **8**, 10. *Take counsel and it shall come to nought.*

Rem. 1. How far the *Perf.* and *Impf.* may be employed to express command or prohibition has been shown in § 126, 6, *c*, § 127, 3, *c*.

2. It is incorrect to suppose that the Imperative is used, as some grammarians maintain, for the *third* person (*let him kill*). Among the examples adduced of this usage is Gen. **17**, 10 הִמּוֹל לָכֶם כָּל־זָכָר *every male among you shall he circumcised* (in verse 12, יִמּוֹל is used; but הִמּוֹל here is rather the Infinitive absolute comp. § 131, 4, *b*); In Ps. **22**, 9 (גֹּל), Gen. **31**, 50, Judg. **9**, 28, Is. **45**, 21 we have actual Imperatives of the 2nd person.

§ 131.

USE OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE.

The Infinitive absolute (comp. § 45) is employed, when there is occasion to express the action of the verb by itself, neither connected with something following e. g. with the

genitive nor dependent on a preceding noun or particle.[1] Thus the infinitive absolute stands—

1. When it is governed by a *transitive verb,* and stands in fact as an accusative; Is. 42, 24 לֹא אָבוּ הָלוֹךְ *they would not go,* 1, 17, 7, 15 לְדַעְתּוֹ מָאוֹס בָּרָע וּבָחוֹר בַּטּוֹב *until he learn to refuse the evil and to choose the good;* it is placed emphatically before in Is. 57, 20, Jer. 9, 4. Here, however, the *Inf. constr.* is oftener used, with or without a preposition, always according to the construction of the preceding verb, § 142, 1, 2.

In the same construction is Is. 22, 13 *behold! joy and gladness,* הָרוֹג בָּקָר וְשָׁחוֹט צֹאן וגו׳ *the slaying* (prop. *to slay*) *oxen, the slaughtering sheep, the eating flesh, the drinking wine* (where the Infinitives are mere accusatives governed by *behold!*), Is. 5, 5 *I will tell you what I do to my vineyard* (namely) פָּרוֹץ גְּדֵרוֹ . . . הָסֵר מְשׂוּכָּתוֹ *take away its hedge, tear down its wall.*

2. When it is in the accusative and used *adverbially*[2] (in Latin as *gerund* in *do*); e. g. הֵיטֵב *well* (*bene faciendo* for *bene*), הַרְבֵּה *much* (*multum faciendo* for *multum*). Job 15, 3 (in Num. 15, 35 such an adverbial *Infin. absol.*—רָגֹם, referred by Rœdiger to 4, *a,*—takes afterwards its subject; v. No. 4, Rem. 1). Hence—

3. When it stands in immediate connection with the corresponding *finite verb:*—

a) It then stands most commonly *before* the finite verb, to which it gives *strength* or *intensity* in various shades, e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 נִשְׁאֹל נִשְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי *he urgently besought of me,* Gen. 43, 3 *he strictly charged us* (הָעֵד הֵעִיד). A very clear example is in Amos 9, 8 *I will destroy it from the face of*

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[1] After Prepositions the *Inf. constr.* is always used, because as original substantives they govern the genitive. But when several successive infinitives are to have a preposition, it is often written only before the first; and the second, before which it is to be supplied by the mind, stands in the absolute form, as לֶאֱכֹל וְשָׁתוֹ *to eat and* (to) *drink* Ex. 32, 6; comp. 1 Sam. 22, 13, Jer. 7, 18, 44, 17. This case is analogous with that explained in § 121, 3. Comp. also No. 4, *a,* of this section.

[2] On the accusative as a *casus adverbialis,* see § 118. In Arabic it takes, in this case, the distinctive accusative-ending. In general, the *Inf. absol.* answers in most cases (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, of this section) to the accusative of the Infinitive, to which No. 4 also is to be referred.

the earth, except that I will not utterly destroy (לֹא הַשְׁמִיד אַשְׁמִיד) *the house of Jacob;* Judg. 1, 28: הוֹרִישׁ לֹא־הוֹרִישׁוֹ *he did not utterly drive them out.* Its effect is often merely to give a certain prominence to the thought contained in the finite verb, which effect other languages produce chiefly by the tone of the voice or by particles, as in assurances, questions (such especially as express excitement in view of something strange and improbable), and contrasts, as in Gen. 43, 7 *could we* (then) *know?* 37, 8 הֲמָלוֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *wilt thou* (perhaps) *rule over us?* verse 10, 31, 30 *hadst thou even gone*[1] (הָלוֹךְ הָלַכְתָּ), *since thou didst so earnestly long* (נִכְסֹף נִכְסַפְתָּ) Judg. 15, 13 *we will bind thee, but we will not kill thee,* 1 Sam. 9, 6, *that cometh surely to pass* 2 Sam. 24, 24, Hab. 2, 3.

b) When the Inf. stands *after* the finite verb, this connection indicates either intensity as in letter *a* (v. Rem. 1; especially with Imperatives, for in this case the *Inf. absol.* always follows, Job 13, 17, 21, 2, 37, 2 = *listen attentively*) but especially *continued* or *lasting* action, as Is. 6, 9 שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ *hear ye on continually,* Jer. 23, 17, Gen. 19, 9 וַיִּשְׁפֹּט שָׁפוֹט *and he will always be acting the judge!* Two Infinitives absolute may be thus used, 1 Sam. 6, 12 הָלְכוּ הָלוֹךְ וְגָעוֹ *they went going on and lowing,* i. e. *they kept going on and lowing,* 1 K. 20, 37. Instead of the second Inf., a finite verb is sometimes used (Josh. 6, 13, 1 Sam. 13, 19), or a participle (2 Sam. 16, 5).

Rem. 1. This usage in regard to the position of the Inf. is certainly the *common* one, though not without exceptions. It sometimes follows the finite verb which it strengthens, when the idea of *repetition* or *continuance* is excluded by the connection, Is. 22, 17, Jer. 22, 10, Gen. 31, 15, (the *Inf. absol.* still more strengthened by גַּם, likewise in 46, 4). In Syriac, the Inf. when it expresses intensity stands regularly *before*, and in Arab. always *after*, the finite verb.—When a negative is used it is commonly placed between the *Infin.* and the *finite verb* (Ex. 5, 23), seldom before them both (Gen. 3, 4, Am. 9, 8, Ps. 49, 8).

2. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations may be connected not only the *Inf. absol.* of the same conjugation (Gen. 17, 13,

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[1] As much as to say, I understand well wherefore thou art *gone*, viz. from earnest longing. The Vulgate renders it, *esto, ad tuos ire cupiebas.*

40, 15), but also and oftener that of *Qăl* as the nearest and most general representation of the verbal idea (e. g. טָרֹף טָרַף Gen. **37**, 33, Job **6**, 2), or at times of another of like signification (Lev. **19**, 20, 2 K. **3**, 23). Lastly the *Inf. absol.* may no less be replaced by a substantive of the same stem e. g. Hab. **3**, 9, Job **27**, 12 (differing from the so-called *figura etymologica*, treated in § 138, 1, Rem. 1).

3. In expressing the idea of *continuance* (letter *b*), the verb הָלַךְ is frequently employed, with the signification *to go on, to continue on*, and thus denotes also *constant increase*. The principal idea is then added either in form of the second *Inf. absol.*, e. g. Gen. **8**, 3: וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הָלוֹךְ וָשׁוֹב . . . הַמַּיִם *and the waters flowed off more and more;* comp. v. 5, or in form of a *participle* or *verbal adjective*, e. g. 2 Sam. **3**, 1, **5**, 10; 1 Chron. **11**, 9; 1 Sam. **2**, 26: חַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל הֹלֵךְ וְגָדֵל וָטוֹב *the child Samuel went on growing bigger and better.* **14**, 19; 2 Sam. **18**, 25 (*he came always nearer*), Gen. **26**, 13 וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל *he became continually greater and greater.* However in the last four examples גָּדֵל etc. may be construed as *third pers. perf.* A similar mode of expression is found in the French, *le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, i. e. *grows on and gets worse continually.*

4. When it stands in place of the *finite verb*. We must here distinguish the two following cases, viz.—

a) When it is preceded by a finite verb. This is frequent, especially in the later writings, in the expression of several successive acts or states, where only the first of the verbs employed takes the required form in respect to *tense* and *person*, the others being simply put in the Infinitive absolute. So after several *Perfects*, e. g. Dan. **9**, 5 מָרַדְנוּ וְסוֹר *we have rebelled and* (we have) *turned away* (properly *and a turning away* took place; but even in this case the Infinitive may be construed as an accusative, depending on the general idea of *doing* contained in the finite verb). 1 Sam. **2**, 28, Is. **37**, 19, Jer. **14**, 15, Hag. **1**, 6 (four Infinitives), Zech. **3**, 4, **7**, 5; after *Perf. consec.* Zech. **12**, 10; after *Impf. consec.* Gen. **41**, 43 *he caused him to ride in the second chariot* וַיַּרְכֵּב אֹתוֹ בְּמִרְכֶּבֶת הַמִּשְׁנֶה *and placed him;* Ex. **8**, 11, Judges **7**, 19, 2 Chr. **7**, 3, after pure *Impfs.* Lev. **25**, 14, **32**, 44 (three infinitives) *they will buy fields for money.* On Num. **15**, 35, v. above No. 2.

b) It may stand at the beginning of the sentence, without a preceding finite verb. The Infinitive absolute (as the pure abstract idea of the verb) may serve as a short and

emphatic expression for any tense and person, which the connection requires; e. g. it stands—α) for the *Perf.* in lively narration and description, like the Latin *Infinitivus historicus;* Is. 21, 5 עָרוֹךְ הַשֻּׁלְחָן צָפֹה הַצָּפִית אָכוֹל שָׁתוֹה *to prepare the table, to set the watch, to eat, to drink* (sc. this they do), for *they prepare,* etc., 59, 4, Ez. 1, 14, Hos. 4, 2, Job 15, 35; also—β) for the *Impf.* especially in the sense of a Future, as in 2 K. 4, 43 אָכוֹל וְהוֹתֵר *to eat and te leave thereof* (sc. ye shall do) Job 42 in a question expressing rebuke; *he wants to contend . . . . the faultfinder?* v. Rem. 1);—γ) most frequently for the emphatic *Imper.* (as in Greek) e. g. Deut. 5, 12 שָׁמוֹר *to observe* (sc. thou art to, thou shalt); so Ex. 20, 9 זָכוֹר *to remember* (shalt thou do); compare the full form, שָׁמוֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן Deut. 6, 17, זָכֹר תִּזְכֹּר 7, 18;—δ) likewise (as exclamation) for the *Cohortative,* Is. 22, 13 אָכוֹל וְשָׁתוֹ *to eat and to drink!* sc. let us do (these *Infinites* however stand perhaps for the finite verb parallel with the preceding ones; v. No. 1, Rem.) 1 K. 22, 30 *to disguise myself and go* (will I do).

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* instead of the *finite verb* is sometimes found in connection with the subject, as in Gen. 17, 10, Ps. 17, 5, Prov. 17, 12, Eccl. 4, 2, Job 40, 2, comp. Num. 15, 35.

2. In a few examples the *Inf. constr.* is employed instead of the *Inf. absol.* to strengthen the verbal idea; thus Num. 23, 25 קֹב in attraction with גַּם; likewise שׁל Ruth 2, 16) הֱיוֹת־ 50, 21, חָבֹל Neh. 1, 7, everywhere in a rapid flow of speech (Ps. 50, 21, perhaps also out of repugnance to the hiatus הָיֹה אֶהְיֶה).

§ 132.

INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT.

1. The *Inf. constr.* as a verbal substantive is subject to the same relations of case as the noun (§ 117), which are also indicated in the same way. This, it is found,—*a*) in the nominative as the subject of the sentence, Gen. 2, 18 לֹא טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ *not good* (lit. *the being of man in his separation*) *that man should be alone;*—*b*) in the genitive, Gen. 29, 7 עֵת הֵאָסֵף *tempus colligendi.* Here also belong the cases where the *Infinitive* is dependent on a preposition (as being origin-

ally a noun), see No. 2;—*c*) in the accusative, 1 K. 3, 7 לֹא אֵדַע צֵאת וָבוֹא *I know not* (how) *to go out and to come in;* prop. *I know not the going out and coming in.* (In this case the *Inf. absol.* may also be used, § 131, 1.)

2. In translating the Heb. *Inf.* with prepositions (comp. the Greek ἐν τῷ εἶναι), in German and English we generally employ a finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Num. 35, 19 בְּפָגְעֹו־בוֹ *when he meets him* (prop. *in his meeting with him*), Jer. 2, 35 עַל אָמְרֵךְ *because thou sayest* (prop. *on account of thy saying*), Gen. 27, 1 *his eyes were dim* מֵרְאוֹת *so that he did not see* (comp. the use of מִן before a noun to express *distance from,* and the *absence* or *want* of a thing).

3. As to relations of time, the Infinitive construct may refer also to the past (comp. on the analogous use of the Participle, § 134, 2), e. g. Gen. 2, 4 בְּהִבָּרְאָם *when they were created* (prop. *in their being created*).

Rem. 1. הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת (also לַעֲשׂוֹת with the omission of הָיָה) signifies,—1) *he is about to do, intends* or *purposes to do,* and *he is intent upon, is eager to do* (comp. Eng. *he was to do something*), as in Gen. 15, 12 וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא *and the sun was about to go down.* Hence, it serves (with a secondary idea of a lasting action) for a periphrasis of the *Impf.* 2 Ch. 26, 5 וַיְהִי לִדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים *and he was seeking God;* without הָיָה in Is. 38, 20 יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי *the Eternal saveth me* 21, 1, Eccles. 3, 15, אֲשֶׁר לִהְיוֹת *what is future,* Prov. 19, 8, comp. 16, 20.—2) *It is to do* for *it must be done* (comp. Eng. *I am to give*), Josh. 2, 5 וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לְסָגוֹר *and the gate was to shut* for *was to be shut* Is. 27, 36. More commonly without הָיָה 2 K. 4, 13 מֶה לֵעָשׂוֹת *what (is) to be done for thee?* 13, 19 לְהַכּוֹת (it was) *to smite* i. e. *thou shouldst have smitten,* Is. 5, 4; Ps. 32, 9, Job 30, 6, Hos. 9, 13, Amos 6, 10, 2 Ch. 19, 2. Also—3) *He is able to do* (comp. the Latin *non est solvendo*), Judg. 1, 19 לֹא לְהוֹרִישׁ *he could not drive out.*[1]

2. Very frequently, almost regularly, these constructions (described in No. 2) of an *Infinitive* with a preposition, are in a further continuation of speech replaced by the finite verb (i. e. an independent clause). The mind must then supply a conjunction answering to the preposition before the Infinitive. Thus, a Perf. follows in Amos 1, 11 עַל רָדְפוֹ וְשִׁחֵת רַחֲמָיו *because he pursued him and stifled his compassion;* verse 9; Gen. 27, 45; an Impf. with *Wāw consec.* Gen. 39, 18 וַיְהִי כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי וָאֶקְרָא

[1] This sense is necessary from the context and the parallel passage Josh. 17, 12 לֹא יָכְלוּ לְהוֹרִישׁ. Comp. Amos 6, 10 and the formula אֵין לִי *non licet mihi* and the Syr. ܠܝ ܠܡ *non est mihi, non possum.*

and it was when I raised my voice and cried, Is. 30, 12, 38, 9; most commonly an Impf. with only וְ prefixed, as in Is. 5, 24, 10, 2, 13, 9, 14, 25, 30, 26. (Comp. the similar succession of the Participle and finite Verb, § 134, Rem. 2.)

§ 133.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE INFINITIVE CONSTR. WITH SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

1. The Infinitive may be construed with the case of its verb, and hence, in transitive verbs, it takes the *accusative of the object;* e. g. Num. 9, 15 הָקִים אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן *to set up the Tabernacle,* 1 Sam. 19, 1 לְהָמִית אֶת־דָּוִד *for to kill David,* Gen. 18, 25 לְהָמִית צַדִּיק *for to kill the righteous,* 1 K. 12, 15, 15, 4, 2 K. 21, 8, Ez. 44, 30, Lev. 26, 15 לְבִלְתִּי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי *not to do all my commands,* Gen. 19, 29 בַּהֲפֹךְ אֶת־הֶעָרִים *when he overthrew the cities,* 48, 11 רְאֹה פָנֶיךָ *to behold thy face,* Prov. 21, 15 עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט *to do judgment.*[1] In like manner it takes the accusative of the pronouns, e. g. לְמַעַן הָקִים אֹתְךָ *in order to establish thee* Deut. 29, 12, הֲשִׁיבֵנִי *to bring me back* Jer. 38, 26, לְהָרְגֵנִי *to slay me* Ex. 2, 14, לְבַקְּשֵׁנִי *to seek me* 1 Sam. 27, 1, 28, 9, 1 Ch. 12, 17, Gen. 25, 26 בְּלֶדֶת אֹתָם *when (the mother) bare them,* לָדַעַת אֹתִי *for to know me* Jer. 24, 7.—If the finite verb governs two accusatives, then they will be employed also with the Infinitive, as אַחֲרֵי הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אוֹתְךָ אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת *after God has shown thee all this* Gen. 41, 39.

This governing power of the word belongs also to such secondary forms of the infinitive (the so-called *nomina verbalia*) as otherwise passed completely as substantives, as דֵּעָה אֶת־יְהוָה *knowledge of the Lord* (prop. *the knowing the Lord*) Is. 11, 9, לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי *for to fear me* Deut. 5, 26, Is. 30, 28, 56, 6.[2]

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[1] In cases like the last, מִשְׁפָּט might be easily regarded as genitive of the object (§ 114, 2), which construction is common in Arabic; but since in other instances אֵת (sign of the definite accusative) is used, and since a form like הָקִים never occurs in such connection, which form would decidedly mark the *constr. state* and also the genitive relation (so also לָדֶרֶךְ עַמִּים Is. 3, 13, Ps. 50, 4, not לְדֶרֶךְ ע׳), we must suppose that the Hebrew considered, at least as a general rule, *the object of the Inf. to be in the accusative.* Compare Nos. 2 and 3.

[2] For examples of an accusative of the object with the Inf. passive, see § 143, 1, *a.*

2. The *subject* of the action is commonly put immediately after the Infinitive, sometimes (where the Inf., according to form and signification, is regarded rather as a substantive) in the *genitive,* but mostly in the *nominative;* e. g. 2 Ch. 7, 3 יֶרֶד הָאֵשׁ *the descending of the fire,* Ps. 133, 1 שֶׁבֶת אַחִים גַּם יָחַד *the dwelling of brethren together,* Ex. 17, 1 *there was no water* לִשְׁתּוֹת הָעָם *for the people to drink* (prop. *for the drinking of the people*). The *genitive* relation of the subject is quite plain after Infinitives of feminine-ending, as in Gen. 19, 16 בְּחֶמְלַת יְהוָה עָלָיו *by the Lord's pity on him,* Is. 47, 9 בְּעֻצְמַת חֲבָרַיִךְ מְאֹד *although thy enchantments are very numerous;* and also when it is expressed by a suffix, as in בְּקָרְאִי *when I call* Ps. 4, 2, 4. On the contrary, the *genitive* is excluded, and the subject is to be considered rather in the *nominative,* in such cases as Ps. 46, 3 בְּהָמִיר אֶרֶץ (not בְּהָמִיר) *when the earth moves,* Deut. 24, 19 בְּהָנִיחַ יְהוָה לְךָ *when the Lord gives to thee rest.* By the lack of case endings,[1] the difference between the genitive and nominative construction, could not in very many cases, indeed, be made sensible (e. g. with infinitives like קָטֹל, קוּם etc.); even in cases like הָמִיר etc. the pretonic lengthening which belongs to the character of the form, may have maintained itself in spite of the following genitive (although with suffixes always הֲמִיתֵנִי etc.); but when a prefixed לְ with pretonic *Qā'mĕṣ* stands before the infinitive, a nominative of the subject must in all cases be understood, e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לָשׂוּם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־לִבּוֹ *that the king should lay it to heart,* also when the Inf. and the subject are separated, as in Judg. 9, 2 הַמְשֹׁל בָּכֶם שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ אִם־מְשֹׁל בָּכֶם אִישׁ אֶחָד *whether seventy men rule over you, or one man rules over you?* Job 34, 22 לְהֶחָשֶׁךְ שָׁם פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן *that the evil-doers hide themselves there,* Ps. 76, 10. See further in No. 3.

3. When both *subject and object* are connected with the Infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should come imme-

[1] In Arabic, where the case endings leave no doubt in regard to the construction, one may say: *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) *'Amran* (acc.), literally *the killing of Z. the 'A.* (i. e. *Z. killing the A.*), and also: *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), and even: *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) *'Amran.*

diately after the Inf., and then the object. When the latter is necessarily in the accusative, the subject is then put, as in No. 2, sometimes in the genitive, but chiefly in the nominative. The genitive (which predominates in Arabic) appears, e. g. in Deut. 1, 27 בְּשִׂנְאַת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ *in the Lord's hating us,* Deut. 7, 8 מֵאַהֲבַת יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם *because the Lord loves you,* 1 K. 10, 9, Is. 13, 19 כְּמַהְפֵּכַת אֱלֹהִים אֶת־סְדֹם *as God overthrew Sodom,* Is. 29, 13 יִרְאָתָם אֹתִי *their fearing me,* Gen. 39, 18 כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי *as I lifted up my voice.* But the nominative seems to stand (v. No. 2 above) in cases like Is. 10, 15 כְּהָנִיף שֵׁבֶט אֶת־מְרִימָיו *as if the rod could shake them that lift it up* (where we should have כַּהֲנִיף שֵׁבֶט, if שֵׁבֶט were in the genitive), and so probably also in cases like 1 K. 13, 4 כְּשָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־דְּבַר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים *as the king heard the word of the man of God,* Is. 32, 7 בְּדַבֵּר לְהָסִיר אֶבְיוֹן מִשְׁפָּט *when the needy speaks justice,* Job 33, 17 אָדָם מַעֲשֵׂהוּ *that man should avoid the deed,* Gen. 13, 10, Josh. 14, 7. In Jer. 21, 1, etc. the subject stands separate from the *Infin.* and is then necessarily a nominative, v. No. 2 at the end.

Now and then the order of the words is different, the object being put immediately after the Inf., and the nominative of the subject coming next (as an after-thought), e. g. Is. 20, 1 בְּשָׁלְחַ אֹתוֹ סַרְגּוֹן *when Sargon sent him,* Ezr. 9, 8 לְהָאִיר עֵינֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ *that our God enlighten our eyes,* Josh. 14, 11, Is. 5, 24, Ps. 56, 1.

§ 134.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. The Participle has distinct forms for the *active* and the *passive,* yet not for the different *tenses,* but the Participle of all conjugations can apply to every tense, just as the context may require, as מֵת *dying* (Zech. 11, 9), *he who has died* (*mortuus*), *dead* (very often so used always when a substantive), *he who shall die, moriturus* (Gen. 20, 3); נֹפֵל *he who falls, has fallen,* 1 Sam. 5, 3, *will fall* Is. 30, 13; עֹשֶׂה *facturus* (Gen. 41, 25, Is. 5, 5), יוֹלֵד *natus* and *nasciturus* (Ps. 22, 32 comp. נִבְרָא *creandus* 102, 19); yet it most frequently stands for our *Present.* Only the passive (קָטוּל) answers nearly always to a Lat. or Greek *Part. perf. pass.,* as כָּתוּב *scriptus,* γεγραμμένος

(but see § 50, Rem. 2).—The *passive* Participles stand sometimes also for the Latin Participle in *-ndus*, e. g. נוֹרָא (*metuendus*) *terrible* Ps. **76**, 8, נֶחְמָד *desirable* Ps. **19**, 11, מְהֻלָּל (*laudandus*) *worthy to be praised* Ps. **18**, 4.

2. The Participle, when it stands in place of the finite verb as predicate of the sentence, denotes—

a) Most frequently our *present*,[1] especially in nominal sentences (v. § 144, *a*) which describe established facts and conditions, e. g. Ecc. **1**, 4 הוֹלֵךְ וְדוֹר בָּא *one generation goes, another comes and the earth stands* (עֹמֶדֶת) *for ever* vs. 7 כָּל־הַנְּחָלִים הֹלְכִים *all the rivers go;* or of actually occurring present events Gen. **4**, 10. If the subject is a *personal pronoun*, it is either written, in its separate form, in immediate connection with the Participle, as יָרֵא אָנֹכִי *I fear him* Gen. **32**, 12, אֲנַחְנוּ יְרֵאִים *we are afraid* 1 Sam. **23**, 3; or it is appended as a suffix to the word יֵשׁ (*is*), as Judg. **6**, 36 אִם יֶשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ *if thou savest.* In the same manner it is appended to אֵין in negative sentences; e. g. אִם אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלֵּחַ *if thou send not away* Gen. **43**, 5.

b) Our *future* (conceived of as present, comp. § 126, 4), Is. **5** 5 *I will tell you* אֵת אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה *what I* (at once) *do*, for *I will do*, Gen. **15**, 14, **19**, 13, **41**, 25, 1 K. **1**, 14.

c) Also the *past*, especially in clauses representing actions or situations which have taken place simultaneously with other past actions Job **1**, 16 עוֹד זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה בָּא *the one* (was) *still speaking, and another came*, vs. 17, Gen. **19**, 1, **42**, 35, Judg. **13**, 9, 1 Sam. **17**, 23, 1 K. **1**, 22. But it is also used in independent nominal sentences; e. g. Deut. **4**, 3 עֵינֵיכֶם הָרֹאוֹת *your eyes that have seen.*[2] Gen. **39**, 22 (עֹשִׂים), 23, Ex. **2**, 6, 1 K. **1**, 5.

With the verb הָיָה it serves to express our Imperfect,[3] Job **1**, 14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת *the oxen were ploughing* (again with the secondary idea of an action having *lasted* simultaneously in the past), Gen. **39**, 22, Ex. **3**, 1, Judg. **1**, 7, **16**, 21.

Rem. 1. In all the three cases alluded to above, *a*, *b*, *c*, הִנֵּה is employed before the Participle for awakening special attention; e. g. for our *present*, הִנָּךְ הָרָה *behold! thou* (art) *with child* (Gen. **16**, 11, **27**, 42), for our *future* (Gen. **6**, 17, **20**, 3, Ex. **31**, 11, Is. **3**, 1, **7**, 14, **17**, 1), for the *past* (Gen. **37**, 7, **41**, 17).

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[1] In Aramaic, it is more frequently used for the *Present* than in its proper signification as a Participle.

[2] For the use of the article here before the predicate, see § 110, 3, Rem.

[3] In Syriac the participle with הָוָא (=הָיָה) serves regularly to express the *Impf.*, as the participle with the personal pronoun (lit. *a*) expresses the present.

2. By a change of construction, the Participle often passes over immediately to a finite verb; when the pronouns *that, who,* etc. (אֲשֶׁר) implied in the Participle, must be mentally supplied before the verb. So *Part.* and *Perf.* in Is. **14**, 17 *that made* (שָׂם) *the world as a wilderness, and* (who) *destroyed* (הָרַס) *the cities thereof.* Also *Part.* and *Impf.* (*Present*), e. g. Is. **5**, 8 הוֹי מַגִּישֵׁי בַּיִת בְּשָׂדֶה בְּקָרִיבוּ *woe to those who connect house with house* (and who) *join field to field,* 1 Sam. **2**, 8, Prov. **19**, 26. Also with *Wāw consec.* e. g. Gen. **27**, 33 הַצָּד צַיִד וַיָּבֵא *that hunted game and hath brought it,* **35**, 3, Ps. **18**, 33. (The case is strictly analogous when the Inf. is replaced by the finite verb, § 132, Rem. 2).

3. The personal pronoun, which might be expected as the subject of a participial sentence, is often omitted (see above letter *a*) at least the pronoun of the 3d person (הֵמָּה, הוּא); comp. Gen. **39**, 22 (עֹשִׂים), Is. **26**, 3; **29**, 8; **40**, 19; Ps. **22**, 29; **55**, 20; Job **12**, 17, 19 ff.; **25**, 2; the pronoun of the 2d person (אַתָּה) seems to be omitted in Ps. **7**, 10 (with בֹּחֵן) and Hab. **2**, 10 (with חוֹשַׁבְתָּ); the pronoun of the 1st person (אֲנִי) Hab. **1**, 5 (with פֹּעֵל) and Zech. **9**, 12 (with מַגִּיד).

§ 135.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. When Participles are followed by the object of the action which they express, they are construed in two ways; either—*a*) as verbal-adjectives (in the absol. state) with the accusative or a preposition, just as the verbs to which they belong may require, e. g. 1 Sam. **18**, 29 אֹיֵב אֶת־דָּוִיד *David's enemy* (prop. *one hating David*), 1 K. **9**, 23 הָרֹדִים בָּעָם *they who rule the people,* Ps. **5**, 5 חֹפֵץ רֶשַׁע *loving wickedness,* Ez. **9**, 2 לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים *clothed with linen garments;* or—*b*) as nouns (in const. state) followed by a genitive (§ 112, 2); e. g. Gen. **22**, 12 יְרֵא אֱלֹהִים *one fearing* (=*a fearer of*) *God,* Ps. **84**, 5 יֹשְׁבֵי בֵיתֶךָ *inmates of thy house,* Ez. **9**, 11 לְבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים *the one clothed with linen garments,* 2 Sam. **13**, 31 קְרֵעֵי בְגָדִים (*lacerati vestibus*) *those who have rent garments;* and with poetic colouring, as in יֹרְדֵי בוֹר *those who have descended to the pit* Is. **38**, 18, שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *those who lie in the grave* Ps. **88**, 6, נְשׂוּי־פֶשַׁע (*levatus culpâ*) *he whose transgression is forgiven* Ps. **32**, 1; rarely also like מְשָׁרְתַי אֹתִי *who serve me* Jer. **33**, 22 (=מְשָׁרְתַי in preceding verse).

This latter construction with the genitive is properly confined to participles of transitive verbs (§ 138). The Participle of בּוֹא *to enter in*, is also construed thus, as this verb stands with the accusative (comp. *ingredi portam*); e. g. Gen. **23**, 10 בָּאֵי שַׁעַר *those who enter in at the gate.* But there are also examples of the Participle taking a genitive (a suff. pron.), even when the verb to which it belongs is construed only with a preposition; e. g. קָמָיו, קָמַי *those who rise up against him,—against me*, for קָמִים עָלַי, עָלָיו Ps. **18**, 40, 49, Deut. **33**, 11 שָׁבֵי פֶּשַׁע *those who turn from wickedness* Is. **59**, 20; Micah **2**, 8.

2. The distinction explained in No. 1, of verbal and nominal government, holds also in regard to the connection of participles with *suffixes*. After the first method (with accus.) we have עֹשֵׂנִי *he who made me,* even with the article הָעֹשׂוֹ *he who made him,* Job **14**, 19; after the second (with genit.) עֹשִׂי *my maker,* כָּל־מֹצְאִי *every one who finds me* Gen. **4**, 14.

§ 136.

EXPRESSION OF THE OPTATIVE.

Besides the expression of the Optative by the *Impf.* (especially in the form of Jussive or Cohortative, with the particle נָא, § 127, 3, *b*) it may also be periphrased in the following ways, viz.—

1. By questions expressive of wish, e. g. 2 Sam. **15**, 4 מִי יְשִׂמֵנִי שֹׁפֵט *who will make me judge?* i. e. *would that I were made judge!* Judg. **9**, 29 מִי יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי *would that this people were placed in my hand!* Ps. **55**, 7, Job **29**, 2. In the prase מִי יִתֵּן the proper force of the verb (*to give*) is often excluded, and nothing more is expressed than *would that!* Lat. *utinam!* In this signification of a particle expressing wish מִי יִתֵּן is construed—*a*) by an accusative, as Deut. **28**, 67 מִי־יִתֵּן עֶרֶב *would it were evening!* prop. *who will give evening?* Ps. **14**, 7, Job **11**, 5, **31**, 35; with suffix Is. **27**, 4 etc.—*b*) by an Infinitive, as Ex. **16**, 3 מִי־יִתֵּן מוּתֵנוּ *would that we had died!*—*c*) by a finite verb (with or without וְ), Deut. **5**, 26 מִי־יִתֵּן וְהָיָה לְבָבָם זֶה לָהֶם *would that they had this heart! Perf.* without וְ Job **23**, 3; *Impf.* with וְ Job **19**, 23; without וְ **6**, 8, **13**, 5, **14**, 13.—With a still greater weakening of its original mean-

ing מִי־יִתֵּן stands directly in the sense of a negation e. g. Job 14, 4 *who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

2. By the particles אִם, לוּ *if!* (*si, O si!*), *would!* (*utinam*), especially by the latter. The *Impf.* follows, Ps. 81, 9, 139, 19 (after אִם); Gen. 17, 18 (after לוּ); the *Part.* Ps. 81, 14 (after לוּ); the *Imp.* Gen. 23, 13 only by power of an *anacoluthon* (see § 130, 1). When לוּ is followed by the *Perf.*, it expresses a wish that something had happened (§ 126, 5, *b*), as in Num. 14, 2 לוּ־מַתְנוּ *would that we had died,* 20, 3 לוּ גָוַעְנוּ *would we had expired!* Comp. however Is. 48, 18, 63, 19.

§ 137.

PERSONS OF THE VERB.

1. In the *personal affixes* of the verb frequently an *enallage* (exchange) of gender takes place, the masc. (as the gender lying nearest and more general) being placed in reference to feminines, e. g. יְדַעְתֶּם Ez. 23, 49, עֲשִׂיתֶם Ruth 1, 8, תִּתְכְּרֹת *and thou* (fem.) *hast made* (a league) Is. 57, 8, Judg. 4, 20 (עֲמֹד for עִמְדִי); comp. Jer. 3, 5, Joel 2, 22, Am. 4, 1, Cant. 2, 7. (See the anomalous uses of the personal pronoun, § 121, Rem. 1.)

2. The third person is often employed impersonally, most commonly in the *masc.*, e. g. וַיְהִי *and it happened;* צַר לוֹ and וַיֵּצֶר לוֹ (lit. *it was strait to him*) *he was in trouble* 1 Sam. 13, 6, Gen. 32, 8; חַם לָהֶם *it is warm to them,* i. e. *they are warm,* Ec. 4, 11; but also in the *fem.*, e. g. 1 Sam. 30, 6 וַתֵּצֶר לְדָוִד *and David was in trouble,* Ps. 50, 3, Jer. 10, 7, 19, 5.

The Arabic and Ethiopic commonly use here the *masc.* and the Syriac the *fem.* form.

3. The indeterminate third person (where the Germans use *man,* the French *on,* and we say *they, one*) is expressed,—*a*) by the 3d pers. singular masc., e. g. קָרָא *they* (prop. *he*) *called* Gen. 11, 9, 16, 14;—*b*) often by the 3d pers. plural, as Gen. 41, 14 וַיָּרִיצֻהוּ *and they brought him in haste,* for *he was brought,* 1 K. 1, 2;—*c*) by the 2d pers. singular masc., e. g. Is. 7, 25 לֹא־תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה (prop. *thou shalt not go*) *there*

shall no one go thither, comp. עַד בֹּאֲךָ or בֹּאֶךָ *until one comes* (prop. *until thy coming*);—*d*) by the passive voice, as Gen. **4**, 26 אָז הוּחַל לִקְרֹא *then they began* (prop. *it was begun*) *to invoke.*[1]

Rem. 1. Instead of the simple 3d pers. sing. (letter *a*), הָאִישׁ (as we say *men* for *they*) occurs, 1 Sam. **9**, 9 לְפָנִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּה אָמַר הָאִישׁ *formerly they said thus in Israel.* Sometimes *one* (or rather *someone*) is also expressed by the participle of the same verb; e. g. Is. **16**, 10 לֹא־יִדְרֹךְ הַדֹּרֵךְ *the treader shall not tread,* for *one shall not tread,* **28**, 4, comp. v. 24, Ez. **33**, 4, Amos **9**, 1, Num. **6**, 9, Deut. **22**, 8. So also not uncommonly in Arabic.

2. When the pronoun is to be expressed with emphasis, (*I* spoke) it is written separately *before* the corresponding verbal form; e. g. אַתָּה נָתַתָּ *thou, thou hast given* Judg. **15**, 18, 1 K. **21**, 7, Ps. **2**, 6, **139**, 2; also *after* the verbal form, Judg. **15**, 12; but this occurs in the later writers without any special emphasis, as דִּבַּרְתִּי אֲנִי Eccl. **1**, 16 (beginning), **2**, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, **8**, 15. Comp. *Delitzsch,* Cant. and Eccl.

3. In the poets and prophets, there is often, in the same sentence, the *sudden transition from one person to another,* Is. **1**, 29 כִּי יֵבֹשׁוּ מֵאֵילִים אֲשֶׁר חֲמַדְתֶּם *for they shall be ashamed of the groves in which ye delight,* where both the third and second persons are employed with reference to the same subject, Mal. **2**, 15, Deut. **32**, 15, 17.—In Job **13**, 28 the *third* person is probably employed δειχτιχῶς for the *first;* compare also **6**, 21 (according to the reading לוֹ).

§ 138.

VERBS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

All *transitive* verbs in general govern the *accusative* (§ 118). On this rule we remark—

1. There are many verbs which are construed both *without* an object (i. e. absolutely), and *with* one (in this latter case the verb in German and English often takes the prefix *be*); e. g. בָּכָה *to weep* and *to be-weep;* יָשַׁב and שָׁכַן *to dwell,* and *to dwell in, inhabit;* יָצָא *to go forth,* and also *depart,* as in *to depart this life,* like the Lat. *egredi* in *egredi urbem* (Gen. **44**, 4).

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[1] Sometimes, on the contrary, the impersonal active must be understood as strictly the passive, Job **7**, 3 *nights of pain have they appointed me,* for *are appointed me* (sc. by God), **4**, 19, Prov. **2**, 22. So in Aramaic very frequently (Dan. **2**, 30, **3**, 4, **5**, 3), and in Syriac.

Here notice specially:—

Rem. 1. Several verbs of this kind often complete the objective idea by a substantive of the same stem, as פָּחַד פַּחַד Ps. **14**, 5, זָצַץ עֲצָה 1 K. **1**, 12, חָטָא חֲטָאָה Lam. **1**, 8, like βουλεύειν βουλάς Il. x. 147; most frequently with a farther qualification of the idea (as also in Greek), e. g. Gen. **27**, 34 וַיִּצְעַק צְעָקָה גְדֹלָה וּמָרָה *he cried a loud and bitter cry*, vs. 33, Ez. **32**, 31, 2 Sam. **13**, 15, 36, 2 K. **13**, 14, (acc. w. אֶת־ Jon. **4**, 6 וַיִּשְׂמַח שִׂמְחָה גְדֹלָה, Zech. **1**, 14, 1 Ch. **29**, 9. Comp. νοσεῖν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην (Matt. **2**, 10), *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere*, etc.

2. Verbs which signify *to flow, to stream*, etc. take in the poets an accusative of that with which something flows or overflows Lam. **3**, 48 פַּלְגֵי־מַיִם תֵּרַד עֵינִי *my eye flows down streams of water*, Joel **4**, 18 *the hills flow milk*. So נָזַל *to run, to flow* Jer. **9**, 17; נָטַף *to distil* Joel **4**, 18; and שָׁטַף *to gush forth, to flow abundantly* (hence, *to bear along in a torrent*) Is. **10**, 22. Similar, but more bold, is Prov. **24**, 31 וְהִנֵּה עָלָה כֻלּוֹ קִמְשׂוֹנִים *and behold it* (the field) *has all gone up in thorns*, Is. **5**, 6, **34**, 13. Compare in Greek, προρρέειν ὕδωρ; δάκρυα στάζειν. The above verbs belong to the *verba abundandi* of which more below, No. 3, *b*.

3. With verbs like *to speak, to cry, to do, to save* etc. the mode of action is often (especially in poetical speech) more closely defined by naming the instrument or member by means of which the act is performed (*accus. instrumenti*). This is best illustrated when this accus. has an adjective, as in זָעַק קוֹל גָּדוֹל *to cry a loud voice* (comp. Rem. 1), for *to cry with a loud voice* Ez. **11**, 13, 2 Sam. **15**, 23; or when it has a noun in the genitive (as periphrasis of the adjective; comp. § 106, 1), as in Ps. **12**, 3 *they speak* שְׂפַת חֲלָקוֹת *with smooth lip; with a lying tongue* לָשׁוֹן שָׁקֶר Ps. **109**, 2, Prov. **10**, 4 *working* כַּף רְמִיָּה *with slack hand* as it were *to work a slack hand* analogous to the German: *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice; *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates, i. e. to skate; more loose is the connection of the accusative with the verb in cases like Ps. **3**, 5 קוֹלִי אֶקְרָא *with my* (whole) *voice I cry*, (i. e. *aloud*) **27**, 7; **142**, 2; Is. **10**, 30; Ps. **66**, 17 פִּי קָרָאתִי *with my* (open) *mouth I cry:* so, *they speak with their mouth* Ps. **17**, 10, *help with thy sword* חַרְבֶּךָ, *with thy hand* יָדֶךָ, Ps. **17**, 13, 14, **44**, 3 *thou with thy hand* אַתָּה יָדְךָ *hast driven out the nations*, **60**, 7 *save with thy right hand* הוֹשִׁיעָה יְמִינְךָ, **108**, 7. (On the other hand in 1 Sam. **25**, 26, 33, we have יָדִי and יָדְךָ as subject-nominative to the Inf. הוֹשֵׁעַ, see § 133, 2). In the same cases בְּ *instrumenti* is also used, e. g. *I praise with my mouth* בְּפִי Ps. **89**, 2, **109**, 30; *I supplicate him with my mouth* Job **19**, 16.[1]

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[1] The Hebrews used also, on the other hand, the בְּ *instrumenti* where we have the accusative. They used indifferently, as we also may, the constructions *to shake the head* (Ps. **22**, 8), and *to shake with the head* (Job **16**, 4, Jer.

2. Many verbs govern the accusative by power of their original meaning or in consequence of a peculiar turn given to the latter, when the corresponding verbs in German are construed with other cases or also with the preposition; e. g. עָנָה *to reply to* (like ἀμείβομαί τινα, prop. *to answer one*); רִיב *causam alicujus agere* (prop. *to defend before the court*); בִּשֵּׂר *to bring good news to one, to cheer him;* נָאַף *to commit adultery with one* (comp. *adulteras matronam*); עָרַב *to become surety for one* (*to bail him*).

Rem. 1. Also in transitive verbs, and even the passive and reflexive conjugations *Niph.*, *Hoph.*, *Hithp.*, may by a peculiar turn of their original meaning, take the accusative; חָפֵץ *to be favourable*, mostly with בְּ, but also with the acc. (as if *to wish, to will something* or *somebody*) Is. **1**, 11, נִבָּא *to prophesy* Jer. **25**, 13, נָסַב *to surround* (prop. *to place themselves around*) Judg. **19**, 22, חִתְנַכֵּל *to plot against* Gen. **37**, 18, חָתְבּוֹנֵן *to consider* Job **37**, 14.

2. In very common forms of expression the accusative after such verbs may be omitted without injury to the sense (in elliptical usage), as כָּרַת for כָּרַת בְּרִית *to make a covenant* 1 Sam. **20**, 16, שָׁלַח *to stretch forth* (i. e. יָד *the hand*) 2 Sam. **6**, 6, Ps. **18**, 17. Comp. the German *nach etwas langen*, to reach after something.

3. Whole classes of verbs which govern the accusative are,

a) those which signify *to clothe* and *unclothe*, as לָבַשׁ *to put on* a garment, פָּשַׁט *to put off* a garment, עָדָה *to put on as an ornament;* also poet. as in לָבְשׁוּ כָרִים הַצֹּאן *the pastures are clothed with flocks* Ps. **65**, 14 (comp. also 14, *b*), **104**, 2, **109**, 29;

b) those which signify *fullness* or *want*, as מָלֵא *to be full*, שָׁרַץ *to swarm* (Gen. **1**, 20, 21), שָׂבַע *to be satiated*, פָּרַץ *to overflow* (Prov. **3**, 10, v. above No. 1, Rem. 2), חָסַר *to want*, שָׁכַל *to lose* (*children*); e. g. וַתִּמָּלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֹתָם *and the land was filled with them* Ex. **1**, 7, אוּלַי יַחְסְרוּן חֲמִשִּׁים הַצַּדִּיקִם חֲמִשָּׁה lit. *perhaps the fifty righteous will want five* (i. e.

18, 16); *to gnash the teeth* (Ps. **35**, 16), and *to gnash with the teeth* (Job **16**, 9), where *head* and *teeth* may be regarded as the object of the verb and as the instrument. But there is a deviation from our mode of expression in these phrases, viz. פָּצַר בְּפֶה *to open the mouth* Ps. **22**, 8, Job **16**, 10 (prop. *to make an opening with the mouth*), פֵּרֵשׂ בְּיָדַיִם *to spread out the hands* Lam. **1**, 17 (prop. *to make a spreading with the hands*), וַיָּרֶם בַּמַּטֶּה *he lifted the staff* Ex. **7**, 20, comp. נָתַן בְּקוֹל and נָתַן קוֹל.

perhaps there will be lacking five of the fifty) Gen. 18, 28, אֶשְׁכַּל גַּם שְׁנֵיכֶם (*why*) *should I lose even both of you?* Gen. 27, 45;

c) several verbs of *dwelling,* e. g. שָׁכַן, גּוּר, יָשַׁב, not merely *in* a place (Judg. 5, 17, Is. 32, 16, Gen. 4, 20), but also *among* a people, *with* any one (Ps. 5, 5, 120, 5);

d) those which express *going* or *coming* to a place (*petere locum*); hence בּוֹא with the accus. of the person, *to come over some one, attack him.* Comp. with this the *accus. loci,* § 118, 1.

§ 139.

VERBS WITH TWO ACCUSATIVES.

Two accusatives are governed by—

1. The causative conjugations (*Pi'ēl* and *Hiphʿīl*) of all verbs which in Qăl govern one accusative; e. g. מִלֵּאתִיו רוּחַ חָכְמָה *I have filled him with the spirit of wisdom* Ex. 28, 3, וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ בִּגְדֵי שֵׁשׁ *he clothed him in* (*caused him to put on*) *garments of fine linen* (byssus) Gen. 41, 42. And so also אָזַר *to gird one with* Ps. 18, 33, בֵּרֵךְ *to bless one with* Deut. 15, 14, חִסַּר *to cause one to lack* and עִטֵּר *to crown one with* Ps. 8, 6.

2. A numerous class of verbs which have even in Qăl a doubly-causative signification; such as, *to cover* or *clothe one with anything* (Ps. 5, 13, Ez. 13, 10; hence also *to sow, to plant* Is. 5, 2, 17, 10, 30, 23, Judg. 9, 45; *to anoint* Ps. 45, 8); *to fill, to bestow, to deprive* (Ez. 8, 17, Gen. 27, 37, Prov. 22, 23); *to do one an injury* (1 Sam. 24, 18); *to make one something* (Gen. 17, 5); e. g. וְעָשִׂיתָ אֹתוֹ שֶׁמֶן מִשְׁחַת קֹדֶשׁ *and make thou it a holy anointing oil*[1] Ex. 30, 25.

As in the last example, so also elsewhere, the material out of which something is made frequently stands in the accusative (comp. the German *mache daraus,* make out of it holy anointing oil), e. g. 1 K. 18, 32 וַיִּבֶן אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *and he built of the stones an altar,* prop. *built the stones* (into)

[1] On the passives of these verbs see § 143, 1.

an altar, Lev. **24**, 5. Also a bolder construction in which the material is placed last, as Ex. **38**, 3 כָּל־כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת *all its vessels he made* (of) *copper* Gen. **2**, 7 (in themselves these words could also signify all its vessels he turned into copper).

There is another use of the double accusative containing a closer definition of the first, by naming epexegetically the member or part of the object which is especially affected by the action, e. g. Ps. **3**, 8 *thou hast smitten all mine enemies* (upon) *the cheek-bone* (לֶחִי); comp. Deut. **33**, 11, 2 Sam. **3**, 27: לֹא נַכֵּנּוּ נָפֶשׁ *Let us not kill him*, prop. *Let us not smite him* (as to his) *life*, Gen. **37**, 21; and so too with שִׂים Gen. **3**, 15. Comp. the analogous ways of using the accusative § 118, 3.

§ 140.

VERBS WITH PREPOSITIONS.

Those modifications of the verbal idea, which other languages indicate by composition of the verbal stem with prepositions, are expressed in the Hebrew either,—*a*) by appropriate verbal stems, as בּוֹא *to go-in,* יָצָא *to go-out,* שׁוּב *to re-turn;* or—*b*) by prepositions written after the verb, as in English, e. g. קָרָא *to call,* with לְ *to call to,* with בְּ *to call upon,* with אַחֲרֵי *to call after;* נָפַל *to fall,* with עַל *to fall upon* and also *to fall off to,* with לִפְנֵי *to fall down before;* הָלַךְ *to go,* with אַחֲרֵי *to go after, to follow.*

It is the province of the Lexicon to show the use of the several prepositions with each particular verb. Whole classes of words, as construed with this or that particle will be found in § 154, 3.

§ 141.

CONSTRUCTIO PRÆGNANS.

The so-called *constructio prægnans* occurs in Hebrew particularly when a verb, which in itself does not express motion towards something is nevertheless construed with prepositions (or the accus.) of direction. In such a case for the clearness of sense another verb of motion must be mentally supplied, to form the connection with the preposition; e. g. תָּמַהּ אֶל *to turn in astonishment to one* Gen. **42**, 33, comp. **42**, 28

דָּרַשׁ אֶל *to turn questioning towards somebody.* Is. **11**, 10, comp. **41**, 1 וַיְמַלֵּא לֶכֶת אַחֲרַי for וַיִּמְלֵא אַחֲרַי *he filled up to follow me* (i. e. *he obeyed me fully*), Num. **14**, 24, Ps. **22**, 22 מִקַּרְנֵי רֵמִים עֲנִיתָנִי *thou hearest* (and savest) *me from the horns of the buffaloes,* Is. **14**, 17 אֲסִירָיו לֹא פָתַח בֵּיתָה *his prisoners he did not release* (and send) *home-wards,* Ps. **89**, 40.

§ 142.

CONSTRUCTION OF TWO VERBS TO EXPRESS ONE IDEA.

When one verb which expresses a so-called verbal idea (one that requires an object) is more closely defined by a second verb, the latter is construed as follows, viz.—

1. It stands in the *Inf.*, either the *absol.* (§ 131, 1) or (more commonly) the *constr.*, e. g. Deut. **2**, 25, 31 אָחַל תֵּת *I begin to give;* verse 31, Gen. **37**, 5 וַיּוֹסִפוּ עוֹד שְׂנֹא אֹתוֹ *and they added still to hate him* (*hated* him still more), Ex. **18**, 23 וְתוּכַל עֲמֹד *and thou canst endure,* Is. **1**, 14 נִלְאֵיתִי נְשֹׂא *I am weary to bear.*

2. But still more frequently it stands in the *Inf.* preceded by לְ, as Deut. **3**, 24 הַחִלּוֹתָ לְהַרְאוֹת *thou hast begun to show,* Gen. **11**, 8 וַיַּחְדְּלוּ לִבְנוֹת *and they ceased to build,* **27**, 20 מִהַרְתָּ לִמְצֹא *thou hast hastened to find,* i. e. *thou hast quickly found,* etc.

These two are the usual constructions in prose after verbs signifying *to begin* (חָלַל, הֵחֵל), *to continue* (הוֹסִיף), *to hasten* (מָהַר), *to cease* (חָדַל, כָּלָה), *to finish* (תָּמַם); so also *to make good* (הֵיטִיב), *to make much* or *many* (הִרְבָּה), and the like modality of action (expressed, for the most part, by Hĭph'îl); so also with *to be willing* (חָפֵץ, אָבָה), *to refuse* (מָאֵן), *to seek, to strive for* (בִּקֵּשׁ), *to be able* (יָכֹל, יָדַע, the latter signifying *to know* how *to do*), *to learn* (לָמַד), *to permit* (נָתַן).[1] It is to be remarked, however, that in poetry the לְ is often omitted where it is used in prose, as אָבָה *to be willing* with the לְ Ex. **10**, 27, with the mere *Inf.* Job. **30**, 9, Is. **28**, 12, **30**, 9.[2]

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[1] *To permit one to do a thing,* is expressed by נָתַן פ׳ לַעֲשׂוֹת, and נָתַן פ׳ עֲשׂוֹת, prop. *to give* or *grant one to do a thing;* Gen. **20**, 6 לֹא נְתַתִּיךָ לִנְגֹּעַ *I have not permitted thee to touch.*

[2] So after nouns which include a verbal idea, e. g. אֵין לָבוֹא *it is not permitted to enter in* Est. **4**, 2, אֵין עֵרֶךְ (poet.) *there is nothing to be compared* Ps. **40**, 6; עָתִיד *ready, prepared,* commonly with לְ, without in Job **3**, 8.

3. Both verbs may be in the finite form; and they are then construed—

a) With וְ before the second verb, which then agrees with the first in tense (however see Rem.), gender and number (comp. our expression, *he was pleased and went,* for *he was pleased to go*); Judg. 19, 6 הוֹאֶל־נָא וְלִין *be pleased now and lodge,* Gen. 26, 18 וַיָּשָׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר *and he returned* (repeated) *and digged* (i. e. *he digged again*), 2 K. 1, 11, 13, Is. 6, 13, 25, 1 *he added and took a wife* (i. e. *he took again*); Cant. 2, 3.

The construction can also begin with the *Impf.* and proceed in the *Perf.* (according to § 126, 6), as in Est. 6, 8, Deut. 31, 12 *that they may learn* (*Impf.*) *and fear* (*Perf.*) for *to fear*, Hos. 2, 11, Dan. 9, 25; or on the contrary, it may begin in the *Perf.* and proceed in the *Impf.* Josh. 7, 7, Job 23, 3, Eccl. 4, 1, 7.

b) Ἀσυνδέτως, i. e. without the וְ *and* so that the union of the two verbs is more an exterior one; they are of the same tense, gender, and number (as under letter *a*); Deut. 2, 24 הָחֵל רָשׁ *begin* and *take possession,* Hos. 1, 6 לֹא אוֹסִיף אֲרַחֵם *I will not go on* and *have pity* (i. e. *I will no longer pity*), 1 Sam. 2, 3 אַל תַּרְבּוּ תְדַבְּרוּ *do not multiply* and *speak* (=*speak not much*), Lam. 4, 14 בְּלֹא יוּכְלוּ יִגְּעוּ *so that they could not touch,* Job 19, 3, Hos. 5, 11, 9, 9.

This last construction (being more lively and bolder) is rather the poetical one, which under letter *a*, is more usual in prose. Comp. e. g. הוֹסִיף with וְ following in Gen. 25, 1, 38, 5; but without וְ in Hos. 1, 6, Is. 52, 1. Yet also in prose occur examples of asyndeton as in Neh. 3, 20, Deut. 1, 5, Josh. 3, 16, 1 Ch. 13, 2.

c) Likewise ἀσυνδέτως, but with the second verb in a close subordinate connection in the *Imperfect,* depending on the conjunction *that* implied; Job 32, 22 לֹא יָדַעְתִּי אֶכֹּוָּה *I know not to flatter,* 1 Sam. 20, 19 וְשִׁלַּשְׁתָּ תֵּרֵד *and cause on the third day* (that) *thou come down* (i. e. *on the third day come down*), Is. 42, 21 חָפֵץ יַגְדִּיל *he desired to make great,* Job 24, 14 יָקוּם רוֹצֵחַ יִקְטֹל *the murderer arises to kill.*

Rem. In Arabic and Syriac, this construction is very common;[1] in Hebrew rarer, but at least necessary in those cases where the second

[1] The Arab says *volebat dilaceraret* for *he would rend;* and so the Syrian, *nolebat tolleret* (Luke 18, 13), *he would not lift up*, but oftener with the conjunction *that* inserted. The Latin also may omit the conjunction in this

verb was to be distinguished from the first in person or number; Is. 47, 1 לֹא תוֹסִיפִי יִקְרְאוּ־לָךְ *thou shalt not add* (that) *they shall call thee* (i. e. *thou shalt not continue to be called*), Num. 22, 6 אוּלַי אוּכַל נַכֶּה־בּוֹ וַאֲגָרְשֶׁנּוּ *perhaps I may be able* (that) *we shall smite him, and I shall drive him out.*

4. The completion of the verbal idea may finally (as frequently in Syriac) consist also of a *Participle,* Is. 33, 1 כַּהֲתִימְךָ שׁוֹדֵד[1] *when thou shalt finish* as *a destroyer,* i. e. *to be a destroyer=to destroy* 1 Sam. 16, 16 (after *Part.*).

Instead of the participle stands the *verbal adjective,* 1 Sam. 3, 2 *his eyes* הֵחֵלּוּ כֵהוֹת *began* (to grow) *dim.* On the other hand Gen. 9, 20 אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה is in apposition to נֹחַ and the passage belongs therefore to No. 3, letter *a* (=*Noah, the husbandman began to plant,* etc.).

Rem. 1. In many of the above examples, the first verb only serves, in effect, to qualify in some manner the second, and hence we translate it by an *adverb.* Comp. further Gen. 31, 27 לָמָּה נַחְבֵּאתָ לִבְרֹחַ *wherefore hast thou secretly fled?* 2 K. 2, 10 הִקְשִׁיתָ לְשְׁאֹל *thou hast made hard to ask* i. e. *hast asked a hard thing.* The verb which qualifies the other may also occupy the second place, but never without special cause; e. g. Is. 53, 11 יִרְאֶה יִשְׂבַּע *he shall see and be satisfied* (with the sight) because the satisfaction follows the enjoyment and 66, 11 *that ye may suck and be satisfied* (by that act); Jer. 4, 5 קִרְאוּ מַלְאוּ *call ye* (and that) *with full voice=call aloud.*

2. Of another construction are the so-called *verba cordis* (verbs indicating some mental action) which take after them (in place of an accusative) an objective clause introduced by כִּי or אֲשֶׁר *that.* Here belong especially expressions like *to see* (Gen. 1, 4, 10), *to know* (Gen. 22, 12), *to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think,* etc. On the omission of the conjunction before such clauses see § 155, 4, *c.*

§ 143.

CONSTRUCTION OF PASSIVE VERBS.

1. When a causative conjugation (*Pi'ĕl, Hiph'îl*) has two accusatives (§ 139, 1), its passive (*Pu'ăl, Hoph'ăl*) retains only one of them (the second or more remote object), taking the other (the nearest object) as the subject in the nominative.

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case, *Quid vis faciam?* Ter.; *Volo hoc oratori contingat,* Cic. Brut. 84. So in German, *Ich wollte, es wäre; Ich dachte, es ginge* [and in English *I would it were, I thought it went*].

[1] For כַּהֲתִמְּךָ (§ 20, Rem.) *Inf. Hiph.* of תָּמַם.

This subject nominative may then consist either in an independent noun or pronoun, or (as pronominal subject) be included in the verbal form, e. g. Ps. **80**, 11 כָּסּוּ הָרִים צִלָּהּ *the mountains are covered with its* (the vine's) *shade,* Ex. **25**, 40 אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה מָרְאָה *which was shown thee* (prop. *which thou wast caused to see*); Job **7**, 3.

Several striking phenomena in the construction of the passive are readily explained, if we regard it as an impersonal active (*dicitur=one says, they say*), just as, on the contrary, the impersonal active often supplies the place of the passive (see § 137, Note). This transposition is not merely an expedient, but has its foundation in the spirit of the Semitic syntax. At least according to the Arab. grammarians a purely impersonal passive is inconceivable; in places where such one seems to stand, a hidden agent must be supposed. We may thus explain those cases, in which.—

a) The passive takes the logical subject in the accusative; Gen. **27**, 42 וַיֻּגַּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עֵשָׂו *and they made known to Rebecca the words of Esau,* **4**, 18 וַיִּוָּלֶד לַחֲנוֹךְ אֶת־עִירָד *and it was born to Enoch Irad,* **17**, 5 לֹא יִקָּרֵא עוֹד אֶת־שִׁמְךָ אַבְרָם *they shall no more call thy name Abram;* Ex. **10**, 8, וַיּוּשַׁב אֶת־מֹשֶׁה אֶל־פַּרְעֹה *and they brought Moses back to Pharaoh;* Lev. **16**, 27, Num. **32**, 5, Josh. **7**, 15, 2 K. **18**, 30, Jer. **50**, 20. So also with the *Inf.* of the passives, as in Gen. **21**, 5 בְּהִוָּלֶד לוֹ אֶת־יִצְחָק *at* (the time of) *the being born* (ἐν τῷ τεκεῖν) *to him Isaak,* **40**, 20 יוֹם הֻלַּדְתּ אֶת־פַּרְעֹה *the day when Pharaoh was born.*

b) It does not agree (as often happens) in *gender* and *number* with the noun, even when preceded by it (comp. § 147), because the noun is, in this case, regarded not as the subject but as the object of the verb passive, comp., besides the above examples: Is. **21**, 2 חָזוּת קָשָׁה הֻגַּד־לִי *visionem diram nunciarunt mihi* Dan. **9**, 24 *septuaginta septimanas destinarunt* (נֶחְתַּךְ), 1 K. **2**, 21, Is. **14**, 3, Gen. **35**, 26, Hos. **10**, 6, Job **22**, 9 (זְרֹעוֹת), **30**, 15.

2. The efficient cause (the personal originator), after a passive verb, most frequently takes לְ, and is therefore in the dative (as in Greek), as בָּרוּךְ לְאֵל *blessed of God* (τῷ θεῷ) Gen. **14**, 19, Prov. **14**, 20. More rare, but equally certain, is the same use of מִן (prop. *from,* by which *origin, source,* in general, is often denoted) Gen. **9**, 11, Ps. **37**, 23, Job **24**, 1, **28**, 4; מִפְּנֵי *because of* Gen. **6**, 13; בְּ *by* Gen. **9**, 6, Num. **36**, 2, Hosea **14**, 4; sometimes there is no preposition, but the *accusat. instrumenti* is used (comp. § 138, 1, Rem. 3), as Is. **1**, 20, חֶרֶב תְּאֻכְלוּ *by the sword shall ye be devoured,* comp. Ps. **17**, 13.

Rem. Many intransitive verbs are sometimes used as passive, in consequence of a peculiar application of their meaning; e. g. יָרַד *to go down* (spoken of a forest), *to be felled* Is. 32, 49; עָלָה *to go up* for *to be brought up* (on the altar) Lev. 2, 12; *to be entered* (in an account) 1 Ch. 27, 24; יָצָא *to be brought out from* Deut. 14, 22.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNECTION OF THE SUBJECT WITH THE PREDICATE.

§ 144*a*.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NOMINAL AND VERBAL SENTENCE.

1. Every sentence beginning with an independent subject (noun or separate pronoun) is called a *nominal sentence.* It is *a*) *simple* when the *predicate* consists also of a *noun* (substantive, adjective or participle); *b*) *compound* when the predicate is a finite verb. For, as every finite verb (v. below No. 2) bears already its subject itself and forms therefore for itself an independent sentence, therefore a phrase in which a *finite verb,* as predicate, follows the *subject noun,* is a combination of a *subject* with an *independent verbal sentence* (v. below).

Rem. Very frequently, especially in Hebrew, the *predicate* stands first in a *simple nominal phrase;* almost regularly so, when the *predicate* is an adjective, e. g. צַדִּיק יְהוָה *Jehovah is just.* If the predicate is a substantive, it stands first, at least when a special stress lies on it, e. g. Job 5, 24, 6, 12 (comp. § 145, 1, *b*).—On the use of *independent nominal sentences* as predicates in *compound nominal sentences* v. § 145, 2.

2. Every sentence, commencing with a *finite verb,* is called a *verbal sentence.* It contains in all cases its subject already in itself, under the form of a *personal pronoun* which is necessarily connected with the verbal form (as *tu* in *dicis,* thou sayest). This is not only true of those cases, where the subject has already been mentioned and thus defined more

closely, but also in cases where the subject has been added afterwards, so to speak, as an *epexegesis* to the subject which is latent in the verb. For where the idea of a neuter or neutral subject (Germ. *es*) is lacking entirely and where every verbal form must be conceived in connection with a personal, or at least with a generically definite subject, a phrase like אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ, cannot be conceived, as in German: *es sprach der König,* but: *he spoke,* namely *the king.*

3. This distinction between the nominal and verbal sentence although it may seem quite mechanical, has been pointed out emphatically with good reasons by the Arabic grammarians. For

a) there exists really an essential difference between the predicate of a nominal and of a verbal sentence. The former always represents something *immovable, a situation, a being,* the latter something *movable, flowing, something which happens* or *which is doing.*

b) the *simple nominal* sentence, connected by *Wāw* with a verbal sentence, describes a condition or state which is always simultaneous with the chief action (not a *progress* of the action) e. g. Gen. 19, 1; *and the two angels entered into Sodom, whilst Lot was sitting* (וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב), etc.

Also the *compound nominal sentence,* connected by *Wāw,* may serve to bring in afterwards an event that has preceded the principal facts of the narration. E. g. 1 Sam. 28, 3; *and Samuel was* (at that time already) *dead . . . . . and Saul had driven away,* etc. (not as, e. g. the *Vulgate: and Samuel died . . . . . and Saul drove away*) Job 21, 22. But there exist also examples, where the narrative continues even in form of a compound nominal sentence (comp. Gen. 1, 2, 3, 1). Even then the nominal sentence does not describe a new *occurrence* but a *state* which exists during the continuation of the event.

§ 144*b*.

MANNER OF EXPRESSING THE COPULA IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCE.

1. The subject and predicate of the simple sentence (v. § 144, *a*, 1, *a*) are always placed together without the *copula;* e. g. 1 K. 18, 21 יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Eternal* (is) *the true God,*

Gen. 2, 12 זְהַב הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא טוֹב *the gold of that land* (is) *good,* Is. 31, 2 גַּם הוּא חָכָם *also he* (is) *wise.*—On the union of the subject and predicate by a separate pronoun of the 3d person (repeating and emphasizing more distinctly the subject idea) v. § 121, 2.

2. Less frequently the *copula* is expressed by the substantive verb הָיָה *to be, become,* and in that case rises a compound nominal sentence (§ 144, *a*, 1, *b*), e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was* (הָיְתָה), *waste and empty,* 3, 1 *the serpent was* (הָיָה) *crafty,* vs. 20, Judges 1, 7. If on the other hand the union between a pronoun as subject and a participle as predicate is established by יֵשׁ or אֵין (§ 134, 2, *a*) there arise simple nominal sentences, because יֵשׁ and אֵין are properly substantives.

Rem. Instead of the adjective, the Hebrew often employs the abstract substantive as a predicate in the nominal phrase (§ 106, 1, Rem. 2); especially when there is no adjective of the required signification (§ 106, 1), e. g. Ez. 41, 22 קִירוֹתָיו עֵץ *his walls* (are) *wood=of wood, wooden.* Sometimes the hardness of such combinations is softened by repeating the subject noun in the *constr. st.*, before the predicate (קִירוֹתָיו קִירוֹת עֵץ). This full construction occurs Job 6, 12 אִם כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים כֹּחִי *is my strength the strength of stones?* Ps. 45, 7, *b*. Comp. on the other hand the bolder terms in Cant. 1, 15 עֵינַיִךְ יוֹנִים *thy eyes* (are) *doves'* eyes (literally *are doves*) Ezra 10, 13 וְעֵת גְּשָׁמִים *the time* (is the time of) *showers.* So also especially with כְּ of comparsion, as Is. 63, 2 בִּגְדֶיךָ כְּדֹרֵךְ בְּגַת *thy garments* (are) *like* (the garments of) *one treading the wine-press,* Jer. 50, 9 חִצָּיו כְּגִבּוֹר *his arrows as* (those of) *a hero.*

§ 145.

POSITION OF WORDS IN A SENTENCE. ABSOLUTE CASE.

1. According to what has been remarked § 144, *a*, the natural position of words in the simple nominal sentence is: *Subject, Predicate;* in the compound nominal sentence: *Subject, Verbal Predicate* (i. e. verbal copula with the completing nominal predicate); in the verbal sentence: *Verb,* subsequently the *Subject* (if expressed) and then the Object. Adverbial designations (such as those of time or place) may stand either

before or after the verb; a negative stands almost always immediately before it.[1]

Exceptions to the above stated natural position of words occur especially when a member of the sentence has to be rendered prominent by giving it the precedence. So stands:—

a) in verbal sentences sometimes the *object* before the *subject,* e. g. Num. **5**, 23, Ps. **34**, 22; the *object* before the *verb* Prov. **13**, 5: *thing of falsehood hateth a righteous man;* Gen. **47**, 21, Ex. **18**, 23, Is. **49**, 6. Very rare is the position: *Obj., Subj., Verb,* 2 K. **5**, 13. Finally, there also occurs, although likewise very seldom, and only poetically the position: *Subj., Obj., Verb,* as Ps. **6**, 10 יְהוָה תְּפִלָּתִי יִקָּח; **11**, 5, Is. **13**, 18 (quite common however in Aram., e. g. Dan. **2**, 7, 10. Comp. *Gesen.* Comm. on Is. **42**, 24).

b) in nominal sentences the *Predicate* before the *Subject* and so almost regularly when the *Predicate* consists of an *Adjective* (comp. § 144, *a*, 1, Rem.), because this one receives then by its quality as a predicate, a special emphasis. Jer. **10**, 6 גָּדוֹל אַתָּה וְגָדוֹל שִׁמְךָ *great thou* (*art*) *and great* (*is*) *thy name.* The substantive predicate is placed first in Is. **18**, 5, *ripening grape becomes the blossom,* Job **6**, 12.

c) The adverbial expression before the verb, especially (as natural) expressions of time, Gen. **1**, 1. Some adverbs of time like עַתָּה, אָז, stand almost always at the beginning of the sentence (Josh. **10**, 12, Judges **5**, 22); others like עוֹד, תָּמִיד as a rule after the verb.

On the absence of inflection in the predicate when put first, see § 147.

2. The strongest emphasis of a substantive (especially when it is the subject, but also when it is the object, or when employed by way of qualification of any kind) is produced by permitting it to stand, *absolutely*, at the beginning of the sentence, and then representing it, in the following independent phrase, by a pronoun (compare Fr. *c'est moi, qu'on a*

[1] Occasionally there is inserted between the negative and the verb the object (Job **22**, 7, **34** 23, Ec. **10**, 10), the subject (Num. **16**, 29, 2 K. **5**, 26), or an adverbial expression (Ps. **6**, 2, **49**, 18, Jer. **15**, 15).

accusé); e. g. Ps. 18, 31 הָאֵל תָּמִים דַּרְכּוֹ *God, perfect is his way,* for *God's way is perfect.* The whole forms a compound nominal sentence in which the predicate is not represented by a verbal sentence (§ 144, *a*, 1, *b*) but by another independent nominal sentence likewise Ps. 104, 17, Job 21, 4, whilst in Gen. 24, 27, Ps. 11, 4 the predicate consists of a verbal sentence. Comp. also Ez. 33, 17; also in the examples: Ps. 74, 17 *winter and summer, thou hast made them, winter and summer* is not the object but the subject of the compound nominal sentence. The object stands absolutely first in Gen. 47, 21 אֶת־הָעָם הֶעֱבִיר אֹתוֹ *the people, he removed them,* 21, 13, comp. Jer. 6, 19.[1] The suffix may also be omitted (so perhaps Ps. 9, 7) and the connection indicated by וְ (as sign of the apodosis), 2 Sam. 22, 41 (comp. Ps. 18, 41), Job 36, 26 מִסְפַּר שָׁנָיו וְלֹא חֵקֶר, sc. לָהֶן *the number of his years, even there is no searching* 4, 6, 23, 12, 25, 5, Gen. 3, 5, Num. 23, 3, Job 6, 14, 15, 17, 21, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 27, 2 Sam. 15, 34.

Sometimes the participle stands first in the above manner in the sense of a conditional sentence e. g. Prov. 23, 24 *Kᵉthîbh* יוֹלֵד חָכָם יִשְׂמַח בּוֹ *he who begets a wise* son (i. e. *when one begets, etc.*), *then he may rejoice in him,* 1 Sam. 2, 13 כָּל־אִישׁ זֹבֵחַ זֶבַח וּבָא נַעַר הַכֹּהֵן *when any one brought an offering, then came the priest's servant,* Gen. 4, 15, Job 41, 18.

§ 146.

RELATION OF THE SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

The predicate, as in other languages, conforms generally to the subject in gender and number. From this rule, common to all languages, there are many deviations, partly occasioned by regard to the sense rather than to the grammatical form of words (*constructio ad sensum*), partly by the position of the predicate before the subject.

In respect to the first cause, we remark that,

1. Collective nouns (singular in form), e. g. עָם *people,* גּוֹי *nation,* בַּיִת *family,* and nouns used as collective, as אִישׁ *men*

[1] Such a case absolute may also be introduced by לְ (*in respect to*) before it, Gen. 17, 20, Is. 32, 1; comp. Ps. 16, 3(?), Eccl. 9, 4, 2 Chron. 7, 21.

(see § 108, 1), are apt to be construed, according to the sense, with the plural, as in Judg. 9, 55 וַיִּרְאוּ אִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל *and the men of Israel saw,* 15, 10, 1 K. 20, 20 וַיָּנֻסוּ אֲרָם *and Aram* (the Syrians) *fled,* Is. 16, 4, Prov. 11, 26, 28, 1, Job 8, 19. So when the collective is itself *fem.* but represents only, or at least prevailingly, individuals which are of the *masc.* gender: e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 23 כָּל־הָאָרֶץ בֹּכִים *the whole land* (i. e. its inhabitants) *wept,*[1] Gen. 48, 6, 1 Sam. 2, 33, 17, 47, 1 K. 10, 24, Job 32, 12; and *vice versâ* in Job 1, 14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת *the cattle* (cows) *were ploughing.* For examples of the predicate in the singular with collectives, see Gen. 35, 11, Is. 2, 4 (comp. Micah 4, 3).

Particular examples of a bolder *Enallage* of number are Gen. 34, 30 וַאֲנִי מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *whilst I* (and my people) *men of* (inferior) *number;* Job 29, 15: *eyes I have been to the blind* (comp. Num. 10, 31).

Often the construction begins with the singular (especially when the verb is placed first, § 147, 1, *a*), and then when the collective is introduced, proceeds with the plural; Ex. 33, 4 וַיִּתְאַבְּלוּ . . . וַיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם *and the people heard . . . and they mourned,* 1, 20.

2. On the other hand plural nouns with a singular meaning (§ 108, 2) are often construed with the singular, especially the so-called *pluralis excellentiae;* Gen. 1, 1, 3,[2] Ex. 21, 29 בְּעָלָיו יוּמָת *his owner shall be put to death.* So feminine forms with a masculine signification are construed with the masculine, as in Ec. 12, 9 הָיָה קֹהֶלֶת חָכָם *the preacher was wise.*

3. Plurals which designate animals or things, whether they are *masc.* or *fem.* readily take the construction with the

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[1] Sallust. Jugurth. 14, *pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt.*

[2] אֱלֹהִים is here and there construed with the *plur.* but only in the older biblical books, and in certain forms of expression which perhaps may be traced back to original polytheistic ideas, or at least to an adaptation to them, e. g. Gen. 20, 13 (in conversation with a heathen), 35, 7, Ex. 22, 8(?), Josh 24, 19, Ps. 58, 12. The later writers studiously avoid this construction, as if it were polytheisthic; comp. Ex. 32, 4, 8, with Neh. 9, 18, and 2 Sam. 7, 23, with 1 Ch. 17, 21. See the Lexicons.

fem. sing.[1] (comp. the feminine form with collective meaning, in § 107, 3, *d*); Joel 1, 20 בְּהֵמוֹת שָׂדֶה תַּעֲרֹג *the beasts of the field pine for—*, Job 14, 19 תְּשִׁטֹּף סְפִיחֶיהָ *its floods wash away*, Jer. 49, 24 חֲבָלִים אֲחָזַתְהָ *pains have seized upon her*, 2, 15 *Kᵉthibh*, Ps. 37, 31, Job 12, 7. Comp. also 2 K. 3, 3, Is. 35, 7, Jer. 36, 23, Ps. 69, 36 ff., Job 39, 15, in all of which cases the suffix of the *third sing. fem.* is related to plurals of animals or things.

4. Moreover, those plurals also which designate persons are construed with the singular, when, instead of the whole sum of individuals spoken of, the attention is directed to each one of them (comp. כֹּל for *omnes* and *omnis*); examples of this distributive singular are Gen. 49, 22 בָּנוֹת צָעֲדָה *the daughters* (branches) *rise*, Num. 24, 9 מְבָרֶכֶיךָ בָרוּךְ וְאֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר *blessed* (be every one of) *those who bless thee, and cursed* (each of) *those who curse thee*, Prov. 3, 18 תֹּמְכֶיהָ מְאֻשָּׁר *happy* (is every one of) *those who retain her* (the wisdom) 27, 16, 28, 1, Gen. 27, 29, Ex. 31, 14. Comp. also Job 6, 20: בֹּשׁוּ כִּי־בָטָח; Is. 28, 20.

5. Dual substantives take their predicates in the plural, since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns have no dual form (§ 88, 1); as in Gen. 29, 17 וְעֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוֹת *and the eyes of Leah were tender*, Ps. 18, 28, Is. 30, 20, 2 Sam. 24, 3, 1 Sam. 1, 13 רַק שְׂפָתֶיהָ נָעוֹת *only her lips moving*, 2 Ch. 7, 15 עַתָּה עֵינַי פְּתֻחוֹת וְאָזְנַי קַשֻּׁבוֹת יִהְיוּ, 6, 40, Hos. 9, 14, Mic. 7, 10 עֵינַי תִּרְאֶינָה *my eyes shall see*, Jer. 14, 6, Is. 1, 15, Job 10, 8, 20, 10, 27, 4, Ps. 38, 11. Rarely with the dual does the predicate stand in the singular feminine (v. above No. 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 4, 15, Micah 4, 11.

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[1] Perfectly analogous is the Greek construction, τὰ πρόβατα βαίνει, where the Attics admit the plural only when by the neuter persons are designated, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον τὸν ἄρτον. In Arabic, such a plural is called *pluralis inhumanus* (i. e. not used of men), and is construed chiefly with the *fem. sing.* of the attribute or predicate, like all its so-called *pluralia fracta* (collective forms).

§ 147.

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

(Continued.)

Very frequently deviations from the general rule (§ 146) occur where the predicate stands first. The subject, to which it would regularly conform, not being yet expressed, it often takes its simplest and readiest form, viz., the *masc. sing.,* even when the subject, which comes after, is *feminine* or *plural:* the predicate in this case is not subject to inflection; e. g.—

a) The verb; Is. **47**, 11 בָּא עָלַיִךְ רָעָה *there comes upon thee evil,* Mic. **2**, 6 לֹא יִסַּג כְּלִמּוֹת *reproaches do not depart,* Ps. **57**, 2, Deut. **32**, 35, Est. **9**, 23 קִבֵּל הַיְּהוּדִים *the Jews undertook,* 2 K. **3**, 26 חָזַק הַמִּלְחָמָה *hard was the battle,* 1 Sam. **25**, 27, Ps. **124**, 5, Job **42**, 15. Often the verb may here be regarded as impersonal. More seldom before the *plur. fem.* we find (at least) the *plur. masc.;* as in Judg. **21**, 21 אִם־יֵצְאוּ בְנוֹת שִׁילֹה *if the daughters of Shilo come forth.*

b) The adjective in the nominal sentence (just as in German): Ps. **119**, 137 יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *righteous* (are) *thy judgments,* is not inflected, vs. 155 יְשׁוּעָה . . . רָחוֹק *far* (is) *salvation.*

Cases like Job **24**, 7, 10 עֲרֹם הָלְכוּ *naked they go,* do not belong here. There עָרֹם is rather an accusative of condition (§ 118, 3)=*in the condition of a naked one.*

c) The participle as substantive in the nominal sentence Gen. **47**, 3 רֹעֵה צֹאן עֲבָדֶיךָ *shepherds* (are) *thy servants,* if not merely an orthographical difference or a mistake for רֹעֵי.

d) The copula הָיָה when it precedes the subject;[1] Is. **18**, 5 בֹּסֶר גְּמֵל יִהְיֶה נֵצָה *maturing grapes the blossom becomes.* In Gen. **31**, 8 the יִהְיֶה *after* the plural subject may be explained from the attraction towards the following singular predicate.

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[1] Independently of this arrangement, the הוּא, standing for the *copula,* is retained between *plur.* and *fem.* unchanged; Josh. **13**, 14, אִשֵּׁי יְ . . . הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ *the offerings of Jah . . . . that is his inheritance.* Comp. Jer. **10**, 3.

But if this construction is continued after the introduction of the subject, the verb must conform to it in gender and number; Ez. 14, 1 וַיָּבוֹא אֵלַי אֲנָשִׁים וַיֵּשְׁבוּ לְפָנָי Gen. 1, 14, Num. 9, 6.

Rem. 1. In general, the language is at times sparing in the use especially of the feminine forms (comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 5), and, when a feminine substantive has more than one predicate, contents itself with giving to the nearest one the appropriate feminine form. The following are instructive examples; Is. 33, 9 אָבַל אֻמְלְלָה אֶרֶץ *the land mourneth and languisheth*, 14, 9 שְׁאוֹל מִתַּחַת רָגְזָה . . . . . עוֹרֵר לְךָ רְפָאִים *Sheol beneath is moved . . . . it stirreth up the shades to thee.* Comp. 1 K. 19, 11 and the striking change of gender in Gen. 32, 9. In Job 20, 26 in the subordinate phrase the masculine appears instead of the feminine: אֵשׁ לֹא־נָפַח *a fire not blown.*—Of a different sort are cases like Lev. 2, 1, 5, 1, 20, 6 where נֶפֶשׁ (*fem.*) in the continuation of speech is changed into a male person.

Suffixes in a (distributive) singular are related to preceding plurals, e. g. Job 38, 32, Deut. 21, 10; 28, 48, 1 K. 6, 23, Is. 5, 26.

2. The cases in which the predicate *follows* the subject, without conforming to it in gender and number, are based partly on the construction of passives with the accusative (§ 143, 1, Rem.) and partly the predicate is a participle used as a substantive; e. g. Gen. 4, 7 לַפֶּתַח חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ *at the door* (is) *sin a lurker* (i. e. a lurking lion).—Ec. 2, 7 בְּנֵי־בַיִת הָיָה לִי *vernæ mihi erant.* Similar is Gen. 15, 17 (וַעֲלָטָה הָיָה *and darkness, there was*) where the verb remains in the indefinite gender (masc.) although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis.

§ 148.

CONSTRUCTION OF COMPOUND SUBJECTS.

1. When the subject is composed of a nominative and genitive, the verb sometimes conforms in gender and number to the genitive (or the second noun), instead of the governing (or the first) noun, viz., when the word in the genitive expresses the principal idea. Sometimes however the agreement of the predicate with the genitive seems to have been caused merely by their juxtaposition, e. g. Job 32, 7 רֹב שָׁנִים יוֹרוּ חָכְמָה *the multitude of years* (i. e. *many years*) *shall teach wisdom,* 1 Sam. 2, 4: קֶשֶׁת גִּבֹּרִים חַתִּים *the bow of the strong is broken;* 2 Sam. 10, 9 (with the predicate preceding), הָיְתָה אֵלָיו פְּנֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה *there was the battle-front against him,*

i. e. *the battle was turned against him,* Is. 2, 11, Job 15, 20, 21, 21, 29, 10, 38, 21. On the other hand, in Gen. 4, 10, Is. 52, 8, Jer. 10, 22 and others קוֹל cannot be understood as subject, but as exclamation, so e. g. Gen. 4, 10: Voice of thy brother's blood which cries . . . . ! as much as: *hearken! the blood of thy brother cries,* etc.

With the substantive כֹּל (prop. *totality*) *the whole,* this construction is almost universal; e. g. Gen. 5, 5 וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were,* Ex. 15, 20; likewise with the singular abstracts of the numbers 3 to 10, 100 and 1000.

2. When *several* subjects are connected by *and,* their common predicate usually takes the plural form, e. g. Job 3, 5, Gen. 40, 1, especially when it follows them; Gen. 8, 22 זֶרַע וָקָצִיר וְקֹר וָחֹם . . . לֹא יִשְׁבֹּתוּ *seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease;* and in the *masc.* even with subjects of different genders, as in Gen. 18, 11 אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זְקֵנִים *Abraham and Sarah* (were) *old,* Deut. 28, 32. When the predicate precedes, it often conforms in gender and number to the first (as being the nearest) subject; as in Gen. 7, 7 וַיָּבֹא נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and there went in Noah and his sons,* Ex. 15, 1, Num. 12, 1 וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *and there spoke Miriam and Aaron,* Gen. 33, 7, 44, 14, Judg. 5, 1, 2 Sam. 5, 21. The singular is more rare, when the predicate follows the subject; Prov. 27, 9 שֶׁמֶן וּקְטֹרֶת יְשַׂמַּח־לֵב *unguent and perfume rejoice the heart* (where at the same time the masculine has the preference). If the construction is continued, the plural of the predicate always follows, e. g. Gen. 21, 32, 24, 61, 31, 14, 33, 7.

CHAPTER V.
USE OF THE PARTICLES.

§ 149.

Of the particles, as connected with the system of forms and inflections (§§ 99—105), we have already treated in their etymological relation to the other parts of speech. We are now to consider the signification and use of these words. As elsewhere, so also in Hebrew they compose as it were the most delicate and subtle portions of the language and are of the highest importance for a clear perception of the sense and a deeper penetration into the spirit of the language. We shall present, in a general view, their most important peculiarities, leaving the more complete representation, and specially the fuller examples, to the Lexicons.

§ 150.
OF THE ADVERBS.

The most important adverbs, classed according to their signification, are—

1. Adverbs *of place; there;* שָׁם, פֹּה, כֹּה, זֶה and בָּזֶה *hic, here;* עַד־הֵנָּה *thither,* הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה *hither and thither;* חֲלֹם and הֲלֹם *here, hither;* הָלְאָה *thither, farther on,* hence מִמְּךָ וָהָלְאָה (*away from thee and hither*) *on this side of thee,* and מִמְּךָ וָהָלְאָה (*away from thee and farther on*) *beyond thee,* 1 Sam. 20, 21, 22, Is. 18, 2; עָל, מֵעָל more commonly מִמַּעַל *above,* לְמִמַּעַל *above, over something,* מִתַּחַת *below,* מַעְלָה *upwards,* but also *above,* מִטָּה *downwards,* but also *below beneath,* חוּץ *outside,* מִחוּץ *on the outside,* מִבַּיִת and פְּנִימָה *within,* קֶדֶם, מִקֶּדֶם *before, on the east,* אָחוֹר *behind, backwards,* אֲחֹרַנִּית *backwards,* נֶגֶד *coram, over against,* יָמִין *to the right,* מִיָּמִין *on the right,* יָם *on the west* (prop. *from the sea*), סָבִיב and מִסָּבִיב *around,* קוֹמִמִיוּת *upright.*

To many of these adverbs מִן is prefixed, or the accusative-ending ־ָה appended, indicating respectively *whence* and *whither* e. g. שָׁם *there,* מִשָּׁם *thence,* שָׁמָּה *thither;* חוּץ *outside,* חוּצָה *outwards;* several adverbs never occur without the appended ־ָה, e. g. מַטָּה, הָלְאָה. Both these additions, however, sometimes express also the relation of *rest in*

a place, as שָׁמָּה *there* (not merely *thither*), מִיָּמִין *on the right* (not *from the right*). The ה— is in both cases the accusative-ending (§ 90, 2), and מִן properly denotes *starting from* or *depending on* an object, like ἐκ δεξιᾶς, *a dextra, a sinistra, a latere, a tergo*, and in French *de*ssous, *de*ssus, *de*dans, *de*hors.[1]

2. Adverbs *of time;* these are in part the same with those of place (above mentioned), which are transferred to relations of time; as שָׁם *then* (cf. ἐκεῖ); עַד־כֹּה *till now;* הָלְאָה *onward, henceforth;* עַד הֵנָּה and contracted עַדֵּנָּה, עֲדֶן *hitherto.*

Exclusively adverbs of time are עַתָּה *at the time*, hence *at this time, at present, now* (also expressing consequence and transition, like νῦν, νύν, νυνί), and *at times, then, soon;* הַיּוֹם (*this day*) *to-day;* כְּהַיּוֹם, כַּיּוֹם *at the time, now;* תְּמוֹל, אֶתְמוֹל *formerly, yesterday;* אֶתְמֹשׁ *yester-evening, last night;* שִׁלְשׁוֹם *day before yesterday* (almost always in the expression תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם *yesterday and the day before*); מָחָר *to-morrow* (*cras*), *in the future,* מִמָּחֳרַת *on the morrow;* יוֹמָם *by day;* לַיְלָה *by night;* בֹּקֶר and הַשְׁכֵּם *in the morning, early;* כָּל־הַיּוֹם *the whole day*, then *all the time, always;* תָּמִיד *continually, always;* עוֹלָם, לְעוֹלָם, *for ever;* נֶצַח, לָנֶצַח *perpetually;* אָז *then*, with reference to both past and future (§ 127, 4, *a*), מֵאָז *long since, formerly;* לְפָנִים *formerly;* כְּבָר *long since;* עוֹד *again, repeatedly*, commonly *yet*, with a negative, *no more;* כְּאֶחָד (*as one*) *at once, together;* יַחְדָּיו *together;* רִאשׁוֹנָה *at first;* אַחֲרֵי כֵן (*after so*) *afterwards,* מְהֵרָה *speedily,* פִּתְאֹם *instantly.*

3. Adverbs for other *modal ideas*, as—*a*) *Of quality;* כֹּה, כָּכָה (from כֹּה כֹּה) and כֵּן *so;* מְאֹד *very;* הֵיטֵב *exceedingly, very;* יוֹתֵר *more, too much;* כָּלָה *wholly;* כִּמְעַט, כִּמְאַיִן (*about* or *near nothing, about* or *within a little*= *wanting little*) *almost;* אֲפוֹא *so, so then* (Job 9, 24), hence often used intensively in questions (see § 153, 2, last Rem.); טוֹב and הֵיטֵיב *well.*

b) *Of quantity;* הַרְבֵּה *much,* לָרֹב *abundantly,* הוֹן (*riches*) *enough,* דַּי followed by the genitive (prop. *sufficiency*) *enough*, as דַּיָּהּ *what is enough for thee,* רַב, usually רַבַּת *much, enough;* לְבַד, בָּדָד, לְבָדָד (*in separation*) *alone*, the first also with suffixes, as לְבַדִּי *I alone;* יַחַד *together.*

c) *Of asseveration;* אָמְנָם, אָמֵן *truly,* אָכֵן, אָךְ *certainly, indeed;* אֲבָל *yes, certainly*, also *rather, imo*, Gen. 17, 19, 1 K. 1, 43; אוּלַי *perhaps.*[2]

The expression of asseveration may easily pass over into that of *opposition* (comp. *verum, vero*) and of *limitation;* and hence the above-

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[1] Cant. 4, 1 גִּלְעָד מֵהַר גְּלָשׁוּ *they lie along the declivity of Mount Gilead*, i. e. as if hanging from the side. Comp. Virg. Ecl. 1, 77; Soph. Antig., 411, καθήμεθ' ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων; Odyss. xxi, 420, ἐκ δίφροιο καθήμενος.

[2] Probably אוּלַי is compounded of אוֹ and לַי=לֹא, comp. Aram. הֵילְמָא *whether not, perhaps*, μήποτε. It is once employed in the sense of לוּלַי *if not*, in Num. 22, 33, then *whether not (who knows whether not)*, consequently *perhaps*, expressing doubt, solicitude, and also hope.

mentioned affirmative particles are partly *adversative* and *restrictive*, as אַךְ *only*, אָבָל, אֲבָל (both especially in later usage) *but;* אוּלָם *on the contrary* (the Sept. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά) is strongly adversative, used almost exclusively in the Pentateuch and Job. Restrictive also is רַק (like אַךְ) *merely*, i. e. *only*.

d) *Of reason, cause;* עַל־כֵּן, לָכֵן, לָהֵן, *therefore.*—*e*) *Of addition;* גַּם *also*, and (more poetical, and expressive of increase) אַף (*adeo*) *yea more, even*, both which, however, often pass over into conjunctions.

4. Adverbs *of negation;* on these see § 152.

5. Adverbs *of interrogation* include all the former classes. On the pure interrogative particles הֲ, אִם, see § 153; the question relating to *place* is asked by אַי, אַיֵּה *where?* the first with *suff.* אֵיפוֹ *where* (is) *he?* so אֵי זֶה, אַיזֶה, אֵיפֹה, אֵיכָה *where?* אֵי מִזֶּה *whence?* אָנָּה (from אַיְנָה) *whither?*—to *time*, by מָתַי *when?* עַד מָתַי *until when? how long?* עַד אָנָה *how long?*—to *quality*, by אֵיכָה, אֵיךְ *how?*—to *number* by כַּמָּה *how much? how often?*—to *cause*, by לָמָּה (§ 102, 2, *d*) and מַדּוּעַ (§ 99, 3) *why, wherefore?*

Most of these interrogative particles are formed by prefixing אַי, אֵי, which in itself signifies *where* (comp. Germ. *wo*von? *wo*hin?), but by usage becomes also a mere sign of interrogation before particles of place, time, etc.

In this manner, and by the application of the ending ה—, of the prep. מִן, and of the relative אֲשֶׁר, are formed whole classes of correlative adverbs, as זֶה *here*, מִזֶּה *hence*, אֵי זֶה *where?* אֵי מִזֶּה *whence?* אֲשֶׁר מִזֶּה *whence* (relative); שָׁם *there*, שָׁמָּה *thither*, מִשָּׁם *thence*, אֲשֶׁר שָׁם *where*, אֲשֶׁר שָׁמָּה *whither*, אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁם *whence* (see § 123, 1).

§ 151.

CONSTRUCTION OF ADVERBS.

1. Adverbs not only serve to qualify the verb, but also the adjective, טוֹב מְאֹד *very good,* and even substantives (like ἡ χθὲς ἡμέρα); in the latter case they stand either,—*a*) in apposition after it, as אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט *a few men* (prop. *men in fewness*) Neh. 2, 12; תְּבוּנָה הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד *very much wisdom* 1 K. 5, 9; or—*b*) in the genitive, as קְלֶלַת חִנָּם *a curse uttered without a cause* Prov. 26, 2; עֵד חִנָּם *a witness without a cause* Prov. 24, 28, where the adverb is treated *substantively*.

The adverbs also appear in the nature of substantives, when, as in the later writers, they take a preposition; e. g. בְּכֵן *in the so*=כֵּן Est. 4, 16, אֶל־חִנָּם prop. *for in vain*, Ez. 6, 10 (comp. *in* or *ad irritum*).

2. The repetition of an adverb sometimes denotes stress or intensity, and sometimes continual accession; e. g. מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly* Gen. 7, 19, Num. 14, 7; מַטָּה מַטָּה *lower and lower* Deut. 28, 43; מְעַט מְעַט *by little and little* (*peu à peu*) Ex. 23, 30.

On the periphrasis of adverbial ideas by verbs, see § 142, Rem. 1.

3. In reference to the restrictive particles אַךְ, רַק as well as to the augmentative גַּם, אַף we should remark that they frequently affect (especially after interrogative particles) not the next following word, but the whole next following sentence, sometimes even (by skipping the antecedent) its consequent clause. Comp., as to גַּם 1 Sam. 22, 7, Zech. 9, 11, Job 2, 10; for אַף Job 14, 3; for אַךְ 16, 7, 23, 6; for רַק Ps. 32, 6, Prov. 13, 10.—On a similar use of interrogative particles v. § 153, 2.

§ 152.

OF THE WORDS WHICH EXPRESS NEGATION.

1. The most important adverbs of negation are לֹא (*subst.* Job 6, 21)=οὐ *not,* אַל=μή *that not,* אֵין (the opposite of יֵשׁ) *there is not,* טֶרֶם *not yet,* אֶפֶס *no more.* Almost exclusively poetic are בַּל, בְּלִי, בִּלְתִּי *not;* negative conjunctions, פֶּן, אַל, לְבִלְתִּי, בִּלְתִּי *that not, lest.*

We subjoin a more complete view of the use of these words:—

לֹא (like οὐ, οὐκ) is used principally for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence it is commonly connected with the *Perfect* or *Imperfect* (as *Indicative*), on its connection with the *Imperfect* to express *prohibition* see § 127, 3, *c.*—In connection with כֹּל, when the latter is not followed by the article and therefore means *any one, any thing,* it expresses the Lat. *nullus, none* (comp. Fr. *ne . . personne, ne . . rien*); Ex. 12, 16 כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה *no labour shall be done,* Job 33, 13, usually in the position of כֹּל . . . לֹא, Ex. 10, 15, 20, 4, 2 Ch. 32, 15, Prov. 12, 21, 30, 30. So also אֵין with כֹּל, Ec. 1, 9 אֵין כָּל־חָדָשׁ *there is nothing new.* But the case is different when כֹּל is definite, where it means *all, the whole,* as in Num. 23, 13 כֻּלּוֹ לֹא תִרְאֶה *all of him* (*his whole*) *thou shalt not see* (but only a part). Comp. also cases like Gen. 3, 1 *You shall not eat of all the trees of the garden,* as much as to say *of no tree at all.* On the use of לֹא in interrogative sentences, see § 153, 1.—לֹא serves also absolutely for negative answer, *no!* Gen. 19, 2, Josh. 5, 14, Job 23, 6.

לֹא put before a noun, either substantive or adjective, forms with it sometimes a kind of compound, as לֹא־אֵל *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*), i. e. who is no God at all Deut. **32**, 21, לֹא דָבָר *a nothing* (Germ. *Unding*) Am. **6**, 13, לֹא חָסִיד *impious* Ps. **43**, 1.

On the position of לֹא in the clause, see § 145, 1, Note.[1]

אַל (like μή, Lat. *ne*) for the *subjective* and *dependent* negation is connected with the *Imperfect* (as *Jussive*); hence the phrase אַל יָבֹא *ne veniat* means *may he not come*, or *let him not come*. See above, § 128, 2.

Sometimes אַל stands like לֹא absolutely, without the verb (like μὴ for μὴ τοῦτο γένηται), *nay I pray, not so*, i. e. *let it not be;* e. g. Ruth **1**, 13 אַל בְּנֹתַי *not so, my daughters*, Gen. **19**, 18 (אַל־נָא).—On the interrogative use of it, see § 153, 1.

אֵין (prop. *constr. st.* of אַיִן *non-entity*) is the negative of יֵשׁ (*he, she, it*) *is*, and includes the verb *to be* in all its tenses; e. g. Num. **14**, 42 אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם *the Lord is not among you*, Gen. **37**, 29 אֵין־יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר *Joseph was not in the pit.* The same formulas are expressed positively with יֵשׁ, and negatively with אֵין, as Gen. **31**, 29 יֶשׁ־לְאֵל יָדִי *it is in my power* (prop. it is i. e. it belongs to the power of my hand), Neh. **5**, 5 אֵין לְאֵל יָדֵנוּ *it is not in our power.*—It follows, moreover,—α) that the personal pronouns, when they are the subject of the sentence, are appended to אֵין as suffixes; as אֵינֶנִּי *I am not, I was not, I shall not be;* אֵינֵנוּ, אֵינָם, etc.—β) When the predicate is a verb, it almost universally takes the form of a participle, the verb substantive being implied in אֵין; Ex. **5**, 16 תֶּבֶן אֵין נִתָּן *straw is not given*, vs. 10 אֵינֶנִּי נֹתֵן *I do not give*, **8**, 17, Deut. **1**, 32.—γ) As יֵשׁ sometimes signifies *to be present, to be near* or *at hand;* so אֵין is used in the contrary sense, *to be not present* or *at hand;* אֵינֶנּוּ *he was not present=was no more* Gen. **5**, 24. Quite anomalous stands אַיִן Job **35**, 15 before the perfect as an emphatic negation. Comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

From אַיִן (or אִין 1 Sam. **21**, 9) is formed by abbreviation the negative syllable אִי, employed in a few compounds; as in Job **22**, 30 אִי־נָקִי *not-guiltless.* In Ethiopic it is the most common form of negation, and is there used even as a prefix to verbs.

לְבִלְתִּי (prop. *constr. st.* with the ending י—, § 90, 3, *a*) from בְּלִי *want, non-existence* (from verb בָּלָה) is most frequently employed before the *Inf.* when it is to be expressed negatively with a preposition; as לֶאֱכֹל *to eat*, לְבִלְתִּי אֱכֹל *not to eat* Gen. **3**, 11. Rarely with a finite verb for *that not* Jer. **23**, 14, or *without that* Ez. **13**, 3.

פֶּן *a removing, an averting* (from the stem פָּנָה *to turn*) is the same as *lest, that not* (=L. *ne forte*), at the beginning of sentences indicating fear or apprehension, therefore especially after verbs signifying *to fear, to beware* (like δείδω μή, *vereor ne*) Gen. **31**, 24, 31; but the expression of apprehension may have resulted already from the connection of speech, comp. Gen. **11**, 4; **19**, 5, and even Gen. **3**, 22 וְעַתָּה פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ *and now, lest he stretch forth his hand.*

2. Two negatives in the same sentence, instead of destroying each other, as in Latin and English, make the negation stronger, as in Greek[1] οὐκ οὐδείς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς; 1 K. 10, 21 אֵין כֶּסֶף לֹא נֶחְשָׁב לִמְאוּמָה *silver was not at all regarded for any thing* (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch. 9, 20, לֹא is wanting), Ex. 14, 11.—In Zeph. 2, 2 בְּטֶרֶם לֹא־יָבוֹא lit. *before there shall not come,* where we drop the negative in Eng. and say *before it shall come,* Is. 5, 9 מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב prop. *without no inhabitant* (i. e. *so that there is no inhabitant*).[2]

3. When one negative sentence follows another, especially in the poetic parallelism, the negation is often expressed only in the first, while its influence extends also to the second; 1 Sam. 2, 3 *multiply not words of pride,—let* (not) *that which is arrogant come forth from your mouth* Ps. 9, 19, 35, 19, 38, 2, Job 28, 17, Is. 23, 4.

§ 153.

OF INTERROGATIVE WORDS AND SENTENCES.

1. Interrogation may be indicated simply by the *tone* of voice in which the words or sentences are uttered; e. g. 2 Sam. 18, 29 שָׁלוֹם לַנַּעַר *is it well with the young man?* Gen. 27, 24 אַתָּה זֶה בְּנִי עֵשָׂו *art thou now my son Esau?* 1 K. 1, 24. This is more frequent when the sentence is connected with a previous one by וְ; Jon. 4, 11 וַאֲנִי לֹא אָחוּס *and should I not spare?* Judg. 11, 23, 14, 16, Job 2, 10; and also after the particles גַּם (Zech. 8, 6). But negative sentences can still more readily be uttered, with the interrogative tone; e. g. with הֲלֹא, when an affirmative answer is expected (*nonne?*), Ex. 8, 22, 2 Sam. 23, 5, Lam. 3, 38; once with אַל in expectation of a negative answer, 1 Sam. 27, 10 אַל־פְּשַׁטְתֶּם הַיּוֹם *ye have not then made an incursion at this time?* (see however below).[3]

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[1] Also in Welsh, as in *nid oes dim* (*there is nothing,* prop. *there is not nothing*).—*Tr.*

[2] See more on this use of two negatives, in *Ewald's* Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache, § 323, *a.*—*Tr.*

[3] In the same manner are used οὐκ (*nonne?*) and μή; the former (Hom. Il. x, 165, iv, 242) in expectation of an affirmative, the latter (Odyss. vi, 200)

2. Most commonly the simple question begins with *He interrogative* ה (Lat. *num?*)[1]—the disjunctive question with הַ (Lat. *num? utrum?*) followed in the second clause by אִם, Lat. *an?* אִם—הַ (=*utrum—an?*), as in 1 K. 22, 15 הַנֵּלֵךְ .... אִם־נֶחְדַּל *whether shall we go .... or shall we forbear?*

To be more particular:—

The הַ is strictly a sign of the simple and pure question, when the inquirer is uncertain what answer to expect; as Job 2, 3 *hast thou considered* (הֲשַׂמְתָּ לִבְּךָ אֶל־עַבְדִּי) *my servant?* Often he may expect a negative answer (*num?*), which he may express in his very tone; Gen. 4, 9 הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אָנֹכִי *am I the keeper of my brother?* Job 14, 14 *if a man die,* הֲיִחְיֶה *shall he live again?* Such a question may have precisely the force of a negative assertion; 2 Sam. 7, 5 הַאַתָּה תִּבְנֶה־לִּי בַּיִת *shalt thou build a house for me?* (in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 17, 4 לֹא אַתָּה וגו׳ *thou shalt not build a house for me*) and, *vice versâ*, the negative form of the question has the effect of an affirmation, הֲלֹא *nonne? is it not so?* for הִנֵּה *behold!* 2 K. 15, 21, 20, 20, comp. 2 Ch. 27, 7, 32, 32.[2] On the other hand, the question may be so uttered as to show that the speaker expects affirmation and assent, when it corresponds, in effect, with the negative form of the question in English; compare the use of ἦ γάρ and ἦ γὰρ οὐ for *is not?* and of the Latin, *-ne* for *nonne?* Job 20, 4 הֲזֹאת יָדַעְתָּ *dost thou (not) know this?*—The rare instances in which a *simple* question seems to be introduced by אִם are based in truth on the suppression of the first member of a double question, as we say *or perhaps* (German *oder etwa*), Lat. *an*, as in Is. 29, 16, 1 K. 1, 27, Job 6, 12.

The *disjunctive* question (*whether—or?*) is usually expressed under the form אִם—הַ, also וְאִם—הַ, Job 21, 4; with emphasis on the first question וְאִם—הֲאַתָּה, 34, 17, 40, 8, 9; yet also, with אוֹ *or* before the second clause, Job 16, 3, Eccl. 2, 19. The use of this combination אִם—הַ does not, however, always require opposition between the clauses, but often stands in poetic parallelisms and in other sentences (Gen. 37, 8), where the same question is merely repeated in different words in the second clause, and thus made more emphatic, as in Job 4, 17

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of a negative answer. But this analogy is not sufficient to gain a sense in the question 1 Sam. 27, 10 in connection with David's answer. But probably for אֶל in 1 Sam. 27, 10 we should read עַל after the Sept. ἐπὶ τίνα=עַל־מִי.

[1] The omission of the הַ occurs especially before a following guttural (so plainly before ה Job 38, 18) to avoid the hiatus.

[2] In a similar manner, מָה *what? [why?]*, spoken with indignation expresses prohibition under the form of reproach or expostulation; Cant. 8, 4 מַה־תָּעִירוּ *why do ye rouse?* Job 16, 6, 31, 1. This negative force of מָה is very frequent in Arabic.

is man just more than God, or (אִם) *is a man pure more than his Maker?* **6**, 5, 6, **8**, 3, **10**, 4, 5, **11**, 2, 7, **22**, 3; hence וְ also stands before the second clause in such cases (instead of אִם), Job **13**, 7, **15**, 7, 8, or there is no particle at all to connect the clauses, as in Job **22**, 4.—Now and then הֲ stands again in the second member, as in Judg. **14**, 15 (where there is actual opposition); but more usually in a continued, double question, as in 1 Sam. **23**, 11; where however not a disjunction but connecting of two simple questions takes place. In Job **6**, 12 אִם stands already in the first member of a double questions; followed by הַאִם (v. 13) in the third question.

In the so-called *indirect*[1] questions, after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining, the simple question takes either הֲ (*whether*) Gen. **8**, 8, or אִם Cant. **7**, 13, 2 K. **1**, 2; the disjunctive question (*whether—or*) הֲ—אִם Gen. **27**, 21, Ex. **16**, 4, and also הֲ—הֲ Num. **13**, 18 upon which again הֲ—אִם follows.—The formula מִי יוֹדֵעַ אִם (*who knows if*, i. e. *whether or not*) is also used affirmatively like the Latin *nescio an*, Est. **4**, 14.

For interrogative adverbs of place, time, etc., see § 150, 5.

The words זֶה (§ 122, 2) and אֲפוֹא *now, then*, (§ 150, 3), serve to give animation or intensity to a question (like ποτέ, *tandem*, Eng. *then, now*); as מַה־לְּךָ אֲפוֹא *what aileth thee now? quid tibi tandem est?* Is. **22**, 1; אַיֵּה אֲפוֹא *where then?* Job **17**, 15.

As the other particles (§ 151, 3) so also the interrogatives affect sometimes, not the next following but only the second one of two coordinate sentences; so הֲ Job **4**, 2, הֲלֹא **4**, 21, מַדּוּעַ Is. **5**, 4; **50**, 2.

3. The affirmative answer is given, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word of the interrogative sentence (the second person becomes the first in Gen. **27**, 24, Judg. **13**, 11) Gen. **29**, 6, 1 Sam. **23**, 11; the negative answer is לֹא *no* Gen. **19**, 2, see § 152, 1.

§ 154.

THE PREPOSITIONS.

1. The *simple*[2] prepositions, like the adverbs, originally denote for the most part physical relations, viz. those of

[1] It should be remarked that the difference between the direct and indirect question could not have been as clear to the Hebrews as it is, for instance, to the Latins or Germans. In Hebrew this discrimination was not made either by a change of mood or by the position of the words (as in German).

[2] Among these we reckon such forms as לְפָנַי, לְמַעַן, which in themselves are indeed compound words, but as prepositions they express only one idea, and are thus distinguished from the compounds under No. 2, e. g. מִלְּפָנַי *from before.*

space, and are then used for intellectual relations, as those of time, cause, etc. The prepositions of place originally denote either *rest* in a place, or *motion* from or to a place.

a) The most important prepositions of *place* are:—

α) Of *state* or *rest*, בְּ *in, at, by,* עַל *upon* and *over,* תַּחַת *under, instead of,* אַחַר, אַחֲרֵי *behind, after,* לִפְנֵי *before,* נֶגֶד, נֹכַח, מוּל, *before, opposite to* אֵת(־אֶת) *with, by,* אֵצֶל *on the side, by, near,* בְּצַד, בַּצַּד (prop. *in proximity to*) *behind, about* (ἀμφί), בֵּין *between,* עֵבֶר *on the other side, beyond.*

β) Of *motion,* מִן *from,* אֶל and לְ *to, towards,* עַד *unto, as far as;* and also (from the former class) בְּ, *into,* עַל *upon, towards.*

b) Very many of the above-mentioned prepositions express also relations of *time,* as בְּ, *in, within,* מִן, אֶל, עַד, etc.

c) Of those which denote other relations we may mention, כְּ, (Lat. *instar*) *as,* (כְּדֵי) *as often as,* כְּפִי *according to*), עִם *together with, with,* זוּלַת, בִּלְעֲדֵי *without, besides,* לְמַעַן, לַעַן *on account of,* עֵקֶב (prop. *as a reward*) *for, because.*

2. The Hebrew language developes a great degree of dexterity and accuracy of discrimination in the *compounding* of prepositions. Thus, those of motion are combined with others denoting rest, so as to express not only a *change* of relation, but also the state which was existing before the change, or which is to follow as the result of it, as in French *de chez, d'auprès.*[1] So—

a) with מִן: מֵאַחַר *from behind,* מִבֵּין *from between,* מֵעַל *from upon or above,* מֵעִם, מֵאֵת *from with* (Fr. *de chez quelqu'un*), מִתַּחַת *from under.*

b) with אֶל (not so often): אֶל אַחֲרֵי *to behind* or *after;* אֶל־מִן (prop. *to out from*) *even out from* Job 5, 5; מִבְחוּץ לְ *without,* i. e. *on the outside of,* אֶל מִבְחוּץ לְ *forth without* Num. 5, 3.

Adverbs also compounded with prepositions, take after them לְ (more seldom מִן), and again become prepositions; e. g. מֵעַל (adv.) *above,* לְ מֵעַל (prep.) *above, over,* מִתַּחַת (adv.)

[1] When the Hebrew says, Is. 6, 6: *he took the live coal* מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *from upon the altar (away from the top of the altar),* he presents the idea fully; while it is but half expressed in the Fr. *il prend le chapeau sur la table,* the Germ. *er nimmt den Hut vom Tische weg* = the Eng. *he takes his hat away from the table,* the Fr. omitting one relation, the Germ. and Eng. another.

below, מִתַּחַת לְ (prep.) *below, under,* מִחוּץ לְ (prep.) *without,* לְבַד *separately, aside,* לְבַד מִן *aside from, besides.*

This accessory preposition may also precede the adverbial form; e. g. לְבַד מִן=מִלְּבַד *besides,* מִבַּלְעֲדֵי *without,* Syr. ܒܠܥܕ ܡܢ[1]; rarely it is wholly wanting, as מִתַּחַת (for מִתַּחַת לְ) Job 26, 5.

3. We will now present a few prepositions (such as occur most frequently and have the greatest variety of meaning), with their principal significations, in order to explain their construction with verbs (§ 140), and the most important idioms connected with them.

a) בְּ, which, of all the prepositions, has the greatest variety of significations, denotes,—1) prop. rest *in* a place (ἐν), hence *in* with reference to time, and to state or condition, as בְּרֵאשִׁית, בַּבֹּקֶר, בְּשָׁלוֹם—with reference to a company, or number of individuals, *among,* e. g. בַּגּוֹיִם,—with reference to bounds or limits, *within,* as בִּשְׁעָרִים *within the gates,* בְּעֵינֵי in the eyes, i. e. in the reach of the eyes (ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Iliad I, 587);—of high objects, *upon,* as בַּסּוּסִים *upon horses* Is. 66, 20 (at the same time transition to the idea of *clinging to* something v. below); but it has rarely all these significations after verbs of motion= εἰς (like *ponere in loco*).[2] The Hebrew says,—α) to drink *in* a cup (because a part of the face is in it) Gen. 44, 5 (so in Arabic and Aram., Dan. 5, 2, ἐν ποτηρίοις, ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνειν Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4, 3 Ezr. 3, 6, *in ossibus bibere* in Florus, French *boire dans une tasse*);—β) *in* the manner, *in* the model or rule, for *after* the manner or model (comp. ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, *hunc in modum*), as כִּדְבַר פ׳ *according to the command of,* בַּעֲצַת פ׳ *according to the counsel of any one,* בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ *in* (*after*) *our image, after our likeness* Gen. 1, 26, (comp. vs. 27, and 5, 1) 5, 3 *Adam begat a son* בִּדְמוּתוֹ כְּצַלְמוֹ. Also in these examples the idea of *clinging to, attaching to* a model is mingled with that of being in a sphere; comp. also Gen. 21, 12 *in Isaac* (בְּיִצְחָק) *thy seed shall be called,* i. e. it shall be attached to Isaac when Abraham's descendants are spoken of.—To the same category (of sphere, norm, etc.) belongs finally the so-called בְּ *instrumentale* e. g. בַּשֵּׁבֶט *with the staff* (Micah 4, 14); even of a person בְּךָ *by thee* (Ps. 18, 30). A kind of בְּ *instrumentale* is the so-called בְּ *pretii* (the price being considered a means of obtaining

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[1] In the Syr. ܒܠܥܕ ܡܢ means *over,* as preposition, but ܡܢ ܒܠܥܕ *above* as adverb (see *Hoffmanni,* Gram. Syr. p. 280). The Hebrew in like manner says לְמִן *from* (a starting point) *onward,* for לְ מִן, precisely the Lat. *usque a, usque ex,* comp. also *inde.*

[2] When the בְּ seems to stand for *motion* (אֶל), like ἐν for εἰς or Lat. *in* (as in the above example), the idea of *rest* (in which the *motion* ends) really predominates in the mind, e. g. נָתַן בְּיָד.—*Tr.*

a thing). On the periphrasing of the object with the so-called בְּ *objecti* v. § 138, 1, Rem. 3, Note. Especial attention is due to the passages, where we have,—γ) בְּ *essentiæ* of the grammarians, which everywhere means, *as, tanquam* (Fr. *en*), Ex. **6**, 3 *I appeared to Abraham* בְּאֵל שַׁדָּי *as God Almighty;* Is. **40**, 10 *the Lord will come* בְּחָזָק *as a strong one;* Ps. **35**, 2; **37**, 20; **68**, 5, בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ *Jah is his name* (comp. Is. **26**, 4).—Job **23**, 13 הוּא בְאֶחָד *he is an only one* (i. e. unique). In Arabic this idiom is frequent; see *Gesenii* Thes. Ling. Heb. p. 174, *Delitzsch* on Ps. **35**, 2.—2) Nearness *at, by, on;* בַּנָּהָר=ἐν ποταμῷ *on the river* Ez. **10**, 15. In this sense it more frequently indicates motion *unto;* it differs, however, both from אֶל *to, towards* (where the aim need not be attained necessarily) and עַד *as far as to* (where the aim is reached). Thus it is used to express *touching at, joining, reaching as far as,* (therefore as above, *clinging to*); Gen. **11**, 4 *a tower* רֹאשׁוֹ בַּשָּׁמַיִם *whose top shall be in* (i. e. reach to) *heaven.* Hence, after transitive verbs בְּ serves frequently to introduce the object where in Latin and German compounds with *ad, in* and *an* are used e. g. אָחַז בְּ *to take hold in* (*an*fassen), נָגַע בְּ *to touch on* (*an*rühren), שָׁאַל בְּ *to ask at, to consult* (*an*fragen), קָרָא בְּ *to call upon* (*an*rufen), רָאָה בְּ *to look upon* (*an*sehen), שָׁמַע בְּ *to hearken to* (*an*hören). The last two, often include the idea of sympathy, pleasure or (seldom) pain with which one sees or hears anything; comp. רָאָה בְּ *to see ones joy at something,* and Gen. **21**, 16 אַל־אֶרְאֶה בְּמוֹת הַיֶּלֶד *let me not look on the death of the child!* The same fundamental idea of *clinging to* shows itself also in the construction of certain *verba cordis* with בְּ, e. g. הֶאֱמִין בְּ, בָּטַח בְּ *to trust, to believe in,* שָׂמַח בְּ *to rejoice in something,* etc.—Finally belongs here also the *partitive* use of the בְּ, as נָשָׂא בְּ *to help to carry* (an etwas *mit*tragen) Num. **11**, 17, Job **7**, 13; **21**, 25; **39**, 17, Neh. **4**, 4 שָׂמַח בְּ *to rejoice in* something etc.

With the idea of *nearness,* that of *society, accompaniment,* readily connects itself; Gen. **32**, 11 *with my staff* (בְּמַקְלִי) *I passed over this Jordan.* It should be remarked that verbs of *coming* and *going,* with בְּ (to come, or go, *with*) express the idea of *bringing of coming with something;* e. g. Judg. **15**, 1 *Samson visited his wife with a kid,* i. e. brought her a kid, Deut. **23**, 5.

b) עַל signifies *upon* (ἐπί) and *over* (ὑπέρ, L. *super*); very frequently used of motion (down) *upon* or *over*—(up) *upon* or *over* a thing. In the sense of (resting) *upon* (coming) *upon,* it is used after verbs signifying *to be heavy,* i. e. *burdensome, afflictive* (prop. *to lie heavily upon*) Is. **1**, 14, Job **7**, 20, **23**, 2,—*to set* or *appoint over* (*to commission*), as פָּקַד עַל,—*to pity, to spare,* as חוּס עַל (prop. *to look tenderly upon*). With the primary idea is connected that of *accession* (conceived as a *laying upon*) and of *conformity, after, according to* (with reference to the rule or pattern, *upon* which a thing is laid to be measured or modelled), and of *cause* (*ob quam*), *on account of* (prop. *upon* something as ground or motive), *although.* In the signification *over,* it is often used with

verbs of *covering, protecting,* גָּנַן עַל, כָּסָה עַל (prop. *to place a covering, a shield, over*); and so also with those of kindred meaning, as נִלְחַם עַל *to contend for one* (i. e. *to protect one*), Judg. **9**, 17. It is used for *at, by, before, near,* in cases where there is an actual elevation of one of the related objects above the other, conceived as an impending *over* as for instance the standing person reaching over the sitting persons (Job **1**, 6), the tree *on* the brook reaching over the surface of the water (Ps. **1**, 3) etc.; comp. alo עַל־יַדֵי, עַל־יַד (Job **1**, 14) *near,* יָד, עַל, *on the side.* Hence, it expresses the relation of motion to the object *at* which it terminates, *to, towards* (especially with hostile intent) so that in the later Hebrew style and in poetry it is often used for אֶל and לְ; see Lex.

c) מִן (§ 102) indicates *motion, removal, away from* anything. Its fundamental signification is that of *separation from a whole, derivation, descent.* As *constr. st.* of a noun מֵן *part,* it properly means *part of,* hence *off, from,* used at first with reference to the part which is taken from the whole, e. g. to give, to take *part of=from.* This fundamental signification appears plainest, when it expresses *some* (more rarely one) *of,* before the whole from which a part is taken, e. g. מִשָּׂרֵי יִשְׂ׳ *some of the princes of Israel* 2 Ch. **21**, 4, מִדָּם *some blood* (Fr. *du sang*). It has the same signification when (apparently pleonastic) it is connected with the words *one, none,* in the so often misapprehended idiom of the Hebrew and Arabic *non ab uno,* i. e. *not any one, not the least,* prop. not even a part, a piece, the least portion, of one; and so in Heb. without negation=Lat. *ab uno* for *ullus,* Lev. **4**, 2, Deut. **15**, 7, Ez. **18**, 10.[1]

In its most ordinary use, with reference to motion *away from* (*from out of* something, *e numero,* 2 K. **10**, 24 and even absolutely: *far, rid of,* Job **19**, 26) it forms the opposite of אֶל, עַד, and is employed not merely after verbs which express actual motion, as to depart (*from*), to flee (*from*), but also those of kindred signification, as *to be afraid, to hide, to beware;* comp. in Gr. and Lat. καλύπτω ἀπό, *custodire ab.* In its tropical use with reference to time, it may mean either *from* (a time) *on,* in which case the reckoning is to be made from the *beginning,* not from the end of the period specified (like ἀπὸ νυκτός, *de nocte, from the setting in of night*), as מִיָּמֶיךָ Job **38**, 12 *from the beginning of thy days onward;* or it may mean (counted from the expiration of a term) *next from,* i. e. *immediately after* (ἐξ ἀρίστου, *ab itinere*), as מֵהָקִיץ (Ps. **73**, 20) *immediately after awaking,* Gen. **38**, 24 מִשְּׁלֹשׁ חֳדָשִׁים *about after the expiration of three months,* Hos. **6**, 2; very often in the same way מִקֵּץ *from the end,* i. e. after the expiration of.—On the idea of *going out from* is based finally the very frequent *causative* use, *for, on account of, in consequence of* (comp. the English *that comes from....*).

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[1] See *Gesenii* Thesaurus, II, p. 801.

For the use of it to denote *rest on the side* of an object, where the idea is that of near distance, of being just *off from* (the Lat. *prope abesse ab, pendere ex aliqua re*), see § 150, 1. For the use of מִן for expressing the comparative, see § 119, 1.

d) אֵל, אֶלֵי, אֶל (prop. *region, direction,* hence *towards*) denotes *motion,* and also merely *direction towards* (with reference both to physical and to intellectual objects) whether that towards which the motion is directed is reached or not. In the former case it is equivalent to עַד, e. g. אֶל־פִּיהוּ *even unto his mouth* Job **40**, 23; when it means entering *into* a thing, it is equivalent to אֶל־תּוֹךְ, e. g. בּוֹא אֶל־הַתֵּבָה *to go into the ark.*

Rarely, and only by power of pregnancy in the expression, regarding the motion which leads to the end instead of the end itself, אֶל is sometimes employed to denote rest in a place at which one has arrived; Jer. **41**, 12 *they found him* אֶל־מַיִם רַבִּים *by great waters.* אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם *at the place* Deut. **16**, 6, 1 K. **8**, 30. Compare the Gr. εἰς, ἐς, for ἐν, e. g. δόμους μένειν Soph. Ajax, 80; so too in Acts **8**, 40 εὑρέθη εἰς Ἄζωτον. The German use of *zu* in *zu Hause, zu Leipzig,* is quite analogous.

e) לְ is distinguished from אֶל, of which it is an abbreviation, by the fact that it expresses *direction* (not *movement*) towards something in a more general way,[1] as well as by being more commonly used in the metaphoric senses.—From its fundamental idea of *inclining towards, direction towards,* may be explained both the use of לְ as *nota dativi* and as periphrasis of the *genetivus possessoris,* or *auctoris* § 115, 2 (the idea of belonging to) as well as its signification *with respect to, on account of, in behalf of.* The *dativus commodi* is used pleonastically (especially in the language of common intercourse and in the later style) after verbs of motion, as *to go, to flee,* especially in the *Imperative,* e. g. לְךָ־לְךָ *go, get thee away,* בְּרַח־לְךָ *flee* (for thy safety); but also after other verbs, as דְּמֵה־לְךָ *be thou like* Cant. **2**, 17.—It is a solecism of the *later* time (common in Aram. and Ethiop.) when active verbs are construed with לְ instead of the accusative, as שָׁלַח לְ in Ezr. **8**, 16, 2 Ch. **17**, 7.

Very often also, it denotes *rest,* hence *at,* or *in,* with reference to place and time; as לִימִינְךָ *on thy right,* לָעֶרֶב *at eventide.*—On its use after passive and other verbs to denote the efficient cause or author, see § 143, 2.

f) כְּ (prop. substantive, Lat. *instar,* as an adverb *about, nearly*), as a prep. *as, like to;* for denoting similarity it is doubled כְּ—כְּ *as—so* Gen. **18**, 25, and also *so—as* in Gen. **44**, 18, in later authors וְכְ—כְּ; *according to, after,* from the idea of conformity to a model or rule; as a designation of time *at* (not *about,* especially Gen. **18**, 10 כָּעֵת *at this*

[1] Comp. *Giesebrecht,* Die hebr. Praepos. *Lamed* (Halle 1876), S. 4 ff.

time=at the same time), the supposition of so-called *Kāph veritatis* is justified if only the correct idea is connected with it. According to the older grammarians such a *Kāph veritatis* stands pleonastically not to indicate similarity but the thing itself, in cases like Neh. 2, 7 *for he was* כְּאִישׁ אֱמֶת; this is however not merely predicate=*a faithful man* but *as a faithful man* must be; 1 Sam. 10, 27; 25, 26, Is. 1, 7, Job 27, 7.—Comp. also כִּמְעַט in places like Ps. 105, 12=*very little* (elsewhere *almost easily*).

4. In the poetic parallelism, a preposition which stands in the first member may be omitted in the corresponding place in the second member; e. g. בְּ, Is. 48, 14 *he will do his pleasure on Babylon* (בְּבָבֶל), *and his power on the Chaldeans* (כַּשְׂדִּים for בְּכַשְׂדִּים), Hab. 3, 15, Job 15, 3. So also לְ Job 34, 10, Is. 28, 6, עַד 15, 8, לְמַעַן 48, 9, מִן Is. 30, 1, תַּחַת Is. 61, 7. Comp. § 152, 3.

§ 155.

THE CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The Hebrew language, considered with regard to its conjunctions, and especially its ability to form them from most of the prepositions by the addition of אֲשֶׁר and כִּי (§ 104, 1, *c*), exhibits no small copiousness and flexibility, compared with its usual simplicity. But the writers have often neglected the means, which it furnishes for accurately expressing the relations of sentences and members of a sentence, contenting themselves with less perfect modes of connection[1]; hence the various significations which certain conjunctions in frequent use (particularly וְ, כִּי, אֲשֶׁר) either actually have, or at least seem to require when translated into our Western languages, as these do not always permit us (see No. 3) to retain such a loose and indefinite connection.

Of the most extensive application is וְ, וּ (§ 104, 2);[2] it stands:

a) Properly and usually *copulative* (our *and*), connecting single words as well as whole sentences. When three or more words stand in connection, it is used either before every one after the first (2 K.

[1] Comp. a similar case in § 107, 1, Rem., § 147, Rem. 1.

[2] See fuller particulars on the use of *Wāw copulative*, in *Gesenii* Thesaurus I, p. 393 *et seqq.*

23, 5), or before the last only (Gen. **13**, 2); rarely after the first only (Ps. **45**, 9). In certain set-phrases it is commonly omitted, as *yesterday* (and) *the day before* Ex. **5**, 8. The tone of animated description or narration may also occasion the omission of it (*coustructio asyndeta*); as Judg. **5**, 2 *at her feet he bowed, fell, lay*, Job **20**, 19, Cant. **2**, 11, **5**, 6.

As connecting *words*, it is often *explicative* (like *isque, et—quidem*= Germ. *und zwar;* so-called *Wāw explicativum*), 1 Sam. **28**, 3 בְּרָמָה וּבְעִירוֹ *in Ramah and* (that is) *in his own city*, **17**, 4 (*and in truth with the bear*) 2 Sam. **13**, 20, Amos **3**, 11, **4**, 10; also in a manner that the second idea could be subordinate as the genitive (the ἓν διὰ δυοῖν of the grammarians), e. g. Gen. **3**, 16 עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ *thy pain and thy conception*=the pain of thy conception (unless the ו has an emphatic sense= *and especially* thy conception); perhaps also Job **10**, 17 2 Ch. **16**, 14 בְּשָׂמִים וְזֹנִים *spices and sorts*, in the sense of *all sorts of spices*. A sure example of the so-called *Wāw concomitantiae* is Job **41**, 12: *a boiling pot* וְאַגְמֹן *with* (fire of) *rushes*. In Arabic this *Wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

As connecting *clauses* or *sentences*, it denotes either *continuation* (for *then* or *that*), hence before the apodosis (like German *da, so*) and after absolute designations of time (see Gen. **3**, 5, **27**, 30, Ex. **16**, 6, Josh. **2**, 8, Prov. **24**, 27 אַחַר וּבְנִיתָ בֵיתֶךָ *afterwards, then build thy house*) comp. § 145, 2; or *enhancement*, as in Job **5**, 19 *in six troubles he will deliver thee, yea, in seven no evil shall befall thee;* וְשַׁאֲלִי *rather ask immediately* . . . 1 K. **2**, 22; or *comparison*, especially in the proverbial poetry when facts of the moral world are put in comparison with facts of the physical world. Compare Job **5**, 7 *man is born to trouble, and so the sons of the flame fly on high*, for *just as these* (sparks, acc. to their nature) *fly high, so is*, etc., **12**, 11, **34**, 3; Prov. **17**, 3; **25**, 3; **12**, 25. But the *Wāw* is also—

b) To introduce the subject of sentences expressing a *state* or *circumstance* (comp. on this kind of *nominal sentence* § 144, *a*, 3, *b*)=*while* e. g. 2 Sam. **4**, 7 *they came into the house and* (=while) *he lay on his bed*, Gen. **19**, 1, Judg. **13**, 9; also if the circumstantial clause is *at the same time adversative* (e. g. *and yet, since however, while yet*), Judg. **16**, 15 *how canst thou say I love thee* וְלִבְּךָ אֵין אִתִּי *and* (*yet*) *thy heart is not with me* (i. e. *while yet*)? Gen. **15**, 2; **18**, 13; **20**, 3, Ps. **28**, 3 *who speak peace with their fellows* וְרָעָה בִּלְבָבָם *and* (=while yet) *mischief is in their heart*, Jer. **14**, 15 *who prophesy in my name* וַאֲנִי לֹא־שְׁלַחְתִּים *and* yet *I have not sent them*.

c) To introduce a causal clause Ps. **60**, 13: *give us help from trouble and* (because) *vain is the help of man*, Job **23**, 12.

d) *Inferential* (*then, so then, therefore*); Ex. **18**, 32 *I delight not in the death of him that dieth—*וְהָשִׁיבוּ *therefore turn ye*. In this sense it may stand even *at the beginning of a sentence*, when it implies an inference of some kind from cirumstances already mentioned; 2 K. **4**, 41

and he said וּקְחוּ־לֶחֶם *then take meal*, Ps. **4**, 4 וּדְעוּ *then know ye*, **2**, 10, 2 Sam. **24**, 3.

e) before phrases indicating a purpose or aim *in order that, so that;* in this sense chiefly with the *Perf. consec.* (126, b) cohortative or jussive (§ 128).

Of scarcely less extensive application are the two relative conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי (=ὅτι, *quod, quum, that, because*) which run almost parallel with each other in their significations, except that כִּי occurs as a conjunction far more frequently and in a great variety of senses, while אֲשֶׁר serves at the same time as *nota relationis* and often directly as a relative pronoun, and takes prefixes.

Both are prefixed (like *quod*) to a whole clause, standing as an accusative, governed by the preceding active verb as its object. אֲשֶׁר is even preceded in such a case by the accusative particle אֵת; Josh. **2**, 10 שָׁמַעְנוּ אֵת אֲשֶׁר־הוֹבִישׁ יְהוָה *we have heard* (id *quod exsiccavit*) *that Jehovah hath dried up*, (for which elsewhere simply שָׁמַעְנוּ אֲשֶׁר and still oftener שָׁמַעְנוּ כִּי), 1 Sam. **24**, 11, 19. Hence the following uses of כִּי:—*a*) it is employed especially before words of a *quotation*, like the Gr. ὅτι (very seldom אֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. **15**, 20);—*b*) as a *temporal* conjunction= ὅτε, prop. (at the time) *that*, (at the time) *where*, therefore *as when*, sometimes sharply distinguished by the signification *ut, supposing that*, from the conditional אִם *when* (v. Ex. chap. 21, which is very instructive in this regard) at other times passing over to the conditional power of אִם *when=if*, Job **38**, 5, comp. vs. 4 and 18 (seldom אֲשֶׁר, Lev. **4**, 22, Deut. **11**, 28);—*c*) *causal, eo quod, because*, fully יַעַן כִּי, יַעַן אֲשֶׁר, *propterea quod*, also *for*=γάρ. Often the causal signification of כִּי passes over into that of a particle of assurance (*certain it is, that; yes, to be sure*), especially after other particles of this kind;—*d*) *adversative* (in which sense כִּי only is used) either,—α) after a negative, *but*, prop. *because*, e. g. thou shalt *not* take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites—*but* a Hebrewess, i. e. *because* thou shalt take a Hebrewess, the former being prohibited *because* the latter is to be done Gen. **24**, 3; or,—β) where negation is only implied, e. g. after a question which involves denial (§ 153, 1, 2), when it may be rendered *no but, but no, for surely* (ἀλλά, γάρ), Mic. **6**, 3 what (injury) have I done to thee? . . . *for surely* I brought thee up, etc. Job **31**, 18 (*rather*). See on כִּי אִם below in No. 2, *i*,—*e*) also *final* (in which sense אֲשֶׁר alone is used)=*in order that*, (usually לְמַעַן אֲ v. No. 2, *e*) e. g. Gen. **11**, 7. Deut. **4**, 40, etc.

2. We now arrange the remaining conjunctions according to their significations, and in the case of those (very many in number) that have a variety of senses, exhibit together the different uses of each as it first occurs. We must, however, confine ourselves here to a brief general

notice, leaving the more complete view, with the references and proofs, to the Lexicons.

a) *Copulative:* besides the *Wāw*, the properly adverbial forms גַּם *also*, and intensive אַף, *there is added, wholly, even*, once combined וְאַף־גַּם *and even also* Lev. 26, 44. גַּם is often used with a number to include *all*, e. g. גַּם שְׁנֵיהֶם *both the two*, גַּם כֹּל *all together*. It also merely gives emphasis to the following word; Gen. 29, 30 *and he loved* גַּם־אֶת־ רָחֵל *Rachel* (not, also Rachel) *more than Leah*, 1 Sam. 24, 12.—אַף כִּי is prop. *add that*, hence *not to mention*, or according to the connection, *much more, much less.*

b) *Disjunctive:* אוֹ *or* (etym. *free will, choice*, hence prop. Lat. *vel*, but also *aut* with an exclusive antithesis 2 K. 2, 16). Sometimes it stands elliptically for אוֹ כִּי *or* (be it) *that, or* (it must be) *that*, when it may be rendered *unless that*, e. g. Is. 27, 5;—hence the transition to the conditional sense, *if, but if*, Ex. 21, 36 (the Sept. ἐὰν δέ, Vulg. *sin autem*), comp. also אוֹ in אוּלַי, § 150, 3, Note. Repeated, אוֹ—אוֹ (*sive—sive*), it is the same as אִם—אִם, or וְאִם—אִם.

c) *Temporal:* כִּי, אֲשֶׁר=ὅτε, *quum* (see above), for which more rarely is used the conditional particle אִם (Is. 4, 4, 24, 13); עַד כִּי, עַד אֲשֶׁר, עַד *until that*, also עַד אִם, עַד אֲשֶׁר אִם *until that when*, עַד also *during, so long as*, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר *after that*, מֵאָז (for מֵאָז אֲשֶׁר) *since that*, בְּטֶרֶם and טֶרֶם *before*, קֹדֶם for קֹדֶם אֲשֶׁר *before* (Ps. 129, 6).

d) *Causal* (besides כִּי and אֲשֶׁר, No. 1, *e*): עַל כֵּן אֲשֶׁר *because*, but כִּי־עַל־כֵּן (Gen. 18, 5, 19, 8, 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Qᵉrî*) and אֲשֶׁר עַל־כֵּן (Job 34, 27) signify everywhere *for therefore*, see *Ges.* W. B. 8th ed. under כִּי; עַל אוֹדוֹת אֲשֶׁר, עַל דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר, prop. *for the cirumstances that=for this cause that*, and emphatically עַל־כָּל־אוֹדוֹת אֲשֶׁר *for the very cause that*, בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *on the account, that*, and תַּחַת כִּי, תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר therefore that, and עֵקֶב כִּי like the preceding (prop. *as a reward that*).

e) *Final:* לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*, בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר *in order that* (also causal), וְ *that=in order that* (see above), לְ (like the Arab. *lî*) according to the present reading 1 K. 6, 19. With a negative force: אַל, פֶּן *that not, less* (§ 152).

f) *Conditional:* principally אִם and לוּ (for which in the later books rarely אִם לוּ=אִלּוּ) *if*. The first (which is also a particle of interrogation, § 153, 2) is purely conditional, leaving it uncertain whether what is expressed by the verb is actually doing or actually done, or not, yet rather the former (as, if I do—have done—shall do): on the contrary, לוּ expressly implies that it is not so, is not done (if I should do—had done), at least that it is very uncertain and even improbable.[1] Hence

[1] Hence לוּ serves also to express a wish, as in לוּ מַתְנוּ *would! we had died* Num. 14, 2, לוּ יְחָיָה *would! he may live* Gen. 17, 18, even with the Imper. (§ 130, 1, § 136, 2). On לוּ comp. *Kohler* in *Geiger's* Ztschr. f. Wissensch. u. Leben, VI (1868), p. 21, ff. (where however a good deal, especially the etymology should be modified).

אִם may properly stand where לוּ more accurately (Ps. **50**, 12, **139**, 8, Hos. **9**, 12); but לוּ cannot be used for אִם. Especially in solemn asseveration, conditional imprecation, אִם is used; Ps. **7**, 4—6 אִם־עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת—יְרַדֹּף וגו׳ *if I have done this*—(then) *let the enemy persecute my soul*, etc. One supposes as possible or real that one has committed something or other and demands the most fearful punishment if it is really so; Ps. **137**, 5; comp. also Ps. **44**, 21, **73**, 15.

NB. What has been said of אִם and לוּ holds good, also, when they are connected with the negative, as in לוּלֵא, אִם לֹא, and לוּלֵי. It must be observed further, that אִם, after forms of swearing, e. g. חַי יְהוָה *as the Lord lives* stands as a negative (and consequently אִם לֹא as affirmative), 2 Sam. **11**, 11, **20**, 20. This may be explained simply by the omission of the imprecation as principal clause to which the clause introduced by אִם or אִם לֹא is subordinate. Sometimes this form is found complete e. g. 1 Sam. **25**, 22; כֹּה־יַעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים לְאֹיְבֵי דָוִד וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם־ אַשְׁאִיר וגו׳ *so and more also do God unto the enemies of David if I leave*, etc. (but instead of אִם stands after this form also כִּי אִם e. g. 2 Sam. **8**, 35 כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לִּי אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף כִּי אִם *so may God do to me and more also if*).—But אִם and אִם לֹא do not stand simply in such forms as these after verbs of swearing and adjuring(=*not* Cant. **2**, 7; **3**, 5) but also absolutely as strong negations (אִם Judges **5**, 8, Is. **22**, 14) or solemn asseveration (אִם לֹא *truly* e. g. Job **22**, 20). On אוֹ, כִּי, אֲשֶׁר, as passing over into conditional particles, see above.

g) *Concessive:* אִם, with the *Perf.* even *if* (=though) *I am* Job **9**, 15, with the *Impf.* (*though I were*) Is. **1**, 18, **10**, 22; עַל (for עַל אֲשֶׁר) *although* Is. **53**, 9, Job **16**, 17 really *add to this that*=notwithstanding that); גַּם כִּי *even when*, *although* (also inverted כִּי גַם or גַּם alone).

h) *Comparative:* כַּאֲשֶׁר *as* (*quemadmodum*), often with כֵּן in the second member, *as—so*, Is. **13**, 4, **52**, 14, 15; but כַּאֲשֶׁר may be omitted in the protasis, Is. **55**, 9, Ps. **48**, 6, and כֵּן in the apodosis, Obad. 15. Exact conformity is expressed by כְּכָל־עֲמָתִי שֵׁ. *in all points as*, Ec. **5**, 15.

i) *Adversative:* (see on the adverbs). Decidedly *here* belong אַךְ כִּי *only that—but*, *nevertheless*, and the difficult combination כִּי אִם, prop. *that if*, *for if*, *but if*. In these cases both particles belong in reality to different clauses (כִּי to the principal, אִם to the conditional). Elsewhere both form together an inseparable idea, either *but* (especially after negations, or their equivalents, comp. כִּי above No. 1 at the end), prop. *but when*, as may be clearly seen for instance Ps. **1**, 2—or *except when*, *except*. In both significations כִּי אִם may stand before a verb as well as before a noun. Sometimes the clause to which כִּי אִם states an exception must be completed from the connection, e. g. Gen. **40**, 14: (else I do not demand anything) *except that thou remember me*=only thou mayest etc. Micah **6**, 8, Job **42**, 8.

k) On the *interrogative* particles, see § 153.

l) On the *optative* particles, see on נָא above, under letter *f*, Note[1]; on נָא—in § 105, 2, Note,[2] and § 126, 4, Note [1].

3. A certain brevity and incompleteness of expression (see No. 1) appears,[1] among other things, in this, that instead of the whole compound conjunction, by which the relation is fully expressed, sometimes the one and sometimes the other component part may be used. Thus, instead of the full form יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *on the account, that=because,* we have shorter יַעַן or אֲשֶׁר; instead of כַּאֲשֶׁר *as* (conj.) we find simply אֲשֶׁר Ex. **14**, 13, 1 K. **8**, 24.

4. This brevity is carried still farther, when the conjunction, which is required to show the relation of one sentence or clause to another, is omitted altogether. This is the case—

a) In conditional clauses; Gen. **33**, 13 *drive they them* (the sheep) *hard, then they will die,* for, *if* they drive them hard etc., Gen. **42**, 38. (In both cases however, the conditional relation of the first sentence to the second is sufficiently expressed to the Hebrew conception by the succession of two *consecutive perfects.*) Job **7**, 20 (if) (*well now*) *I have sinned* — prop. *what could I do unto thee?* Job **19**, 4.

b) In expressions of comparison; Ps. **14**, 4 אֹכְלֵי עַמִּי אָכְלוּ לֶחֶם *who devour my people* (as) *they would eat bread,* prop. *eating my people, they eat bread,* Job **24**, 19 *drought and heat carry oft the snow-water* שְׁאוֹל חָטָאוּ (so) *She'ol* (carries off those who) have sinned Jer. **17**, 11.

c) In members which are usually dependent on the relative conjunctions (*oratio obliqua*); Gen. **12**, 13 *say* אֲחֹתִי אַתְּ

[1] The cases where, on the contrary, a pleonasm (in the sense of an unnessary accumulation of particles) was supposed, may be explained by more close observation. Thus for instance אִם כִּי Ex. **22**, 22 stands by no means pleonastically for אִם; for with אִם כִּי the discourse is abruptly interrupted and the particles signify also here *for when* (comp. Ger. *ja wenn*). There may be rather the question of a certain pleonasm in the Chaldee; e. g. כָּל־קֳבֵל־דְּנָה (Germ. *all*dieweil) *wholly—for—that=because,* כָּל־קֳבֵל־דְּנָה *wholly for this =therefore.* Emphatic, not pleonastic, is the repetition of the conjunction in יַעַן וּבַעֲבוּר *because, even because* Lev. **26**, 43; like the German *sintemal und alldieweil.*

thou art my sister, commonly כִּי אֲחֹתִי אַתְּ, Gen. 41, 15, Ps. 9, 21 *that they may learn, they are men,* Is. 48, 8 *for I knew, thou art quite faithless,* Ps. 50, 21. In all these cases, the dependent clause stands properly for the accusative of the object; comp. § 142, 4, Rem. 2.

§ 156.

OF THE INTERJECTIONS.

The interjections which correspond to our *ah! oh! alas! woe!* expressing denunciation as well as lamentation (אֲהָהּ, הוֹי, אוֹי; the latter two are really substantives), are connected with the object of the threatening or lamentation, by the particles עַל, אֶל, לְ, or they stand in the absolute, the object of lamentation standing in the vocative or rather in the *accusative of exclamation.* The former construction is found throughout with cries of woe (*væ tibi*) the latter with lament (comp. *væ te* in *Plautus*); as אוֹי לָנוּ *woe to us!* הוֹי גּוֹי *woe to the people!* Is. 1, 4, הוֹי אָחִי *alas, my brother!* 1 K. 13, 30.

On the construction of חַיָּה with the *suffixes*, see § 100, 5.

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